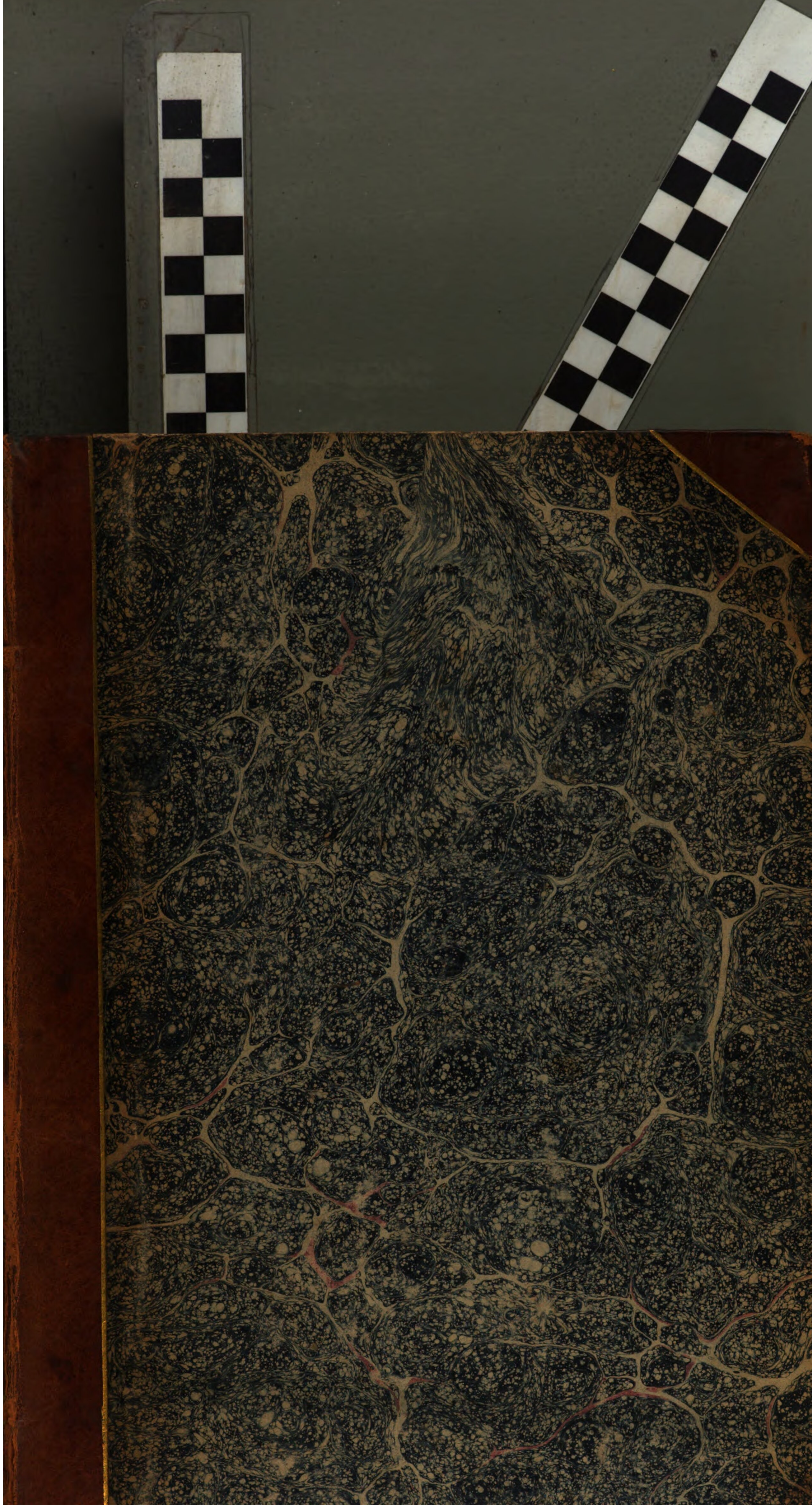




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P A P E R S,

&c.

(East India Company.)

(FOURTH PART.)

Session

24 November - - - 22 July,

1812 — 1813.

VOL. X.

PAPER

20

(East India Company)

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Session

24 Nov. 1812 -- 22 July

1812 -- 1813

VOL. X

CONTENTS

OF VOL. X.—1812-13.

Ordered to be Printed.	The N ^o at the foot of each Paper.	PAPERS, &c.. EAST INDIA COMPANY. (FOURTH PART.)	The MS. paging in the Volumes done up for The House of Commons.
12 June	276.	PAPERS;—Minute of Governor General relative to the College of Fort William; 18 August 1800 - - - - -	1.
14 June	278.	CUSTOMS and EXCISE;—Amount of, received on the principal Articles of East India and China Produce, for three Years ending January 1812 - - - - -	27.
15 June	282.	ASIATIC SUBJECTS of Great Britain;—Mr. Grant's State of Society among them: Written in 1792 - - - - -	31.
17 June	294.	The <i>Eleventh</i> PROPOSITION (now the 12th);—Two Letters from John Bebb, esq. on this Proposition - - - - -	147.
22 June	305.	The <i>Thirteenth</i> PROPOSITION;—Letter from John Bebb, esq. respecting this Proposition - - - - -	167.
—	306.	PAPERS;—Growth of Hemp and Cotton; General Revenues of India, and Mr. Rickards's Finance System in part of Salsette; Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Pro- vinces; Mr. Rickards's proposition for establishing a General Bank; Revenue of Broach and Surat; Jumma or Rental in Guzerat; Political state of the Travencore Territory, and Treaty with the Rajah of Travencore; Revenue of Malabar; Occurrences at Quilon in Travencore - - - - -	171.
5 July -	331.	Idol JAGGERNAUT;—further Letter from the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, on that subject - - - - -	309.
10 July -	336.	PAPERS;—Advances to Indigo Planters; Finance 1809; Supplies from India to China; Merchandize and Bullion - - - - -	315.
o.	o.	EAST INDIES.—31 May 1813 - - - - -	355.
3 June -	263.	RESOLUTIONS from the Committee of The whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of the Affairs of The East India Company - - - - -	359.
10 Dec.	8.	CARNATIC COMMISSIONERS;—Eighth Report of the Commis- sioners appointed (46 Geo. III. c. 133.) under an Agreement between the East India Company and the Private Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic - - - - -	365.
27 April	148.	GLOSSARY to the <i>Fifth</i> REPORT from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the present State of the Affairs of The East India Company;—which Report was made on the 28th day of July, in the last Session of Parliament - - -	431.

(East Indies.)

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS:

VIZ.

Copy of a **MINUTE** of the Governor General, relative to the *College of Fort William*, dated the 18th August 1800 ;—together with, Copies of the **REGULATION** for the Establishment of that College, dated the 10th of July 1800 ; and of the Statutes of the College of *Fort William*.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,

12 June 1813.

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS:

The GOVERNOR GENERAL'S NOTES, &c.	- - - - -	page 3—18
REGULATION for Foundation of a College at Fort William	- - - - -	18
STATUTES of The College	- - - - -	22
Copy of a MINUTE of the Governor-General, relative to the College of Fort William, dated the 18th August 1800;—together with, Copies of the REGULATION for the Establishment of that College, dated the 10th of July 1800; and of the Statutes of the College of Fort William.		

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12 June 1813.

EXTRACT from the GOVERNOR GENERAL'S NOTES for an
Official Dispatch, to be hereafter forwarded to the Court of
Directors, with respect to the Foundation of a COLLEGE
at *Fort William*.

1st.

THE British possessions in India now constitute one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the government of the various provinces and nations composing this empire, is principally confided to the European civil servants of the East India Company. Those provinces (namely Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benares, the Company's Jaghire in the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, the Baramahal, and other districts ceded by the peace of Seringapatam in 1792) which are under the more immediate and direct administration of the European civil servants of the Company, are acknowledged to form the most opulent and flourishing parts of India, in which property, life, civil order, and religious liberty, are now secure; and the people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government than in any other country in this quarter of the globe. The duty and policy of the British government in India, therefore, require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government to Europeans, educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct controul, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects. This principle formed the basis of the wise and benevolent system introduced by Lord Cornwallis, for the improvement of the internal government of the provinces immediately subject to the presidency of Bengal.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

2. In proportion to the extension of this beneficial system, the duties of the European civil servants of the East India Company are become of greater magnitude and importance. The denominations of writer, factor and merchant, by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged, and of the occupations pursued, by the civil servants of the Company.

3. To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world; these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants, composing the five courts of Circuit and Appeal under the presidency of Bengal, exercise in each of those courts a jurisdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous than that of any of the regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchants, employed in the several magistracies and zillah courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registers and assistants to the several courts and magistrates, exercise, in different degrees, functions of a nature either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. Commercial and mercantile knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department, but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors or writers, are bound by law and by the solemn obligations of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit; the mercantile title which they bear, not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

4. The pleadings in the several courts, and all important judicial transactions, are conducted in the native languages; the law which the Company's judges are bound to administer throughout the country, is not the law of England, but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor General in Council, as well as by the general spirit of the British constitution. These observations are sufficient to prove, that no more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various or more comprehensive can be imagined, than those which are required from every British subject who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.

5. To the administration of the revenue, many of the preceding observations will apply with equal force; the merchants, factors, and writers, employed in this department, also are bound by law to abjure the mercantile denomination appropriated to their respective classes in the Company's service; nor is it possible for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil servant employed under him, to discharge this duty with common justice either to the state or to the people, unless he shall be conversant in the language, manners, and usages of the country, and in the general principles of the law as administered in the several courts of justice. In addition to the ordinary judicial and executive functions of the judges, magistrates, and collectors, the judges and magistrates occasionally act in the capacity of governors of their respective districts, employing the military and exercising other extensive powers. The judges, magistrates, and collectors, are also respectively required by law to propose from time to time to the Governor General in Council such amendments of the existing laws, or such new laws as may appear to them to be necessary for the welfare and good government of their respective districts. In this view, the civil servants employed in the departments of judicature and revenue, constitute a species of subordinate legislative council to the Governor General in Council, and also a channel of communication by which the government ought to be enabled at all times to ascertain the wants and wishes of the people. The remarks applied to these two main branches of the civil service, namely, those of judicature and revenue, are at least equally forcible in their application to those branches which may be described under the general terms of the Political and Financial Departments; comprehending the officers of chief secretary, the various stations in the secretary's office, in the treasury, and in the office of accountant general, together with all the public officers employed in conducting the current business at the seat of government: To these must be added the diplomatic branch, including the several residencies at the courts of our dependent and tributary princes, or of other native powers of India.

6. It is certainly desirable, that all these stations should be filled by the civil servants of the Company; it is equally evident, that qualifications are required in each of these stations, either wholly foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the limits of a commercial education.

7. Even that department of this empire which is denominated exclusively commercial, requires knowledge and habits different in a considerable degree from those which form the mercantile character in Europe; nor can the Company's investment ever be conducted with the greatest possible advantage and honour to themselves, or with adequate justice to their subjects, unless their commercial agents shall possess many of the qualifications of statesmen, enumerated in the preceding observations. The manufacturers, and other industrious classes, whose productive labour in the course of the investment, bears so great a proportion to the total population of the Company's dominions, that the general happiness and prosperity of the country must essentially depend on the conduct of the commercial servants employed in providing the investment; their conduct cannot be answerable to such a charge, unless they shall be conversant in the native languages, and in the customs and manners of the people, as well as in the laws by which the country is governed. The peace, order, and welfare of whole provinces may be materially affected by the malversations or even by the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident, whose management touches the dearest and most valuable interests, and enters into the domestic concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any act of power injurious to their properties or contrary to their prejudices and customs.

8. The

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

8. The civil servants of the English East India Company therefore can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern, they are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference not to their nominal but to their real occupations; they are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the disciplines of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration and the dignity and importance of their public stations; and a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science, which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe; to this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India; with the Mahomedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion; and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws, enacted by the Governor General in Council, for the purpose of recurring to the people of this empire for the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British empire in India; and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions, with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate, and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation and licentious indulgence; the spirit of emulation, in honourable and useful pursuits, should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction and reward, of profit and honour: nor should any precaution be relaxed in India, which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the state with credit to themselves, and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient. Whatever course and system of discipline and study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East (so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints) demands that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance of public life in India.

2d.

9. It is unnecessary to enter into any examination of facts to prove, that no system of education, study, or discipline, now exists either in Europe or in India, founded on the principles, or directed to the objects described in the preceding pages: But it may be useful in this place to review the course through which the junior civil servants of the East India Company now enter upon the important duties of their respective stations, to consider to what degree they now possess or can attain any means of qualifying themselves sufficiently for those stations, and to examine whether the great body of the civil servants of the East India Company at any of the

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

residencies can now be deemed competent to discharge their arduous and comprehensive trusts in a manner correspondent to the interests and honour of the British name in India, or to the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects.

10. The age at which the writers usually arrive in India, is from 16 to 18. Their parents or friends in England, from a variety of considerations, are naturally desirous not only to accelerate the appointment at home, but to dispatch the young man to India at the earliest possible period. Some of these young men have been educated with an express view to the civil service in India, on principles utterly erroneous, and inapplicable to its actual condition; conformably to this error, they have received a limited education, confined principally to commercial knowledge, and in no degree extended to those liberal studies which constitute the basis of education at public schools in England: even this limited course of study is interrupted at the early period of 15 or 17 years.

11. It would be superfluous to enter into any argument to demonstrate the absolute insufficiency of this class of young men to execute the duties of any station whatever in the civil service of the Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwholesome, and unprofitable duty of a mere copying clerk. Those who have received the benefits of a better education, have the misfortune to find the course of their studies prematurely interrupted at the critical period when its utility is first felt, and before they have been enabled to secure the fruits of early application.

12. Both descriptions of young men, those whose education has been originally erroneous and defective, and those the early promise of whose studies has been unseasonably broken, once arrived in India, are equally precluded from the means, either of commencing a new and judicious course of study adopted to their own situation, or of prosecuting that course which had been unseasonably interrupted. Not only no encouragement is offered by the present constitution and practice of the civil service to any such pursuits, but difficulties and obstacles are presented by both, which render it nearly impossible for any young man, whatever may be his disposition, to pursue any systematic plan of study, either with a view to remedy the defects, or to improve the advantages, of his former education.

13. On the arrival of the writers in India, they are either stationed in the interior of the country, or employed in some office at the presidency.

14. If stationed in the interior of the country, they are placed in situations which require a knowledge of the language and customs of the natives; or of the regulations and laws, or of the general principles of jurisprudence, or of the details of the established system of revenue, or of the nature of the Company's investment, or of many of these branches of information combined. In all these branches of knowledge, the young writers are totally uninformed; they are consequently unequal to their prescribed duties. In some cases, their superior in office, experiencing no benefit from their services, leaves them unemployed. In this state, many devote their time to those luxuries and enjoyments which their situation enables them to command, without making any effort to qualify themselves for the important stations to which they are destined. They remain sunk in indolence, until, from their station in the service, they succeed to offices of high public trust.

15. Positive incapacity is the necessary result of these pernicious habits of inaction; the principles of public integrity are endangered, and the successful administration of the whole government exposed to hazard. This has been the unhappy course of many who have conceived an early disgust, in provincial stations, against business to which they have found themselves unequal, and who have been abandoned to the effects of despondency and sloth.

16. Even the young men whose dispositions are the most promising, if stationed in the interior of the country at an early period after their arrival in India, labour under great disadvantages. They also find themselves unequal to such duties as require an acquaintance with the languages, or with the branches of knowledge already described. If intensely employed in the subordinate details of office, they are absolutely precluded from reviving any former acquirements, or from establishing those foundations of useful knowledge, indispensably necessary to enable them hereafter to execute the duties of important stations with ability and credit; harassed with the ungrateful task of transcribing papers and accounts, or with other equally fatiguing and fruitless labours of a copying clerk or index maker, their pursuits of useful knowledge cannot

cannot be systematic, if attempted in any degree; their studies must be desultory and irregular; and their attention to any definite pursuit is still more distracted by the uncertainty of the nature of those employments to which they may hereafter be nominated. No course of study having been pointed out by public institution; no selection prescribed by authority, of the branches of knowledge appropriated to each department and class of the service; diligence is lost for want of a guide; and the most industrious are discouraged by the apprehension, that their studies may prove fruitless, and may frustrate instead of promoting their advancement in the public service.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

17. When their rank in the service has entitled them to succeed to offices of importance, the current duties of those offices necessarily engross their whole attention. It is then too late to revert to any systematic plan of study, with a view to acquire those qualifications, of which, in the ordinary discharge of their official functions, they feel the hourly want. If at this late season, they should make an effort to acquire knowledge, it must be sought by the interruption of their current business, to the detriment of the public interests, and to the inconvenience or injury of the individuals subject to their authority.

18. With respect to the young men attached to offices at the presidency, their duty consists chiefly in transcribing papers. This duty, if pursued with the utmost diligence and assiduity, affords little knowledge of public affairs, is often prejudicial to health, and would be better performed by any native or Portuguese writer. They obtain no distinct knowledge of the public records, because they pursue no regular course of reading, examining, or comparing the documents which compose those records. They have indeed scarcely time to understand and digest those papers which they are employed to transcribe; their acquaintance even with the current affairs of the government must be limited and partial, and must rather tend to confuse than to instruct their minds. At the expiration of the period during which they usually remain in these situations at the presidency, their knowledge of public business is necessarily superficial and incorrect; having had little intercourse with the natives, these young men are in general extremely deficient in the knowledge of the language of the country. In the mean while their close and laborious application to the hourly business of transcribing papers, has been an insuperable obstacle to their advancement in any other branch of knowledge; and at the close of two or three years, they have lost the fruits of their European studies, without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. Those whose dispositions lead them to idleness and dissipation, find greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance at the presidency than in the provinces; many instances occur, in which they fall into irretrievable courses of gaming and vice, and totally destroy their health and fortunes. Some succeed in the ordinary progress of the service, to employments, in which their incapacity or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives, disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the state.

19. All these descriptions of young men, upon their first arrival in India, are now exposed to a disadvantage the most perilous which can be encountered at an early period of life. Once landed in India, their studies, manners, morals, expenses or conduct, are no longer subject to any degree of regulation or discretion; no system is established for their guidance, improvement, or restraint; no authority has been constituted with either the duty or power of enforcing any such system; and they are abandoned at the age of sixteen or eighteen, with affluent incomes, to pursue their own inclinations, without the superintendence or controul of parent, guardian, or master, often without a friend to advise or admonish, or even to instruct them in the ordinary details and modes of an Indian life.

20. The practice of consigning the young writers to the care of friends resident in India, affords no adequate remedy to this evil: those friends are often incompetent to the arduous and delicate task imposed upon them; and it frequently happens, that they may be so far removed from the spot at which the young man may be stationed by the government, that years may elapse before he may have been able even to see the persons appointed by his European friends, to superintend his introduction into India.

21. In early periods of our establishment, when the annual incomes of the civil servants were of more fluctuating nature, and derived from sources more vague and indefinite, the tables of the senior servants were usually open to those recently arrived from Europe; and the young writers upon their first landing in India, were frequently admitted and domiciliated in the families established at the presidency, or in the provinces.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

22. The objections to this loose and irregular system were numerous and obvious; without entering upon that topic, it is sufficient to observe, that the definite and regular sources of profit established in the civil service, by Lord Cornwallis, have occasioned a material alteration in the economy of every private family among the civil servants.

23. Incomes being limited and ascertained, and no other source of emolument now existing beyond the annual savings from the regulated salaries, the tables of the civil servants can no longer be open to receive the numerous body of writers annually arriving from Europe; still less can these young men be generally admitted to reside habitually in families, of which the annual expenses are now necessarily restrained within certain and regular boundaries.

24. Many of the young men, on their first arrival, are therefore compelled to support the expense of a table; the result of this necessity is obvious, and forms one leading cause of expense and dissipation.

25. Under all these early disadvantages, without rule or system to direct their studies; without any prescribed object of useful pursuit connected with future reward, emolument, or distinction; without any guide to regulate or authority to controul their conduct, or to form, improve, or preserve their morals; it is highly creditable to the individual characters of the civil servants of the East India Company, that so many instances have occurred in various branches and departments of the civil service at all the presidencies, of persons who have discharged their public duties with considerable respect and honour.

26. It has been justly observed, that all the merits of the civil servants are to be ascribed to their own characters, talents and exertions, while their defects must be imputed to the constitution and practice of the service, which have not been accommodated to the progressive changes of our situation in India, and have not kept pace with the growth of this empire, or with the increasing extent and importance of the functions and duties of the civil servants.

27. The study and acquisition of the languages have, however, been extended in Bengal and the general knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants have been improved. The proportion of the civil servants in Bengal, who have made a considerable progress towards the attainment of the qualifications requisite in their several stations, appears great, and even astonishing, when viewed with relation to the early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of the civil service. But this proportion will appear very different when compared with the exigencies of the state, with the magnitude of these provinces, and with the total number of the civil servants which must supply the succession to the great offices of the government. It must be admitted that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal, is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of this empire; and that it is peculiarly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial, and political branches of the government.

28. The state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay, is still more defective than that of Bengal; various causes have concurred to aggravate in an extreme degree, at both those presidencies, all the defects existing in the civil service of Bengal; while many circumstances peculiar to those presidencies, have favoured the growth of evils at present unknown in this. The condition of the writers, on their first arrival at either of the subordinate presidencies, is still more destitute, and more exposed to hazard than at Calcutta.

29. The study or acquisition of the languages, and of other necessary attainments, has not been extended in the civil service at Madras or Bombay, to any considerable degree; to this remark, eminent and meritorious individual exceptions exist in the civil service at both subordinate presidencies, but those exceptions are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a general rule. But whatever may be the actual condition of the civil service in its superior classes at any of the presidencies, if the arduous duties of that service have been justly defined in the preceding pages, if the qualifications requisite for their discharge have been truly described, if the neglected and exposed condition of the early stages of the service has not been exaggerated; it must be admitted, that those stages of the service require additional safeguards, and a more effectual protection. The extraordinary exertions of individual diligence, the partial success of singular talents, or of peculiar prudence and virtue, constitute no rational foundation

foundation of a public institution which should rest on general and certain principles. If the actual state of the higher classes of the civil service were such as to justify a confidence in the general competency of the civil servants to meet the exigencies of their duty, the necessity of correcting the evil stated in the preceding pages, would still remain, unless the facts alleged could be disproved. It would still be a duty incumbent on the government, to remove any obstacles tending to embarrass or retard the progress of their servants in attaining the qualifications necessary for their respective stations. The government is not released from this duty by the extraordinary or even general exertion of those servants to surmount the early difficulties of the first stages of the service. If the good government of this empire be the primary duty of its sovereign, it must ever be a leading branch of that duty, to facilitate to the public officers and ministers the means of qualifying themselves for their respective functions. The efficiency of the service cannot wisely or conscientiously be left to depend on the success of individual or of accidental merit, struggling against the defects of established institutions. A due administration of our affairs can alone be secured by the constant effect of public institutions, operating, in a regular and uninterrupted course, upon the various characters, talents, and acquirements of individuals. The nature of our establishments should furnish fixed and systematic encouragement to animate, to facilitate, to reward the progress of industry and virtue; and fixed and systematic discipline, to repress and correct the excesses of contrary dispositions.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

30. From these remarks may be deduced the indispensable necessity of providing some effectual and speedy remedy for the improvement of the education of the young men destined to the civil service in India; the nature of that remedy will afford matter of serious discussion.

31. It may however be useful, previous to that discussion, to advert to a general topic of argument, which may possibly be adduced to disprove the necessity of any new institution for the improvement of the civil service of the East India Company. It may be contended, that this service, through a long period of years, and in the course of various changes and chances, has always furnished men equal to the exigency of the occasion; that servants of the Company have never been wanting to conduct to a happy issue the numerous revolutions which have taken place in the affairs of the Company in India; and that these eminent personages have ultimately raised the British empire in India on the most solid foundations of glory, wealth and power. Why therefore should we apprehend, that the source hitherto so fruitful, and furnishing so abundant a stream of virtue and talents, will fail in the present age, and prove insufficient to the actual demands of our interests in this quarter of the globe? The answer to this topic of argument is obvious: extraordinary combinations of human affairs, wars, revolutions, and all those unusual events which form the marked features and prominent characters of the history of mankind, naturally bring to light talents and exertions adapted to such emergencies. That the civil or military service of the East India Company has supplied persons calculated to meet all the wonderful revolutions of affairs in India, is a circumstance not to be attributed to the original or peculiar constitution of either service at any period of time; that constitution has undergone repeated alterations, at the suggestion and under the direction of the great characters which it has produced, and it has still been found answerable to every new crisis of an extraordinary nature. But it must never be forgotten, that the successive efforts of those eminent personages, and the final result of various revolutions and wars, have imposed upon the East India Company the arduous and sacred trust of governing an extensive and populous empire. It is true that this empire must be maintained in some of its relations, by the same spirit of enterprize and boldness which acquired it. But duty, policy and honour require, that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition; as an empire conquered by prosperous adventure, and extended by fortunate accident, of which the tenure is as uncertain as the original conquest and successive extension were extraordinary: it must be considered as a sacred trust, and a permanent possession. In this view, its internal government demands a constant, steady, and regular supply of qualifications, in no degree similar to those which distinguished the early periods of our establishment in India, and laid the foundations of our empire. The stability of that empire, whose magnitude is the accumulated result of former enterprize, activity and revolution, must be secured by the durable principles of internal order; by a pure, upright, and uniform administration of justice; by a prudent and temperate system of revenue; by the encouragement and protection of industry,

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

industry, agriculture, manufacture and commerce; by a careful and judicious management of every branch of financial resource; and by the maintenance of a just, firm, and moderate policy towards the native powers of India. To maintain and uphold such a system in all its parts, we shall require a succession of able magistrates, wise and honest judges, and skilful statesmen, properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of the great machine of government.

32. The military establishments of this empire form no part of the subject of the present inquiry. It may be sufficient to observe in this place, that their extent, and the spirit in which they require to be governed, must correspond with the magnitude of the empire, and with the general character of our civil policy. In the civil service we must now seek, not the instruments by which kingdoms are overthrown, revolutions governed, or wars conducted, but an inexhaustible supply of useful knowledge, cultivated talents, and well ordered and disciplined morals; these are the necessary instruments of a wise and well regulated government. These are the genuine and unfailing means of cultivating and improving the arts of peace; of diffusing affluence and happiness, willing obedience and grateful attachment over every region and district of this vast empire; and of dispensing to every class and description of our subjects the permanent benefits of secure property, protected life, undisturbed order and inviolate religion. It is not the nature of these inestimable blessings to spring from a turbid source, or to flow in a contracted and irregular channel.

33. The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company, is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects; and the stability of our government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom, liberality, and justice.

3d.

34. From the preceding discussion it appears, that the actual state of the Company's civil service in India is far removed from perfection or efficiency, and that the cause of this defect is to be found principally, if not exclusively, in the defective education of the junior civil servants, and in the insufficient discipline of the early stages of the service. The facts which have been reviewed in the course of this discussion, furnish the main principles on which an improved system of education and discipline may be founded, with a view to secure the important ends of such an institution.

35. The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads:

First, An erroneous system of education in Europe, confined to commercial and mercantile studies.

Secondly, The premature interruption of a course of study judiciously commenced in Europe.

Thirdly, The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and controul their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service.

Fourthly, The want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men, upon their arrival in India, might be enabled to correct the errors or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India; together with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

Fifthly, The want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service, and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations.

36. It is obvious, that an education exclusively European or Indian, would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of a mixed and complicated nature, involving the combined principles

principles of Asiatic and European policy and government. Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstruction systematically completed in India.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

37. An important question may arise, with respect to the proportion of time to be employed in that part of the education of the junior civil servants which should be appropriated to England, and accomplished previously to their departure for India. It may be contended, that many of the enumerated evils may be precluded by not allowing the writers to proceed to India until they shall have reached a more advanced age than that at which they now usually embark; and by requiring them to undergo examinations in England, for the purpose of ascertaining their proficiency in the branches of knowledge necessary to the discharge of their duties in India.

38. To this arrangement, various objections of a private but most important nature will arise in the mind of every parent, who may have destined his children for India. To attain any considerable progress in the course of education and study described in this paper, must necessarily require the detention of the student in Europe to the age of 20 or 22 years; many parents could not defray the expense of such an education in England, even if the other means of prosecuting it now existed or could hereafter be provided at any school or college at home.

39. Other objections of a private nature might be stated against this plan; but those which are founded on public considerations, appear to be absolutely insurmountable. It is a fundamental principle of policy in the British establishments in the East Indies, that the views of the servants of the Company should terminate in the prospect of returning to England, there to enjoy the emoluments arising from a due course of active and honourable service in India.

40. Were the civil servants, instead of leaving England at the age of sixteen or seventeen, to be detained until the age of twenty, or two-and-twenty, a great proportion of them must abandon all hope of returning with a moderate competence to their native country.

41. Remaining in England to this advanced age, many would form habits and connexions at home, not to be relinquished at that period of life, without great reluctance, and few would accommodate themselves with readiness and facility to the habits, regulations, and discipline of the service of India.

42. While these causes would render the civil servants untractable instruments in the hands of the government of India; the regular progress through the service would also be retarded. Twenty-five years may be taken as the period within which a civil servant may regularly acquire, with proper habits of economy, an independent fortune in India. Upon this calculation, before the most successful could hope to be in a situation to return to England, they would have attained an age, when many of the powerful affections and inducements, which now attract the servants of the Company to return to their native country, would be greatly weakened if not entirely extinguished.

43. At that age, many from necessity, and many probably from choice, would establish themselves permanently in India. It is unnecessary to detail the evil consequences which would result to the British interests in India, were such an habit to become general in the civil service.

44. Detention in England to the age of 20 or 22 years, would certainly afford the writers an opportunity of advancing their knowledge in the necessary branches of European study, but within *that* period of time, even in *those* branches, it could scarcely be completed; especially in the important sciences of general ethics and jurisprudence, (for how few understandings are equal to such a course of study previously to the age of 20*) and it would be entirely defective in the essential point of connecting the principles of those sciences with the laws of India, and with the manners and usages of its inhabitants. No establishments formed in England would give a correct practical knowledge of the languages, laws, and customs of India, of the peculiar habits and genius of the people, of their mode of transacting business, and of the characteristic features of their vices or virtues. These most essential acquirements would therefore

* Sir W^m Jones was not intelligible to the natives of India (when he arrived at Calcutta) in any of the Oriental Languages.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

therefore remain to be attained after the arrival of the Student in India, at an age when the study of languages is attended with additional difficulties, when any prescribed course of study, when any systematic discipline or regular restraint becomes irksome, if not intolerable. As the East India Company's servants would arrive in India at a period of life too far advanced to admit of subjection to any system of public discipline or controul, they must necessarily be left to the dictates of their own discretion, with regard to whatever part of their knowledge had been left incomplete in Europe.

45. The wants and expenses of individuals arriving in India at the age of twenty, or twenty-two years, would greatly exceed the scale of the public allowances to the junior servants: at this age no restraint could be applied in India to their moral conduct, for the purpose of protecting them against the peculiar depravities incident to the climate, and to the character of the natives.

46. From the early age at which the writers are now usually sent to India; opportunity is afforded to the government on the spot of obtaining a knowledge of the characters of individuals, before they become eligible to stations of trust and importance. Of this advantage the government would be in a great degree deprived, if the East India Company's servants were all detained in England until the age of twenty, or twenty-two; this inconvenience would prove nearly an insurmountable impediment to the important and necessary rule of selecting for public office, those best qualified to discharge its duties with propriety and effect.

47. The junior civil servants must therefore continue to embark for India at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that they may be tractable instruments in the hands of the government of the country; that their morals and habits may be formed with proper safeguards against the peculiar nature of the views and characteristic dangers of Indian society; that they may be enabled to pass through the service before the vigour of life has ceased, and to return with a competent fortune to Europe, while the affections and attachments which bind them to their native country, continue to operate with full force: and lastly, that they may possess regular, reasonable, and certain means of obtaining the peculiar qualifications necessary for their stations.

See the Regulation
annexed (No. 1.)

48. Under all these circumstances, the most deliberate and assiduous examination of all the important questions considered in this paper, determined the Governor General to found a Collegiate Institution at Fort William, by the annexed regulation.

49. This regulation comprises all the fundamental principles of the institution. The detailed statutes for the internal discipline and good government of the College, will be framed gradually as circumstances may require.

50. A common table and apartments are to be provided in the College, for all the civil servants who may be attached to the establishment.

51. The benefits of the establishment are extended to the junior civil servants of Fort St. George and Bombay, who will be directed to proceed to Fort William, as soon as the accommodations requisite for their reception shall have been provided.

52. This arrangement appeared, in every respect, preferable to the establishment of Colleges at both or either of those presidencies. Independent of the considerations of expense, and other objections and impediments to the foundation of such institutions at Fort St. George and Bombay, it is of essential importance that the education of all the civil servants of the Company should be uniform, and should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of that authority, which is primarily responsible for the government of the whole of the British possessions in India, and which must be consequently most competent to judge of the nature and principles of the education which may be most expedient for the public interests. It may be expected, that the operation of this part of the new institution will ultimately extinguish all local jealousies and prejudices among the several presidencies; the political, moral, and religious principles of all the British establishments in India, will then be derived directly from one common source. The civil service of Bengal is unquestionably further advanced in every useful acquisition, and in every respect more regular and correct, than that of either of the subordinate presidencies: no more speedy or efficacious mode can be devised of diffusing throughout India the laudable spirit of the service of Bengal, and of extending the benefit of improvements, which, under the new institution, may be expected to make a rapid progress at the seat of government,

government, than by rendering Fort William the centre of the education and discipline of the junior civil servants in India.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

53. Provision is made for admitting to the benefits of the institution civil servants of a longer standing than three years, (on their making application for that purpose) under such regulations as may be deemed advisable. The institution may prove highly beneficial to many servants of this description, as many of them will be received on the establishment, as its funds and other considerations may admit.

54. Provision is also made for extending the benefits of the institution to as many of the junior military servants, as it may be found practicable to admit, from all the Presidencies; essential benefits will result to the British armies in India, from the annual introduction of a number of young men well versed in the languages, with which every officer, but particularly those belonging to the native corps, ought to be acquainted. It is also of most essential importance to the army in India, that it should be composed of officers attached, by regular instruction and disciplined habits, to the principles of morality, good order, and subordination.

55. Further regulations are in the contemplation of the Governor General for the education of the cadets destined for the army in India, which will be connected intimately with the present foundation.

56. It cannot be denied, that during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French revolution have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in the civil and military service of the Company in India, and the state as well of political as of religious opinions, had been in some degree unsettled. The progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets. An institution tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security which can be provided for the stability of the British power in India. The letter of the Court of Directors, under date the 25th of May 1798, has been constantly present to the Governor General's mind; it is satisfactory to know, after the fullest consideration, that many apprehensions stated in that letter, appear to have been conceived with more force than is required by the actual state of any of the settlements in India.

57. But among other important advantages of the new institution, it will provide the most effectual and permanent remedy against the evils (as far as they existed) which it was the object of the orders of the Honourable Court, of the 25th of May 1798, to correct.

58. The situation of the junior servants, on their early arrival in India, has been fully described in that paper; under the new institution, they will be immediately received by the provost, a clergyman of the Church of England; they will be provided with apartments in the College, and with a common table; consequently they will be removed from the danger of profusion, extravagance and excess. Every part of their private conduct, their expenses, their connexions, their manners and morals, will be subject to the notice of the provost, and principal officers of the College, and (through the collegiate authorities) to the government itself.

59. While attached to the institution, the junior servants will have the most ample means afforded to them of completing the European branch of their education, or of correcting its defects; of acquiring whatever local knowledge may be necessary for that department of the service, in which (after mature reflection on their own inclinations and talents) they may determine to engage; of forming their manners, and of fixing their principles on the solid foundations of virtue and religion.

60. The acquirements, abilities, and moral character of every civil servant, may be ascertained before he can be eligible to a public station, and every selection of persons for high and important offices may be made, under a moral certainty that the public expectation cannot be disappointed.

61. The 24th clause of the Regulation will afford the foundation of a law, which may at all times secure the civil service against the effects of the possible partiality or ignorance of any government.

62. It is intended, that the allowance of every civil servant of less than three years standing, being a Student in the College, should be brought to one standard of 300 rupees per month, without any allowance for a moonshy.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

63. As a table and apartments will be provided for the Students, this allowance will place them in a better situation than any writer of the same standing now enjoys. With these advantages, under the controul of the official authorities of the College, and with the benefit of their advice and admonition, aided by statutes for the prevention of extravagance and debt, it may be hoped, that many young men will adopt early habits of economy, and will lay the foundations of honest independence at a much earlier period than is now practicable. This advantage will be considerable in every view, in none more, than as it will tend to contract the period of each servant's residence in India, to give a nearer prospect of return to England, and to keep that desirable object more constantly in view.

64. The discipline of the College will be as moderate as can be consistent with the ends of the institution. It will impose no harsh or humiliating restraint, and will be formed on principles, combining the discipline of the Universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies.

65. It may be expected that the great majority of young men, on their arrival in India, will eagerly embrace the opportunities afforded to them by this institution, of laying the foundations of private character, of public reputation, and of early independence. It cannot be supposed, that many will be so insensible to their own honour and interests, and so destitute of every liberal feeling and sentiment, as not to prefer the proposed course of studies in the College, to the menial labour now imposed upon them of transcribing papers in an office, where, in the nature of their duty, they are levelled with the native and Portuguese clerks, although infinitely inferior in its execution.

66. Those young men, who may not at the first view discover all the advantages to be derived from the institution, will soon improve by the example and communications of others. If any individuals should continue insensible to the calls of public duty, and of private reputation (and it is of importance that persons of this description should be known before an opportunity has been afforded to them of injuring the public interests by their vices and defects) the public good will demand, that they should be punished by neglect, and exclusion from employment; considering the liberal manner in which the servants of the Company are rewarded for their services, the public may justly insist on submission to whatever regulations may be prescribed by this institution.

67. The incitements to exertion being as powerful, as the consequences of contrary habits will be ruinous, instances of gross neglect or contumacy will rarely occur. In this respect the institution possesses peculiar advantages; and it will become a powerful instrument in the hands of the government in India, who will be enabled thereby to bring the general character of the servants of the Company to such a standard of perfection as the public interests require. To every other inducement, which any Collegiate institution in the world can supply for the encouragement of diligence, will be added the immediate view of official promotion, increase of fortune, and distinction in the public service.

68. If it be asked, whether it be proper that the whole time of the junior servants for the first three years of their residence in India, should be devoted to study in the College, and that the Company should lose the benefit of their services during that period, while the junior servants receive a salary?

69. It may be inquired on the other hand, what is now the occupation of the civil servants for the first three years after their arrival in India? what benefit the Company now derive from the services of the junior servants during that period? and what, in general, are now the characters and qualifications of those servants at the expiration of that period?

To all these questions sufficient answers have been given in the preceding pages.

Further details respecting the nature of the institution, will be forwarded officially to the Court of Directors, at an early period.

70. The reasons which induced the Governor General to found the College, without any previous reference to England, were these; his conviction of the great immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan.

71. His

71. His experience of the great advantages which had been already derived by many of the young men, from their attendance on Mr. Gilchrist*, in consequence of the first experiment made on a contracted scale, with a view to a more extended institution.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

72. His anxiety of imparting to the very promising young men, arrived from Europe within these last three years, a share of the advantages described in this paper; and his solicitude to superintend the foundation of the institution, and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

* See the Report
annexed, (No. 2.)

73. This institution will be best appreciated by every affectionate parent, in the hour of separation from his child, destined to the public service in India; let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) declare, whether the prospect of this institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful hour, whether it has raised additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service, of the early and fortunate return, of his child.

74. With regard to the funds for defraying the expense of the institution, the Governor General does not intend, without the sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors, to subject the Company to any expense on account of the institution, beyond that which has already received their sanction, independently of the institution.

75. The Honourable Court have authorized this government to purchase the Writers buildings, if they can be obtained on advantageous terms. These buildings cannot be obtained on such terms, nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the institution. A sum equal to the just value of the buildings, or to the rent now paid for them, will be applied towards the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the College.

76. The ground proposed to be employed, is situated in the Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the College or for the health of the Students.

77. The expense of the institution will be provided for by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India, to be deducted from their salaries. This resource will probably be sufficient for all present purposes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the moonshy's allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrangement of the government printing press.

78. The Governor General has not deemed it proper, in the first instance, to subject the Company to any additional expense on account of the institution; the Honourable Court of Directors will however reflect, that this institution is calculated to extend the blessings of good government to the many millions of people whom Providence has subjected to our dominion; to perpetuate the immense advantages now derived by the Company, from their possessions in India; and to establish the British empire in India on the solid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue and religion. The approved liberality of the Honourable Court will therefore certainly be manifested towards this institution, to an extent commensurate with its importance.

79. It would produce a most salutary impression in India, if the Court, immediately on receiving the regulation, were to order the Governor General in Council to endow the College with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal; and to issue a similar order to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, with respect to the revenues at Mysore, leaving the amount of the endowment on each fund to the Governor General in Council.

80. All those who feel any concern in the support of the British interests in India, and especially those whose fortunes have been acquired in the service of the Company, or whose connexions may now or hereafter look to this service for advancement, will undoubtedly contribute to the support of the institution; under the auspices of the Court, it is hoped that a large sum might be raised by subscription in Europe. The Governor General considered the College at Fort William to be the most becoming public monument which the East India Company could raise to commemorate the

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

conquest of Mysore. He has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the College on the 4th of May 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

81. The early attention of the Governor General will be directed to the Mahomedan College founded at Calcutta, and to the Hindoo College established at Benares. In the disorders which preceded the fall of the Mogul empire, and the British conquests in India, all the public institutions calculated to promote education and good morals were neglected, and at length entirely discontinued; the institutions of Calcutta and Benares, may be made the means of aiding the study of the laws and languages in the College at Fort William, as well as of correcting the defective moral principles too generally prevalent among the natives of India.

82. An establishment of moonshies and native teachers of the languages, under the controul of the collegiate offices at Fort William, will be attached to the new College, and the young men will be supplied from the establishment, instead of being left (as at present) to exercise their own discretion in hiring such moonshies as they can find in Calcutta or in the provinces.

83. The arrangements respecting the native Colleges, while they contribute to the happiness of our native subjects will qualify them to form a more just estimate of the mild and benevolent spirit of the British government.

84. In selecting the Garden Reach for the scite of the building for the new College, two objects were in the contemplation of the Governor General:—

First, That the ordinary residence of the Students should be so near that of the Governor General, as that he may have the constant means of superintending the whole system and discipline of the institution; the distance of 15 or 16 miles in this climate, would often embarrass the communication.

Secondly, That the College should be removed some distance from the town of Calcutta; the principle of this object is sufficiently intelligible without further explanation. It is, however, desirable that the College should not be so remote from Calcutta, as to preclude the young men from all intercourse with the society of that city; advantages may be derived from a regulated intercourse with the higher classes of that society; the Garden Reach combines these advantages with many others of space and accommodation. The situation of the Writers buildings is objectionable on account of their being placed in the centre of the town; nor would it have been practicable in that situation (even if the Writers buildings could have been purchased on reasonable terms) to have obtained an area of ground sufficiently spacious for the new building.

85. As it will require a considerable time before the new buildings in Garden Reach can be completed, it is intended in the mean while to continue to occupy the Writers buildings, and to hire such additional buildings in the neighbourhood, as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the Students and officers of the College, for the library, the dining hall, the lecture rooms, and other purposes. It will be necessary to make some considerable purchases of books for the foundation of the library; the Governor General will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India. Lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity, with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe; and the Governor General entertains no doubt, that the Court of Directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tippoo Sultan, which was presented by the army to the Court of Directors, is lately arrived in Bengal. The Governor General strongly recommends, that the Oriental manuscripts composing this collection, should be deposited in the library of the College at Fort William, and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly, until he shall receive the orders of the Court upon the subject; he will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity.

86. It is obvious, that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new institution; and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the College at Fort William, than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London.

87.—Such of the manuscripts as may appear to be merely valuable as curiosities, may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity.

88. It

88. It is the intention of the Governor General, that the first term of the College should be opened in the course of the month of November, and the lectures in several of the languages may, it is hoped, be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter.

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

89. With the aid of such temporary arrangements as may be immediately made, it is expected that many other branches of the institution may be brought into immediate operation, particularly those which relate to the expenses, morals, and general studies of the young men. Fortunately for the objects of the institution, the Governor General has found at Calcutta two clergymen of the Church of England, eminently qualified to discharge the duties of provost and vice provost: to the former office he has appointed Mr. Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter, Mr. Buchannan. Mr. Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some members of the Court of Directors; it is, in every respect, such as to satisfy the Governor General, that his views in this nomination will not be disappointed. He has also found the highest expectations from the abilities, learning, temper, and morals of Mr. Buchannan, whose character is well known in England, to and particularly to Dr. Porteus bishop of London, and to Dr. Milner, master of Queen's College, in the university of Cambridge. With respect to the professorships, those which relate to the languages will be best filled in India; and the Governor General entertains little doubt that he shall soon be able to fill those permanently in an efficient manner. In the mean while, the most laudable zeal has been manifested by such persons in the civil and military service, as are competent to assist the Governor General in making a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of these professorships. The persons properly qualified to fill certain of the other professorships, must be sought in Europe. The institution will be so framed, as to offer strong inducements to such persons, and the Governor General will endeavour, at the earliest possible period, to secure the assistance of talents, learning, and morals from Europe, adapted to the great purposes of this institution. It may be useful to observe in this place, that the professors, and native moonshies or teachers, will be prohibited from instructing any other persons than the Students of the College; the object of this regulation is to prevent European parents, resident in India, from attempting to commence or complete, by means of the new institution, the regular education of their children in India; it is an obviously necessary principle of policy to encourage the present practice of sending children, born in India of European parents, at an early age to Europe for education.

90. The Governor General means to recommend, that the Court of Directors should hereafter nominate all persons destined for the civil service at any of the presidencies in India, to be Students of the College at Fort William; to each Studentship (as has already been observed) will be annexed a monthly salary of 300 rupees, together with apartments and a common table; it will be for the Honourable Court to decide, whether the ultimate destination of the Student to the civil establishment of Bengal, Fort St. George or Bombay, shall be specified in the original appointment to the Studentship at the College of Fort William: it would certainly be more advantageous to the public service that no such appointment should be made in England, and that the ultimate destination of each Student should be determined in India, under the authority of the government on the spot, according to the inclinations and acquirement of the Students respectively. The improved state of the civil service at Fort St. George, and the indispensable necessity of introducing the same improvements into the service at Bombay, will speedily render the civil service at each of those presidencies no less advantageous and respectable than that of Bengal.

91. The Governor General highly applauds the wisdom of the late order of the Court, regulating the rank of the cadets for the artillery, according to the period of time when they may be respectively reported to be qualified for commissions, under the institutions of the academy at Woolwich; it would be a most beneficial regulation to declare, that the rank of all Students appointed to the College of Fort William, in the same season, should be regulated according to their respective progress in the prescribed studies of the College, and to the public testimonials of their respective merit, established according to the discipline and institutions of the College.

92. If the Court of Directors should approve the principles and objects of this institution, and should accordingly order the Governor General to endow it with a rent charge upon the land revenue of Bengal and Mysore, it would be a gracious act to relieve the civil service in India from the tax which the Governor General

Governor General's
NOTES,
(August 1800)
on Foundation of
a College at Fort
William.

intends to impose on the public salaries for the support of the College. The tax will indeed be very light, but the Court of Directors may probably be of opinion, that such an institution as the present ought to be supported, rather by the munificence of the sovereign of the country than by any diminution, however inconsiderable, of the established allowances of the public officers.

Fort William,
August 18th 1800.

EXTRACT, Bengal Judicial Consultations, 10th July 1800.

(Civil.)

THE following Minute of the Governor General, with the draft of the Regulation mentioned therein, having been sent in circulation, on the 9th instant, is now recorded.

Fort William, 9th July 1800.

THE Governor General circulates the draft of a Regulation, the general principles of which have been already stated by him verbally in council. He proposes, whenever he shall be relieved from the indisposition which now confines him to his house, to enter into a full detail of all the important considerations connected with the intended institution, and also to communicate in council such arrangements as appear to him most advisable, with a view to the establishment of the necessary funds for defraying the charges incident to the endowment of the College.

A. D. 1800. REGULATION IX.

A REGULATION for the foundation of a COLLEGE at Fort William in Bengal, and for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of The Honourable The English East India Company, in the important duties belonging to the several arduous stations to which the said junior civil servants may be respectively destined in the administration of justice, and in the general government of the British Empire in India, passed by the Governor General in Council on the 10th July 1800; corresponding with the 28th Assar, 1207 Bengal era; the 4th Sawun, 1207 Fussily; the 28th Assar, 1207 Willaity; the 4th Sawun, 1857 Sumbut; and the 17th Suffer, 1215 Higeree; but by his Lordship's special order, bearing date on the 4th May 1800, being the first Anniversary of the glorious and decisive victory obtained by the British arms at Seringapatam the capital of the Kingdom of Mysoor.

WHEREAS it hath pleased the Divine Providence to favour the counsels and arms of Great Britain in India with a continued course of prosperity and glory; And whereas, by the victorious issue of several successive wars, and by the happy result of a just, wise, and moderate system of policy, extensive territories in Hindostan, and in the Decan, have been subjected to the dominion of Great Britain; and under the government of The Honourable The English East India Company, in process of time a great and powerful empire has been founded, comprehending many populous and opulent provinces, and various nations, differing in religious persuasions, in language, manners, and habits, and respectively accustomed to be governed according to peculiar usages, doctrines and laws: And whereas the sacred duty, true interest, honour and policy, of the British nation require, that effectual provision should be made at all times for the good government of the British empire in India, and for the prosperity and happiness of the people inhabiting the same; and many wise and salutary regulations have accordingly been enacted from time to time by the Governor General in Council, with the benevolent intent and purpose of administering to the said people their own laws, usages and customs, in the mild and benignant spirit of the British constitution: And whereas it is indispensably necessary, with a view to secure the due execution and administration of the said wise, salutary, and benevolent regulations in all time to come, as well as of such regulations and laws as may hereafter be enacted by the Governor General in Council, that the civil servants of The Honourable The English East India Company, exercising high and important functions in the government of India, should be properly qualified to discharge the arduous duties of their respective offices and stations; should be sufficiently instructed in the general principles of literature and science, and should possess a competent

competent knowledge, as well of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain, as of the several native languages of Hindostan and the Decan; and of the laws, usages and customs of the provinces which the said civil servants respectively may be appointed to govern: And whereas the early interruption in Europe of the education and studies of the persons destined for the civil service of The Honourable The English East India Company, precludes them from acquiring, previously to their arrival in India, a sufficient foundation in the general principles of literature and science, or a competent knowledge of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain; and many qualifications, essential to the proper discharge of the arduous and important duties of the civil service in India, cannot be fully attained, otherwise than by a regular course of education and study in India, conducted under the superintendence, direction, and controul of the supreme authority of the government of those possessions: And whereas no public institution now exists in India, under which the junior servants appointed at an early period of life to the civil service of The Honourable The English East India Company, can attain the necessary means of qualifying themselves for the high and arduous trusts to which they are respectively destined; and no system of discipline or education has been established in India for the purpose of directing and regulating the studies of the said junior servants, or of guiding their conduct upon their first arrival in India, or of forming, improving, or preserving their morals, or of encouraging them to maintain the honour of the British name in India, by a regular and orderly course of industry, prudence, integrity and religion: The Most Noble RICHARD MARQUIS WELLESLEY, Knight of the Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, &c. &c. Governor General in Council, deeming the establishment of such an institution, and system of discipline, education, and study, to be requisite for the good government and stability of the British empire in India, and for the maintenance of the interests of The Honourable The English East India Company, his Lordship in Council hath therefore Enacted as follows:

- II. A College is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal, for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company in such branches of literature, science, and knowledge, as may be deemed necessary to qualify them for the discharge of the duties of the different offices constituted for the administration of the government of the British possessions in the East Indies. A College founded at Fort William for the instruction of the junior Civil Servants of the Company.
- III. A suitable building shall be erected for the College, containing apartments for the superior officers, for the students, for a library, and for such other purposes as may be found necessary. A Building to be erected for the College.
- IV. The Governor General shall be the patron and visitor of the College. The Governor General to be the Patron and Visitor.
- V. The members of the Supreme Council, and the Judges of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and of the Nizamut Adawlut, shall be the Governors of the College. The Members of the Supreme Council, and the Judges of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and the Nizamut Adawlut, to be Governors.
- VI. The Governor General in Council shall be trustee for the management of the funds of the College; and shall regularly submit his proceedings in that capacity to The Honourable The Court of Directors. The Governor General in council to be Trustee for the management of the Funds of the College.
- VII. The comptrolling Committee of Treasury shall be treasurers of the College. The comptrolling Committee of Treasury to be Treasurers.
- VIII. The Accountant General and Civil Auditor shall be respectively accountant and auditor of the accounts of the College. Accountant General and Civil Auditor to be Accountant and Auditor.
- IX. The Advocate General and the Honourable Company's standing counsel, shall be the law officers of the College. The Advocate General and the standing Council to be the Law Officers.
- X. The immediate government of the College shall be vested in a provost, and such other officers as the patron and visitor shall think proper to appoint, with such salaries as he shall deem expedient. The provost, vice provost, and all other officers of the College, shall be removable at the discretion of the patron and visitor. The immediate government of the College vested in the Provost and other Officers.
- [Officers to be appointed and removed at the discretion of the Patron.]

The Provost to be a Clergyman of the Church of England.

XI. The provost shall always be a clergyman of the Church of England, as established by law.

Acts of the Patron to be subject to the pleasure of the

XII. Every proceeding and act of the patron and visitor shall be submitted to The Honourable The Court of Directors, and shall be subjected to their pleasure.

Primary duties of the Provost.

XIII. The primary objects of the provost shall be, to receive the junior civil servants on their first arrival at Fort William, to superintend and regulate their general morals and conduct, to assist them with his advice and admonition, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline, and rites of the Church of England, as established by law.

The Patron empowered to establish and endow Professorships.

XIV. The patron and visitor shall establish such professorships, with such endowments as shall be judged proper.

Professorships to be established.

XV. Professorships shall be established as soon as may be practicable, and regular courses of lectures commenced in the following branches of literature, science, and knowledge.

ARABIC,
PERSIAN,
SHANSCRIT,
HINDOOSTANEE,
BENGAL,
TELINGA,
MAHRATTA,
TAMUL,
CANARA,
MAHOMEDAN LAW,
HINDOO LAW.
ETHICS, CIVIL JURISDICTION, and the LAW OF NATIONS,
ENGLISH LAW.

Languages.

The REGULATIONS and LAWS enacted by the Governor General in Council, or by the Governors in Council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, for the civil government of the British territories in India.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company.

GEOGRAPHY AND MATHEMATICS.

MODERN LANGUAGES OF EUROPE.

GREEK, LATIN, AND ENGLISH CLASSICS.

GENERAL HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF HINDOOSTAN AND THE DECAN.

NATURAL HISTORY.

BOTANY, CHEMISTRY, AND ASTRONOMY.

Patron may unite or separate any of the Professorships, or found additional Professorships.

XVI. The patron and visitor may authorize the same professor to read lectures in more than one of the enumerated branches of study, and may at any time unite or separate any of the said professorships, or may found additional professorships in such other branches of study, as may appear necessary.

Provost, Vice Provost, and Professors, to be entitled to Pensions under certain conditions.

XVII. The provost and vice provost, after having remained in the government of the College for the complete period of seven years, and any professor after having read lectures in the College for the complete period of seven years, or of twenty-eight terms, and after having respectively received, under the hand and seal of the patron and visitor, a testimonial of good conduct during that period of time, shall be entitled to an annual pension for life, to be paid either in Europe or in India, according to the option of the party. The pension shall in no case be less than one-third of the annual salary received by such provost or vice provost respectively, during his continuance in the government of the College, or by any such professor during the period of his regular lectures: the pension may in any case be increased at the discretion of the patron and visitor.

XVIII. All

XVIII. All the civil servants of the Company who may be hereafter appointed on the establishment of the presidency of Bengal, shall be attached to the College for the first three years after their arrival in Bengal, and during that period of time the prescribed studies in the College shall constitute their sole public duty.

All Civil Servants on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal to be attached to the College for the first [three years after their arrival.

XIX. All the civil servants now on the establishment of the presidency of Bengal, whose residence in Bengal shall not have exceeded the term of three years, shall be immediately attached to the College for the term of three years from the date of this regulation.

Civil Servants, who have not resided three years in Bengal, to be attached to the College for [three years from the date of this Regulation.

XX. Any of the junior civil servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this presidency, or to that of Fort St. George, or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefits of the institution by order of the Governor General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

Any of the junior Civil Servants in India may be admitted into the College by order of the [Governor General in Council.

XXI. Any of the junior military servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this presidency, or that of Fort St. George, or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefits of the institution by order of the Governor General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

Any of the junior Military Servants in India may be admitted into the College by order of the Governor General in Council.

XXII. In the College at Fort William, four terms shall be observed in each year; the duration of each term shall be two months. Four vacations shall also be established in each year; the duration of each vacation shall be one month.

Four terms annually, and four vacations.

XXIII. Two public examinations shall be holden annually, and prizes and honorary rewards shall be publicly distributed by the provost, in the presence of the patron and governors, to such Students as shall appear to merit them.

Two public Examinations to be holden annually, [and honorary rewards to be publicly distributed.

XXIV. Degrees shall be established, and shall be rendered requisite qualifications for certain offices in the civil governments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay; and promotion in the civil service shall be the necessary result of merit publicly approved, according to the discipline and institutions of the college.

Degrees to be established and rendered requisite qualifications for certain Offices; Promotion [in the Civil Service to be the result of Merit.

XXV. Statutes shall be framed by the provost of the College, under the superintendence of the governors of the College, respecting the internal regulation, discipline and government of the College; but no statute shall be enforced until it shall have been sanctioned by the patron and visitor. The statutes so sanctioned shall be printed, according to a form to be prescribed by the patron and visitor.

Statutes, how to be framed, to be sanctioned by the Patron and printed.

XXVI. The patron and visitor shall be empowered at all times, of his sole and exclusive authority, to amend or abrogate any existing statute, or to enact any new statute for the regulation, discipline and government of the College.

The Patron empowered to amend, abrogate, or enact Statutes.

XXVII. A regular statement of all salaries, appointments, or removals of the officers of the College, shall be submitted by the patron and visitor of the College at the expiration of each term, to the Governor General in Council, and by the Governor General in Council to The Honourable The Court of Directors; printed copies of statutes enacted by the patron and visitor shall also be submitted to the Governor General in Council, and to The Honourable The Court of Directors, at the same periods and time, and in the same manner.

Statement of Salaries, Appointments, &c. to be submitted at the end of each Term to the Governor General in Council, and to be by him transmitted to the Court [of Directors, with printed Copies of all Statutes.

The Board, entirely approving the Regulation proposed by the Governor General, Resolve that it be passed accordingly, and that it be printed and published in the manner directed by the 41st Regulation of 1793, to stand as Regulation IX, 1800.

EXTRACT, Bengal Public Consultations, the 16th April 1801.

MINUTE from The Governor General.

The Governor General.

THE Governor General communicates to the Board, a copy of the Statutes which he has enacted for the government of the College at Fort William, and proposes that the annexed Regulation be passed into a law.

Fort William, }
April 10th, 1801. }

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

THE STATUTES

Of the COLLEGE of FORT WILLIAM in BENGAL, CALCUTTA;

Printed at The Honourable Company's Press, 1801.

The Governor General :

THE Patron and Visitor of the College at Fort William in Bengal, hereby enacts the following STATUTES for the regulation, government, and discipline of the said College; and directs the Provost of the said College to promulgate the said Statutes, and to carry them into effect from the date hereof.

Fort William, }
10th April 1801. }

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

THE Provost of the College of Fort William hereby promulgates the following Statutes, in obedience to the directions of the Patron and Visitor.

(Signed) *David Brown.*

CHAPTER FIRST:

Of the STATUTES of the COLLEGE of FORT WILLIAM in BENGAL.

I.

ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

Every Student, previously to his admission, shall subscribe to the following Declaration:—

“ I, *A. B.* do hereby solemnly and faithfully promise and declare, That I will
“ submit to the statutes and rules of the College, of which I am about to be
“ admitted a member; that I will ever maintain its honour, interests and
“ privileges; and that I will be obedient to the provost, to the vice provost,
“ and to all the superior officers of the College, in all lawful commands.
“ *A. B.*”

Which subscription being made, his admission shall be entered in the College register, in which also shall be inserted his age, rank, degree in any university, his native country and district, the time of his appointment to the service, and of his arrival in India; together with his destination to the establishment of Bengal, Fort St. George, or Bombay.

II.

ADMISSION OF THE SUPERIOR OFFICERS AND PROFESSORS.

Inasmuch as the College of Fort William is founded on the principles of the Christian religion, and is intended not only to promote the knowledge of Oriental literature, to instruct the Students in the duties of the several stations to which they may be destined in the government of the British empire in India, and to strengthen and confirm within these possessions the attachment of the civil servants of the East India Company to the wise laws and happy constitution of Great Britain, but also to maintain and uphold the Christian religion in this quarter of the globe; it is declared that no person shall hold any superior office in this institution, or be admitted

admitted as professor or lecturer in the same, until he shall have taken the Oath of allegiance to the King's Majesty, and shall have subscribed to the following Declarations, viz.

" I, *A. B.* do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare, That I will not teach
 " or maintain publicly or privately any doctrines or opinions contrary to the
 " lawful constitution of Great Britain, either in church or state, or contrary
 " to the duty which I owe as a faithful and loyal subject to the royal person,
 " family and government of His Majesty."

" I, *A. B.* do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare, That I will obey the
 " statutes and rules of the College, of which I am about to be admitted a
 " member; and that I will endeavour, by precept and example, to maintain
 " and promote order, discipline and good morals in the same."

" *A. B.*"

III.

OF TERMS.

Four Terms shall be holden within each year.

The first Term shall commence on the sixth day of February, and end on the last day of March.

The second Term shall commence on the fourth day of May and end on the last day of June.

The third Term shall commence on the first day of August, and end on the last day of September.

The fourth Term shall commence on the first day of November, and end on the last day of December.

IV.

OF LECTURES AND EXERCISES.

During each Term, the Professors, Lecturers and Teachers, shall instruct the Students, in the manner to be prescribed by the Council of the College.

Every Student shall attend at least one Class of Study in the Oriental Languages, during each Term.

Into whatever class or classes a Student shall enter, he shall continue in the same, attending to the prescribed studies, until the expiration of the Term.

Permission to attend the different Lectures shall be granted by the Provost.

The Council of the College shall prescribe the public exercises to be performed by the Students during each Term.

V.

OF EXAMINATIONS.

Two public Examinations shall be holden annually.

The first Examination shall be holden at the end of the second Term.

The second Examination shall be holden at the close of the fourth Term.

At each of these Examinations, each Student shall be publicly examined in one or more of the Oriental languages, and shall be classed according to his respective proficiency.

The comparative proficiency of the Students shall be determined in all possible cases, by exercises in writing, and by written answers to questions proposed in writing by the examiners.

The professor of the language or science in which the Students shall be examined, shall attend the examination, and shall afford such assistance in the conduct of it, as may be required by the examiners; but he shall not have a vote in determining the respective proficiency of the Students, or in adjudging the prizes or honorary rewards.

In order to encourage and to ascertain the proficiency of the Students in general learning, and in languages not the immediate objects of this institution, any Students

at the prescribed examinations may be examined in any branch of useful knowledge, science or literature.

The prizes and honorary rewards of each year shall be announced on the 4th day of May, they shall be awarded by the examiners at the Second Examination in each year, and shall be publicly distributed on the 6th day of February following, to such Students as shall have obtained from the examiners certificates of peculiar merit.

The committees of examination in the different branches of a study, shall be appointed by the council of the College.

The Examiners shall subscribe the following declaration, viz.

“ I, *A. B.* do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare, That I will give an
 “ impartial judgment of the comparative merits of the Students now to be
 “ examined. *A. B.*”

VI.

OF PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS AND DECLAMATIONS IN THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

Whereas it is necessary that the Students destined to exercise high and important functions in India, should be able to speak the Oriental languages with fluency and propriety; it is therefore declared, that public disputations and declamations shall be holden in the Oriental languages at stated times, to be prescribed by the council of the College.

VII.

OF EXERCISES IN ENGLISH COMPOSITION.

Each Student shall compose one Essay or Declamation in the English language during the course of each term.

The subject of these essays or declamations shall be proposed by the council of the College, and such compositions as may appear to merit distinction shall be read in public.

VIII.

OF CERTIFICATES AND DEGREES.

No Student shall be considered to have finished his course of study in the College of Fort William, until he shall have completed twelve terms or three years in the manner required by the Statutes; at the expiration of which period of time, every Student shall receive from the council of the College, a Certificate specifying the proficiency which he may have made in the prescribed studies of the College, and also the tenor of his general conduct during the period of his residence at the College.

Attested copies of all such Certificates shall be submitted to the visitor, who will enter the same on the public records of the government.

A degree of honour shall be confirmed by the visitor on such persons as shall be distinguished for peculiar excellence in the knowledge of any of the Oriental languages, of the Mahomedan or Hindoo codes of law, or of Oriental literature.

This degree shall not be conferred on any Student who shall not have received a Certificate from the council of the College, in the manner prescribed by this statute.

IX.

JURISDICTION OF THE PROVOST.

The professors, officers, students, teachers and servants of the College, shall be under the immediate jurisdiction of the provost.

Divine service shall be performed in the College Chapel at such times as the provost shall appoint, at which all the Students shall attend.

It shall be the peculiar province and sacred duty of the provost governing the College at Fort William, to guard the moral and religious interests and character of the institution, and vigilantly to superintend the conduct and principles of all its members; this trust he shall especially discharge, by admonishing such professors or
officers

officers of the College as shall neglect their duty, or shall fail to afford a proper example for the imitation of the Students, and if his admonition shall prove ineffectual, he shall report the circumstances of the case to the visitor.

Students who shall be guilty of indecorous conduct, or who shall neglect or wilfully disobey the statutes or rules of the College, shall be admonished by the provost privately, or by the council of the College, according to the nature and circumstances of the case.

When the gravity of the offence shall require such a proceeding, the name of any Student offending against the statutes or rules of the College, or against the principles of order, morality or religion, shall be reported by the Council of the College to the visitor.

X.

OF THE COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE.

The Council of the College shall consist of five members, of which the provost and vice provost for the time being shall be two; the three remaining members shall be appointed by the visitor; any four or three members shall constitute a council, provided the provost or vice provost be actually present; no council shall be holden otherwise than in the presence of the provost or vice provost.

The Council of the College shall have power to propose to the visitor, the enactment of any existing statute for the government of the College.

The Council of the College shall have power to enact rules and private regulations for the internal government and discipline of the College. All such rules shall be submitted to the inspection of the visitor, from time to time, and shall be revocable by his authority alone.

The Council of the College shall meet once in every month, at least, on a day to be appointed by the provost.

The Council of the College shall investigate the general state of the institution, all disbursements and charges, and the establishment of the professors, lecturers, moonshies, melvies, and pundits, and shall propose to the visitor such alterations in the same, as circumstances may appear to require.

All questions in the Council of the College, shall be determined by the majority of voices.

In any case in which the voices shall be equally divided, the provost, or in his absence the vice provost, shall have the casting voice.

All proceedings of the Council of the College shall be regularly submitted to the visitor.

XI.

OF APARTMENTS, AND OF THE PUBLIC TABLE.

The Students of the College of Fort William, shall be provided with apartments at the expense of the College.

A public table for the Students shall also be maintained at the expense of the College.

No Student shall absent himself from the public table in the College hall, oftener than twice a week during Term.

XII.

OF DEBTS.

Whereas every Student attached to the College of Fort William, will receive the monthly allowance of three hundred sicca rupees, and will also be provided with apartments, and with a common table, at the expense of the College; it is declared, that if any Student shall contract debt during the period of his residence at the College (to be computed from the time of his admission to the time of his last examination) he shall not receive from the Council of the College the certificate prescribed by Statute VIII. Chapter I, until he shall have delivered to the council

of the College, a satisfactory statement of the amount of such debt, which statement shall be annexed to the said certificates.

By command of the Patron and Visitor,
David Brown.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

Ordered, That a copy of the above Minute, together with the draft of the Regulation therein mentioned, be sent to the Revenue and Judicial Department, that the draft may be there recorded and framed into a Regulation, to be printed and published in the manner prescribed in Regulation XLI, 1793.

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS

112

Copy of a MINUTE of the Governor
General, relative to the College of Fort William,
dated the 18th August 1803; together
with Copies of the Resolution for the
Establishment of that College, dated the 20th
of July 1800, and of the Statute of the
College of Fort William.

Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed.
12 June 1812.

(East Indies.)

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS:

V I Z.

Copy of a MINUTE of the Governor General, relative to the *College of Fort William*, dated the 18th August 1800;—together with, Copies of the REGULATION for the Establishment of that College, dated the 10th of July 1800; and of the Statutes of the College of *Fort William*.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
12 June 1813.

AN ACCOUNT of the AMOUNT of CUSTOMS DUTIES received on the principal Articles of *East India* and *China* Produce respectively; on an Annual Average of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1812; distinguishing RATED from UNRATED Goods; and specifying the Amount of Duty received on each Article; also, distinguishing the Warehousing Duties from the Duties paid on delivery from the Warehouses for Home Consumption.

ARTICLES.	(A.) Warehousing Duties.		Home Consumption Duties.		NOTES.
	On Goods charged with Rated Duties for Home Consumption.	On Goods charged with Ad Valorem Duties for Home Consumption.	On Rated Goods.	On Unrated Goods.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Aloes, not Socotorina	36 12 3	- - -	726 10 2	- - -	(A.) The distinction between <i>Rated</i> and <i>Unrated</i> Goods, required by the Order of the Honourable House of Commons, is confined to the Schedule of Duties chargeable on East India Goods delivered from the Warehouses for Home Consumption; all Goods, whether Rated or Unrated, (except Tea, Cotton Wool, Saltpetre, and Bullion) being also subject to an ad-valorem Warehousing Duty on the Amount of the East India Company's Sales:—But, in order to render this Return as complete as possible, it has been deemed necessary to distinguish, under the head of Warehousing Duties, the Amount of such Duties collected on Goods rated for Home Consumption, from that received on Goods subject to ad valorem Duties for Home Consumption.
Alkali - - -	- - -	23 7 7	- - -	349 7 6	
Arrow Root - - -	- - -	11 17 4	- - -	97 17 8	
Assafoetida - - -	10 14 -	- - -	214 2 11	- - -	
Barilla - - -	393 12 5	- - -	5,378 8 7	- - -	
Benjamin - - -	118 10 8	- - -	446 15 -	- - -	
Borax - - -	49 1 -	- - -	2,272 11 6	- - -	
Camphire - - -	437 4 6	- - -	2,451 5 10	- - -	
Canes - - -	106 16 9	- - -	1,803 4 3	- - -	
Cardamoms - - -	58 16 5	- - -	262 17 10	- - -	
Cassia Buds - - -	36 18 8	- - -	319 4 4	- - -	
- - Lignea - - -	43 2 7	- - -	2,385 12 3	- - -	
Cinnamon - - -	3,583 9 7	- - -	1,041 - 9	- - -	
Cloves - - -	1,658 1 4	- - -	6,085 13 6	- - -	
Cochineal - - -	65 3 11	- - -	243 11 1	- - -	
Coculus Indus - - -	1 15 8	- - -	671 13 10	- - -	
Coffee - - -	2,796 11 1	- - -	5,836 3 -	- - -	
Columbo Root - - -	- - -	- - -	140 7 8	- - -	
Elephants Teeth - - -	80 10 2	- - -	269 2 3	- - -	
Galls - - -	211 4 10	- - -	355 11 2	- - -	
Gamboge - - -	56 13 5	- - -	249 16 3	- - -	
Ginger - - -	105 9 2	- - -	435 13 5	- - -	(B.) The Duties on Indigo are chargeable on the whole quantity delivered from the Warehouses, whether for Home Consumption or for Exportation.
Gums of various sorts	853 13 10	- - -	2,533 7 10	- - -	
Hemp - - -	496 6 8	- - -	132 4 4	- - -	
Hides, raw and tanned	105 12 9	- - -	3,414 1 9	- - -	
Indigo - - - (B.)	27,679 10 11	- - -	26,566 2 2	- - -	
Mace - - -	913 - 7	- - -	2,417 18 11	- - -	
Madder Root - - -	20 7 2	- - -	46 1 4	- - -	
Mother of Pearl Shells	258 7 -	- - -	4,434 19 6	- - -	
Musk - - -	127 3 4	- - -	88 9 4	- - -	
Myrrh - - -	47 8 -	- - -	618 18 9	- - -	
Nutmegs - - -	2,408 6 6	- - -	10,564 7 4	- - -	
Oil, Castor - - -	116 12 6	- - -	1,244 6 7	- - -	
Opium - - -	74 10 8	- - -	187 7 9	- - -	
Pearls - - -	- - -	1,235 5 5	- - -	3,999 4 2	
Pepper - - -	2,345 12 4	- - -	70,351 3 1	- - -	
- - Long - - -	10 13 8	- - -	235 1 5	- - -	
Piece Goods, Calicoes	- - -	22,750 12 11	- - -	3,369 4 4	
- - - Muslins	- - -	8,301 4 11	- - -	14,872 13 8	
- - - Prohibited	- - -	9,623 4 2	- - -	- - -	
Rhubarb - - -	76 15 9	- - -	1,832 1 5	- - -	
Rice - - -	274 19 3	- - -	1 4 11	- - -	

(continued.)

No. 1.—AN ACCOUNT of the AMOUNT of CUSTOMS DUTIES—continued.

ARTICLES.		Warehousing Duties			Home Consumption Duties			NOTES.						
		On Goods charged with Rated Duties for Home Consumption.		On Goods charged with Ad Valorem Duties for Home Consumption.	On Rated Goods.		On Unrated Goods.							
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
PRODUCE OF INDIA, continue.	Safflower - - -	119	9	9	-	-	-	251	10	6	-	-	-	
	Sal Ammoniac - - -	75	4	3	-	-	-	414	15	5	-	-	-	
	Saltpetre - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,127	10	10	-	-	-	
	Sanguis Draconis - - -	4	4	9	-	-	-	106	11	8	-	-	-	
	Senna - - -	3	15	-	-	-	-	729	-	1	-	-	-	
	Shawls - - -	-	-	-	44	4	11	-	-	-	3,875	18	5	
	Silk, raw, of Bengal - - -	14,468	13	9	-	-	-	77,260	12	4	-	-	-	
	Skins, drest and undrest - - -	-	-	-	4	16	2	-	-	-	116	9	6	
	Soy - - -	-	-	-	30	16	3	-	-	-	543	2	11	
	Stones, Cornelian - - -	-	-	-	116	3	9	-	-	-	421	18	10	
	Succads - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	174	-	11	-	-	-	
	Sugar - - -	904	12	2	-	-	-	45,444	4	4	-	-	-	
	Terra Japonica - - -	2	7	11	-	-	-	252	9	5	-	-	-	
	Tortoiseshell - - -	305	-	7	-	-	-	1,042	17	7	-	-	-	
	Turmeric - - -	67	1	9	-	-	-	934	7	7	-	-	-	
	Vermillion - - -	95	9	10	-	-	-	568	8	7	-	-	-	
	Wax, Bees - - -	6	11	6	-	-	-	112	15	3	-	-	-	
	Wine - - - (C.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,210	9	7	-	-	-	(C.) The Duties on Wine imported in ships arriving from the East Indies are included in this Account, although not the produce of that Country, such Duties being accounted for in the Official Books, under the head of Importations from India.
	Wood, Ebony - - -	38	5	4	-	-	-	247	19	7	-	-	-	
	- - Red, or Saunders - - -	166	5	10	-	-	-	120	9	11	-	-	-	
	- - Teake - - -	-	-	-	6	12	3	-	-	-	84	10	8	
	Wool, Cotton - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	37,317	11	1	-	-	-	
Yarn, Cotton - - -	57	8	11	-	-	-	84	10	8	-	-	-		
Other Articles - - - (D.)	192	4	2	172	8	10	2,324	10	7	2,962	12	10	(D.) The Duties comprized under the head of Miscellaneous Articles, arise principally on Goods entered as presents, or for private use, such as Beads, Fans, Drawings, Specimens of Natural History, &c. which are not required to be sold at the Sales of the East India Company, but are admitted to Entry on a declaration of the value by the proprietors, under the authority of the 21 section of the Act 49 Geo. III. cap. 98.	
Total of India Produce - -		62,166	4	10	42,320	14	6	336,981	17	11	30,693	-	6	
PRODUCE OF CHINA:	China Ware - - -	-	-	-	30	5	-	-	-	-	1,068	19	8	
	- - Ink - - -	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	32	15	-	
	Mats of Cane - - -	-	-	-	15	5	4	-	-	-	364	6	5	
	Mother of Pearl Fish } and Counters - }	-	-	-	3	6	1	-	-	-	122	2	11	
	Nanquin Cloths - - -	-	-	-	8,462	-	4	-	-	-	11,851	8	4	
	Silk of China - - -	3,211	18	9	-	-	-	22,389	17	-	-	-	-	
	Tea - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	205,816	12	7	
Other Articles - - -	-	12	7	1	8	1	27	5	5	873	17	3		
Total of China Produce - -		3,212	11	4	8,514	6	-	22,417	2	5	220,130	2	2	
GRAND TOTAL - - £.		65,378	16	2	50,835	-	6	359,399	-	4	250,823	2	8	

Custom House,
London, 31st May 1813.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector Gen^l of Imports and Exports.

—No. 2.—

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Annual Amount, for Five Years, of DUTIES paid to His Majesty's Revenue of CUSTOMS and EXCISE, in *England*, on all Goods imported from *India* and *China*;—exhibiting the Gross Average Amount of Duties received; the Charges of Collection and Management; and the Net Average Amount of the respective Duties paid into his Majesty's Exchequer.

CUSTOMS.

	GROSS RECEIPT of DUTIES.			NET PRODUCE of DUTIES, after deducting the Drawbacks on Goods exported (subject to the payment of a proportion of the Charges of Collection and Management on the whole Revenue of Customs.)		
	India Goods.	China Goods.	TOTAL.	India Goods.	China Goods.	TOTAL.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Annual Average of Five Years, ending the 5th January 1813.	506,957 6 9	260,911 8 11	767,868 15 8	505,599 12 2	255,552 14 5	761,152 6 7

Note.—The Inspector General of Imports and Exports has no means of ascertaining the Expenses of Management attending the Collection of the Duties on Goods imported from the East Indies and China, the Charges of Management upon the whole Revenue of Customs being blended in one aggregate sum, and paid out of the Consolidated Duties.

It may be proper to state, that a part of the Duties on East India and China Goods imported, amounting on the Annual Average to £. 338,748, is collected at the East India House, and paid over to the Customs at stated periods by the East India Company; and that a special Establishment of Officers is appointed for the purpose of checking and comptrolling such Receipt;—the remaining part of the Duties, amounting to £. 422,404, being paid at the Custom House by the individual Purchasers of the Goods, and collected by the Officers appointed for the general service of the Customs Revenue.—The Rate per centum of Expense attending the Collection of the Total Revenue of Customs in England, on the average of the last five years, was £. 6. 14. 5. per centum on the Gross Amount, and £. 8. 5. 11. per centum on the Net Produce of the Duties.

Custom House,
London, 31st May 1813.

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector Gen^l of Imports and Exports.

No. 1.

AN ACCOUNT of the AMOUNT of CUSTOMS DUTIES received on the principal Articles of East India and China Produce respectively, on an Annual Average of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1813; distinguishing Rated from UNRATED Goods; and specifying the Amount of Duty, received on each Article; also, distinguishing the Warehousing Duties from the Duties paid on delivery from the Warehouses for Home Consumption.

No. 2.

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Annual Amount, for Five Years of DUTIES paid to His Majesty's Revenue of CUSTOMS and EXCISE, in England, on all Goods imported from India and China;—exhibiting the Gross Average Amount of Duties received; the Charges of Collection and Management; and the Net Average Amount of the respective Duties paid into His Majesty's Exchequer.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
14 June 1813.

278.

on East India and China Goods imported, 278.
and payable to the Customs at stated periods by the East
the purpose of checking and comparing such
the Customs House by the individual
of the Customs House.—The
on the average of the
the Net Produce

GROSS RECEIPT & DUTIES			NET PRODUCE & DUTIES		
India Goods	China Goods	TOTAL	India Goods	China Goods	TOTAL
106,937	2,100,911	2,207,848	25,559	252,552	278,111
106,937	2,100,911	2,207,848	25,559	252,552	278,111

after deducting the Duties on Goods, subject (subject to the payment of a proportion of the Charges of Collection and Management on the whole Revenue of Customs.)

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Annual Amount, for Five Years, of DUTIES paid to His Majesty's Revenue of Customs and Excise, in England, on all Goods imported from India and China;—exhibiting the Gross Average Amount of Duties received; the Charges of Collection and Management; and the Net Average Amount of the respective Duties paid into His Majesty's Exchequer.

(East India Affairs.)

OBSERVATIONS

On the State of Society among the *Asiatic* Subjects of
Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals;
and on the means of improving it.—Written chiefly
in the Year 1792.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,

15 June 1813.

In writing this momentous work however, I wish to be clearly understood, as con-
necting with the formation and execution of any scheme for the performance of it,
every prudent care, every just precaution, which may be suitable to the nature of the
undertaking, and to the wise, humble, mild spirit of that religion which is to be re-
commended. At present I presume to offer no specific proposal, containing only
for the general principle; but if that is recognised, I shall be most ready to submit
the ideas I entertain of the manner in which it might be safely brought into
operation.

If the considerations already advanced, did not sufficiently guard me against the
charge of launching beyond the ordinary lines of business, I might justly plead, that
the office which your Gentlemen exercise, and which I have the honour to hold in
common with you, summons, not unwisely, your attention to subjects of the
highest

To the Honourable The Court of DIRECTORS for the Affairs of
The East India Company.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

ACCORDING to the intimation which I lately took the liberty of giving, I have now the honour to submit to your consideration, a tract which bears upon a subject pressed by repeated proposals on your attention, namely, the communication of Christianity to the natives of our possessions in the East.

That this is a question of importance, will hardly be denied; and from the numerous letters which have been addressed to the Court, in favour of such communication, as well as from the share of general regard now bestowed on subjects of that nature, it appears to be a question on which an explicit determination, on the part of the Company, is become necessary.

It is therefore in different views, worthy of a full and candid discussion; and such I have been solicitous to give it, actuated solely by motives of duty, arising from the several relations in which I find myself placed. For, in becoming an advocate, as I profess myself to be, for making known to our Asiatic subjects, the pure and benign principles of our divine religion, I not only pay that obedience which is due to its authoritative injunctions, but, in my sincere opinion, highly consult the true interests of the Company, and the general welfare of the many millions living under its government. Nor can I doubt, that this will be the verdict of serious deliberation, however a hasty view of the subject, under some of its aspects, may have unnecessarily excited alarm.

In earlier periods, the Company manifested a laudable zeal for extending, as far as its means then went, the knowledge of the Gospel to the Pagan tribes, among whom its factories were placed. It has since prospered and become great, in a way to which the commercial history of the world affords no parallel; and for this it is indebted to the fostering and protecting care of divine Providence. It owes therefore, the warmest gratitude for the past, and it equally needs the support of the same beneficent Power in time to come; for the "changes and chances" to which human affairs are always liable, and especially the emphatic lessons of vicissitude which the present day has supplied, may assure us, that neither elevation nor safety can be maintained by any of the nations or rulers, of the earth, but through Him who governs the whole. The duty therefore of the Company, as part of a Christian community, its peculiar superadded obligations, its enlarged means, and its continual dependence upon the divine favour, all call upon it to honour God, by diffusing the knowledge of that revelation which he has vouchsafed to mankind.

In urging this momentous work however, I wish to be clearly understood, as connecting with the formation and execution of any scheme for the performance of it, every prudent care, every just precaution, which may be suitable to the nature of the undertaking, and to the wise, humble, mild spirit of that religion which is to be recommended. At present I presume to offer no specific proposal, contending only for the general principle; but if that is recognised, I shall be most ready to submit the ideas I entertain of the manner in which it might be safely brought into operation.

If the considerations already adduced, did not sufficiently guard me against the censure of launching beyond the ordinary lines of business, I might justly plead, that the office which you, Gentlemen, exercise, and which I have the honour to hold in common with you, summons, not unfrequently, your attention to subjects of the
highest

highest nature,—to the principles of government, and the interests of nations; subjects upon which, having mentioned them, I may be permitted to observe, that even a deliberative voice, though to that you are not restrained, attaches a trust of great importance to the station of a Director.

But with respect to the execution of the treatise which is now offered to your perusal, I am sensible that I need the utmost indulgence. Incapable at best to do justice to the several topics which it embraces, I might yet in India, the centre of materials and information relating to them, have produced something less unworthy of notice; but though I held there the leading opinions now advanced, no idea of giving any publicity to them, by writing, ever occurred to me, until after my return to this country, when persuaded of the expediency of some attempt of that kind, and incited by a particular occasion, I several years ago, hastily drew up the substance of the present essay. It has however since lain by me unused, and my other avocations have allowed me only to revise it, not to form a new work, as would certainly have been desirable. To meet a variety of opinions, and to fortify the argument which is maintained in it, many things are introduced which must be already known to you, and indeed things which in my own first views, I should have deemed superfluous; for according to my apprehension, the main question is so clear as to need little auxiliary illustration. Under all these disadvantages, however, I am content to come forward, at the call of a greater interest, forming no pretension to literary merit, nor having on that score, any higher hope, than that you may be pleased to receive this tract on the footing of one of those many *Papers of Business*, with which the records of your governments have been furnished, by the observation and experience of men whose time and thoughts have been chiefly employed in the concerns of active life.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

East-India House,
August 16th, 1797.

CHARLES GRANT,

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.— <i>Introduction; including a brief Review of British Territorial Administration in The East</i>	p. 5.
CHAP. II.— <i>View of the State of Society among the Hindoo Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals</i>	25.
CHAP. III.— <i>Causes which have produced the present Situation and Character of the Hindoos</i>	39.
CHAP. IV.— <i>Inquiry into the Measures which might be adopted by Great Britain, for the improvement of the condition of her Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections</i>	75.
APPENDIX.— <i>Extracts from the Transactions of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; for the year 1795</i>	113.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

CHAP. I.

*Introduction—including a brief Review of British Territorial Administration
in The East.*

WHATEVER diversity of opinion may have prevailed respecting the past conduct of the English in the East, all parties will concur in one sentiment, that we ought to study the happiness of the vast body of subjects which we have acquired there. Upon this proposition, taken as a truth of the highest certainty and importance, the following Observations, now submitted with great deference, are founded.

CHAP. I.
*Introduction :
British territorial
Administration in
The East.*

He who ventures to propose a plan which has an air of novelty, at a time when the wildest fanaticism in politics and philosophy is pursuing, with impious and inhuman success, the indiscriminate subversion of received principles and existing establishments, labours under peculiar disadvantages. Truth however, and reason, always the same, are not to be abandoned because they may sometimes be perverted and abused. Of late they have been perverted and abused in a way new in the history of the world. The writer of these observations holds the spirit that has thus broken forth, in the utmost abhorrence, and would stand at the remotest distance from its influence. His aim is to promote the peace and happiness of men, by pacific and rational means, and where he is compelled to speak of past or present errors and defects, he mentions them with no disposition to censure, but solely with the view of doing good. He trusts, that if the opinions which he delivers, and the measures which he recommends in the subsequent pages, be patiently and impartially considered, they will neither be found inconsistent with right principles, nor pointing to any other than the most beneficial consequences.

Although in theory it never can have been denied, that the welfare of our Asiatic subjects ought to be the object of our solicitude, yet in practice, this acknowledged truth has been but slowly followed up, and some of the inferences which are deducible from it, remain, as it should seem, still to be discovered. Of late undoubtedly much has been done, and excellently done, to improve the condition of our subjects in the East; yet upon an attentive examination it may perhaps be found, that much still remains to be performed.

It is now five-and-thirty years since the English East-India Company, and through that Company the British Nation, acquired an extensive political power in Hindostan. Some time before this period, they had been compelled by the ambition of the French, to take a part in contests which had arisen among the Mahomedan Princes on the Coromandel Coast; for the representatives of that nation, the first among the people of Europe who conceived the design of procuring a dominion out of the broken empire of the Moguls, pursued their object by entering systematically into the politics of the Decan, and becoming hence the ally of one of the parties contending for the possession of the Carnatic, the English who foreseeing the success which would probably attend the unchecked prosecution of this ambitious enterprize, and in the consequent aggrandizement of their rivals, the ruin of their own commercial establishments, espoused the defensible pretensions of the other side. In this struggle they were finally victorious; they gave a Nabob to the Carnatic, who continued to depend upon them; and were thus advanced to a certain degree of military and political importance in the eyes of the natives of that part of India. But that prince was left by treaty in full possession of the internal government of his territories, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty over the people of them. The only pos-

A. D. 1757.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

session which the English retained for themselves, was a narrow tract of land along the Coast of Coromandel, chiefly in the vicinity of their principal settlement of Madras.

Bengal was destined to be the seat of British empire in the East. The first military operations however of the nation in that province, instead of being prompted by views of conquest, were employed solely for the defence of their principal factory, suddenly, when they thought only of the peaceable pursuits of commerce, wantonly attacked by the Nabob of the country, the recent successor of an usurper, with a numerous army. The English of Calcutta, having neither men nor means adequate to this unexpected service, fell an easy prey, and the survivors of the barbarous scenes then exhibited, were driven from their plundered settlement, and, destitute of every thing, forced to seek a wretched refuge on the water. At this crisis, the warfare and the political transactions into which the English had been led in the Carnatic, appeared of new importance. By the result of them, the government of Madras was itself in a condition to assert by arms the right of the Company and the Nation, to the settlements of which they had been dispossessed in Bengal, and to seek a compensation for the immense property of which they had been despoiled.

That right was unquestionable; it was derived from the lawful sovereign of Hindostan, when the empire was in the zenith of its power, and had long been quietly enjoyed. The struggle made for the recovery and security of it, which was on our part self-defence, ended in the ruin of the aggressor; for after once breaking with us, he never thought himself safe until we should be extirpated. Fresh plots for our destruction soon terminated a pacification, in which he had never been sincere; we were reduced to the alternative of suffering extirpation from our just and ancient possession, or maintaining by force our footing in the country against the oppressive ruler of it; and a handful of foreigners driven to this extremity, accepted the offers of confederacy, which his sanguinary tyranny impelled some of the principal persons living under his government to make, for his deposition, and the substitution of another Mussulman in his room. Perhaps the rigid casuists might not choose to defend the expedient of facilitating the progress of our arms, by leaguings with the subjects of the Nabob, imminent as our danger and theirs was. This point must be left to be tried upon its own merits; but whatever decision may be passed concerning it, two things are in fairness entitled to attention in the general consideration of this subject:—First, that it is probable the Company and the Nation, had they remained without confederates, never would have submitted to be wantonly stript of valuable rights; therefore the maintenance of them, with further accessions of force derived from their own resources, might have produced the discomfiture of their enemy, and by an easy consequence, his loss of power:—Secondly, that the confederation into which the English entered was no part of their original plan, but an incidental circumstance in the sequel of hostilities.

From this circumstance however, viewed in the most unfavorable light, prejudice has taken occasion to characterize the whole of their transactions of that period; and the French, who as has been said, first of the European nations, conceived the scheme of Indian war and conquest, and whose game of wanton ambition ended in the loss of all their possessions in the East, have not failed to describe the revolution in Bengal as originating in our lawless lust of wealth and dominion. Many of the inflammatory misrepresentations which envious disappointed rivalship has prompted them to make, our own countrymen have precipitately adopted, not examining whether, in their readiness to testify an abhorrence of injustice towards the natives of India, they were not inadvertently contributing to do injustice to the character of their own nation. But as in any serious inquiry into the duties which we owe to our subjects in that country, men of correct principles will naturally be led to carry back their view to the first steps by which we acquired power there, it is hoped that some brief elucidation of so important a question, both here and as it may come again into notice in the course of this essay, will be deemed no irrelevant digression.

By the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, the provinces which he had ruled, fell first under the control of the English, and subsequently under their immediate management. They acquired also among the conquests made from the French soon after this revolution, a tract of country on the Coromandel Coast, called from its relative situation, the Northern Circars; and at a later period, the celebrated district of Benares was annexed by cession to their possessions on the Ganges. These countries, thus acquired, and now held in full property by the British Nation, joining with them

Bombay

Bombay and Salsett, are reckoned by that able geographer, Major Rennel, to contain 182,000 square miles, that is 50,000 square miles more than are, according to him, contained in Great Britain and Ireland; and the population of these extensive regions may be estimated at about fourteen millions*. Besides these absolute acquisitions, the fertile territory of Oude, with its appendages, is to be reckoned among the states dependent on the British power, which are governed internally by their own princes; and all the territories which come under this description, are by the same author, computed to contain nearly 100,000 square miles. Supposing their population to be in proportion less than that of Bengal, it may be allowable to state it at six millions. The conquests lately made in the Mysore Country and on the Malabar Coast, are to be added to the account of the territorial property of the British Nation. They have not been directly comprehended in the foregoing enumeration, because it is intended to speak chiefly upon the authority of time and experience; but the observations which these suggest, respecting the people with whom we are already acquainted, will doubtless equally apply to those of the same race and principles, who are recently become our subjects. The number of these last may perhaps be estimated at two millions. Thus the whole aggregate of Asiatics who depend immediately and solely upon us for every comfort and happiness of good government, amounts to sixteen millions†; and those who indirectly and partially depend upon us, by living under princes subject to our control, and therefore considerably under our influence, if we chose to exert it, even in matters of interior regulation, amount, as has been stated, to six millions. Such a charge as this, a charge of no less than two-and-twenty millions‡ of people, must be allowed to be one of the most weighty and serious nature, as it constitutes also one of the largest divisions of the power which is distributed among the rulers of the earth.

What then has been the effect of our administration upon the countries which have thus fallen under our dominion? This is no unfair inquiry, nor is it proposed invidiously, but as having a relation to the main design of the ensuing pages; neither shall it be pursued upon conjectural positions or by problematical reasonings, but rested on the broad basis of general facts, many of which stand conspicuous in the records of our Indian transactions. That the same topics have already been handled by persons of distinguished situations, and especially that abilities have been employed upon them far transcending the humble pretensions of the present writer, would invincibly determine him to abstain from treating of them, if his design did not impose this task upon him, and impose it with a view which other writers have not exactly proposed to themselves. Happily this undertaking calls not for the powers or the details of regular history; nor on the other hand would it be answered by the exhibition of mere results, which would carry more the air of assertions than of facts. Facts therefore so far circumstantiated as to be seen in their truth and their connection, it will be his endeavour to trace with simplicity, and with moderation.

The account of our territorial management in the East, or of the internal exercise of our power in those countries which are now held directly by us, may be conveniently arranged into four distinct periods, of which it will be sufficient here to sketch the prominent features; and as Bengal with its appendant provinces forms both the main portion of our possessions, and the scene of our greatest exertions, experience, and progress, *that division* shall be the subject of our present brief review, with only such concluding notice of the other parts, as may serve to indicate the state to which they have hitherto advanced.

In the first period, comprehending eight years, from 1757 to 1765, the provinces (excepting a few districts ceded to the Company in the course of that time, with the sanction of the Mogul Emperor) were continued under the government of Nabobs, to whom the administration of civil and criminal justice, the collection of the revenues, and the general powers of internal superintendence and regulation, were left. The English reserved to themselves the direction of foreign policy, a controlling military power, a considerable tribute, and advantages in trade more extensive than the grants of the Emperors, or the past usage of the country, had conceded to them.

A. D. 1757
to 1765.

The

* The latest estimates would make Bengal, Behar, and our part of Orissa, to contain at least twelve millions. If they do, the whole population of these different possessions may amount to sixteen millions.

† Or according to the preceding note, eighteen millions.

‡ Or according to the same note, twenty-four millions.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

The circumstances of the first revolution seemed to dictate such a division of power; of which, the share vested in the Nabob, is usually called in the writings of that time, the *Country* or the *Native Government*, as when the mass of both divisions, or the complex power, Native and European was spoken of, it was termed (sometimes in a way of censure) the *Double Government*. To this arrangement the orders of the Company seem to have at first restricted their servants, who if they had felt themselves more at liberty, would perhaps have deemed it unsafe or inexpedient to enter at once upon the direct charge of a government, to the details of which they were entire strangers.

But plausible as the system, viewed in some lights, appeared, it proved in practice, unsatisfactory to all parties, and especially detrimental to the people. The Eastern governments are in general careless as to the interests of their subjects, and this is particularly true of Mahomedan rulers. The Nabobs created by the English in Bengal, foreign adventurers suddenly raised to power, dependent, suspicious, and rapacious, could have little concern for the lasting prosperity of a country, with the government of which, their connection was so casual and precarious. Whilst they saw with secret indignation the chief attributes of sovereignty in the possession of a handful of commercial men, every way alien to the Asiatic world, and so large a share of the riches of the country, devoted through them to a distant land; whilst they believed also that the favour of these people was uncertain, they could scarcely have any other aim, than to use the time present in making the most of their situations.

And indeed such seems to have been the temper of the other princes more remotely placed, who were stiled the allies, but who in reality were the dependents of the East India Company. Feeling that the same power which supported could also dispossess them, and habituated by the whole history and the manners of Hindostan to the ideas of perfidy and of change, they could have no settled confidence in the solidity of their tenures, but be on the contrary indisposed to that study to which Eastern rulers at the best need a stimulus, the permanent good of their subjects. Asiatics, accustomed either to absolute command or implicit obedience, do not seem well qualified to make a beneficial use of delegated or mixed power. The policy of our dependent allies has in general been directed only to secure themselves in their situations: it has been their aim to please the immediate arbiters of their fate, and they have found either sagaciously or by incidental discovery, that even running largely in debt is one means of interesting many in the stability of their government. But this policy is pursued at the expense of their subjects, and the people, both of Arcot and of Oude, are with too much foundation represented to be in a wretched condition. A state of dependence seems also to unfit or indispose the princes who stand to us in this relation, for any vigorous co-operation in the external defence of their own territories. Perhaps that species of protection to which they have been used, has enervated them, made them unwilling to contribute the funds requisite in such cases, and persuaded them that the English will not suffer those countries of which they are in effect the paramount lords, to be possessed by any other power. Another evil, more formidable possibly than our experience has yet discovered, flows from this system; it enlarges the sphere of advantage to the servants, especially the military servants of the Company, it enlarges the military establishment, military emoluments, and perhaps encourages, in its consequences, the spirit of military independence. The experience we have acquired, may probably establish an opinion of the impolicy of forming any new connections of this nature; but with respect to those which already subsist, as it is our power which maintains the authority of our dependent allies over their subjects, it seems incumbent on us to exert every possible endeavour, consistent with the just sense and faith of treaties, that the governments which we thus uphold may render the people easy and happy.

Where the controlling power of the English and the derived power of the dependent Nabob met in one place, as in Bengal, they could not long exist together without collision. The unwilling submission of the weaker party, and the dominating temper of the stronger, soon became too plain; mutual distrust and aversion succeeded; the excesses of individuals inflamed the animosity on each side, and the country became the unfortunate scene of war. The cruelties, the rapacity, and the expulsion of Cossim Ali, whom an unhappy policy had elevated to power, are sufficiently known. Whether we ascribe his conduct to unprincipled ambition, or the licentious encroachments of Europeans and their dependents upon his proper authority, or with more probability

probability to both of these causes, and the maddening effect of events hurrying him to lengths he had not deliberately purposed, it still exhibited this striking spectacle, the English obliged to fight with the creature of their own power, for the continuance of that power, nay even for their existence in Bengal; and the country, instead of being better protected under co-existing authorities, suffering grievously by both, and in their shock convulsed and torn. What had thus happened, however blameable the cause, might happen again; and this experience purchased at so dear a rate, naturally led the way to the acquisition of the Dewannee of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

This may be considered as a point at which a second period of territorial management commences. The Dewannee is the office of the Dewan, the title of the provincial collector of revenues under the Mogul Emperors, whose policy it was to place the financial administration of the several divisions of the empire, in hands distinct from those entrusted with military command and judicial authority.

A. D. 1765.

The adventurers who upon the decline of the empire, assumed the powers of government in the provinces, assumed also the exclusive administration and appropriation of the revenues, as most essential to their views. The rights of the reigning emperor however, though disregarded, had never been denied. He was induced, in consideration of an annual tribute to himself, and a handsome stipend to the reigning Nabob, who was also a party in this treaty, to grant in perpetuity to the East-India Company for their own benefit, the Dewannee, that is in other words, the revenues of those three provinces. He had not at that time, nor was likely ever to have the least power to assert his rights; his bestowing that grant therefore, on the condition of an ample compensation, was making the most advantageous use he possibly could make of his pretensions. No other power in Hindostan would have given him such favourable terms; and his consciousness of this led him voluntarily to propose a cession of the Dewannee. It is thence to be concluded, that in this transaction he was guided chiefly by the exigencies of his own situation; for his remote distance from the seat of the Company's government must have rendered their influence over him proportionably weak. But at the same time it ought to be acknowledged, that the subsequent proceeding with him, by which the payment of the stipulated tribute was discontinued, appears to be of a more dubious character. This remark also is interjected for the sake of those who question the principles on which our acquisitions have been made.

The Company having before held a controlling military power, were thus put in possession of the finances of the country, which as an immense estate they were henceforth to manage, and to manage for themselves. The collection of the revenues there is known to have been till of late a business of extreme intricacy and detail; the causes of which have been explained in a variety of masterly productions, particularly the excellent writings of Mr. Shore* on this subject; into which, however, it will not be necessary to go farther here than the statement of certain usages which form the first lines of the Indian system of finance. In Hindostan, far the greater part of the revenue of the sovereign arises from land; and it has long been the universal practice to form the assessment of government upon the actual produce of the soil, and to do this annually. Not unfrequently the share of government has been paid in kind. In like manner the land-holder regulates the rent of his inferior tenant annually, and according to the value of the articles which he raises, whether rice, cotton, sugar, or any other of the many productions which the soil furnishes. It will easily be perceived, that this system as it naturally leads to concealment on the one side, requires a constant course of vigilance and laborious local investigation on the other, in every rank of persons employed in the revenue, from the first officer to the lowest farmer of a village. Again, the sovereign is arbiter of the share which he himself shall enjoy of the produce; and though anciently his proportion seems to have been moderate, in modern times it has usually been very large. Despotism being the principle of government, force is the real, though sometimes latent instrument which procures acquiescence in his allotments. Without a compulsory power, ever ready to act, little revenue would be obtained. Arbitrary demand, peremptorily enforced on the one hand, sharpens all the arts of evasion, concealment, and fraud, on the other.

Since

* Now Sir John Shore, Governor-General, in which high station he has largely added to the important services he had before rendered to the Company.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

Since the fall of the Mogul Empire especially, and under the Asiatics, Hindoos, or Mahomedans, who have usurped power, the business of collecting the revenues has been a most debasing struggle between the superior and inferior in every gradation. New taxes upon a thousand pretences, often false and preposterous, have been imposed even in direct breach of agreements before made. The revenue officers of every rank, have exacted for themselves besides collecting the demands of government; and from this fruitful source of injustice, severity, chicane, and meanness, have flowed innumerable evils to the community. Want of principle in the landholders and occupants of the soil, has led the government to give them as little credit for their rents as possible; so that payment may in some places be required at the end of every month, or more often, by eight instalments in the year. From the inferior occupants of the soil, care is taken to secure arrears before the crops are removed from the ground, for otherwise from the property and artifices of that description of persons, those arrears will generally be in effect lost; because if they are recovered at a future period, it is in reality by an application of the produce of a new year, which having its own exigencies, will thence probably also owe a balance at the close. And as hence the necessity of summary proceeding with the renters has been pleaded, their complaints have not been allowed to suspend the payment of the demand on them; but this unremitting exaction has afforded the agent the opportunity of keeping his own malversations covered.

These elucidations may convey a faint idea of the vast detail and attendant difficulty of the Indian system of finance; notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of its fundamental principle*; but they also suggest that the power which enforces the payment of the revenues, as it is operative at all times and comes home to all persons, must be the first in the consideration of the people†.

The Company therefore were now not only to reap the produce of the country, but were virtually invested with the interior government of it, none of the prerogatives of dominion remaining to the Nabob‡, excepting the judicial power which was attended with no political importance. It was not however the policy of their servants, nor did they at first think themselves able to exercise all this power; but in entering upon their new privileges they made use of ministers who had served the Nabob in the affairs of the revenue. The people were taught henceforth to regard the Company as their masters; but they were treated with through the medium of the same persons with whom, as agents of the Nabob, they had before transacted. No Englishman was employed in the districts, or in the details of the collections, that is to say of the Dewannee lands§. The Mahomedan and Hindoo ministers of the revenue managed the whole, appointing all the subordinate officers, laying their general schemes of assessment before the principal servants of the Company, reporting to them the state of the collections from time to time, and disposing of the money received into the exchequer, according to their orders. The only persons who in the districts represented the Company in the exercise of the new powers they had acquired, were the same persons who on behalf of the native government exercised the like powers in them before; nevertheless, the effects of this change, besides the transfer of the financial rights and profits of the country to new hands, were many and important.

The

* The most methodical and full exposition extant of the Mogul system of finance is to be found in the *Analysis of the Revenues of Bengal* by Mr. James Grant, a work which though it ought to have been set on foot by government at the moment of acquiring the Dewannee, was never attempted till he, from private curiosity, entered upon it many years afterwards, when the obtaining of accurate information on such a subject was become peculiarly difficult. In this elaborate treatise, he has developed with minute detail, both the principles of the Mogul system of finance and the sources and amount of the revenues collected from every division, great and small, of the soubah of Bengal, as well in remote periods as in the year preceding the assumption of the Dewannee. It contains a more complete account of the lands of Bengal than that rendered to our government by the native ministers in 1765, but is little known, being

being in manuscript among the records of the company, and too much loaded with technical and involved language, the fundamental principle also of the Mogul system of finance having since been superseded in our practice; but it is the product of extraordinary disquisitory powers employed upon a curious and interesting subject.

† Strictly speaking, it must be supreme. The power of the Emperor went along with his Dewan. The English possessed the Dewannee only because they had power (which was not used before) to assert the grant.

‡ Who was the descendant of Jaffier Ali Khan, the first Nabob raised by the English, with whom a treaty had been made, in virtue of which, the succession was continued in his family.

§ Some districts, as observed above, were by cession before in the hands of the Company; who also had possessed commercial factories in the provinces above a century.

The wants and desires of the Company at home seemed to grow with this immense acquisition. Their servants abroad were suspicious, and not without reason, that all the sources of revenue might not be fairly disclosed to them; and they were alarmed lest the amount of it should decline under their management. The progressive accretions of the Company also enlarged the views of every European in the provinces, and of the native dependents of Europeans. Power was not, as in the former system of government, inherent in one person only, but in many persons, all of whom therefore it invested with a portion of its consequence. The native ministers of the revenue wished to gratify the eager views of the Company, and to conciliate the general favour of the English. They had likewise their own interests and their numerous dependents to serve, and to serve whilst opportunity lasted; but whatever extraordinary funds they might with these aims seek to possess, as all parties concurred in the urgency of keeping up the standard of the public income, the only means left them, exclusive of the salaries they enjoyed, were private imposts, monopolies, or appropriations of one kind or another; and if, as has been affirmed with great appearance of truth, certain portions of the government lands were omitted in the accounts presented to their new masters, the burthen upon the rest must from this cause, as from others, have fallen the heavier.

Difficulties began to be experienced in realizing the assessment. A set of coercive officers or rather farmers of the revenue were employed in the districts to ensure and quicken the payment. These men, chiefly adventurers from Tartary or Persia, executed their business rigorously. Unfeeling and rapacious, uncertain of holding their employments beyond the year, they lost no time in amassing money for themselves; and the Zemindars, or principal land-holders, made every extraordinary demand upon them, the ground of still more excessive demands upon the inferior tenants.

Compulsory measures came also to be used in providing the investment of the Company. As the new wealth poured into their treasury could be realized in Europe only by the medium of commerce, the orders for that investment were at once augmented two or three fold. The produce of every country and the demand for that produce having a certain relation to each other, it was impossible that the funds now destined for the purchase of commodities on account of the Company, could be invested at once without extruding private merchants. European individuals also, confident now both of protecting and controlling their native agents, employed them in trade all over the country; and the foreign European companies and their dependents, availing themselves of the substitution of the milder genius of English rule, for the prompt despotism of the Mahomedans, every where encreased their pretensions and activity. The manufacturers were not unfrequently obliged to accept the English Company's employ, and even those private agents required a preference to other traders. Some of the native dealers retired. Both natives and foreigners, especially those attached to the other European companies, complained; though the latter not always reasonably nor temperately; and in a word, violence and disorder became too prevalent.

Wherever the native agents of the English traders went, they assumed power; they interfered in the affairs of the country, and even in the proceedings of the courts of justice, which the Company still left solely under the control of the Nabob. These courts, which ought to have been the sure refuge of the oppressed, were before systematically venal, and in a time of divided power and general relaxation, were become so scandalously corrupt, as to constitute one of the most intolerable evils under which the country groaned.

All these causes operating with the energy of a new revolution, produced a great and unhappy pressure upon the country. It was in fact without a proper head. The English administration left the internal government to the native ministers, and these, little under the influence of public spirit, (a rare quality among the Asiatics,) intent chiefly on the affairs of the revenue, were unwilling to offend by honestly resisting the licentiousness of individuals.

With respect however to the Company and to Europeans in general, these various evils proceeded more from the elation of new success, from extravagant notions of the resources of the country, and unreflecting eagerness, than from intentional rapacity. They did not feel that the cognizance of the internal affairs of the country was a duty resting upon them, and they may have implicitly given credit to the ministers, more

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

intelligent than themselves, for a regard to that important concern. From these causes, and the remoteness of the seat of English government, placed near one of the extremities of the country, they remained ignorant of the true state of the interior, nor were they fully aware that the natives whom they employed would exercise against their own countrymen any power, even falsely assumed, in the most unfeeling and iniquitous manner. They had not in fine, at all preconsidered the probable effects of so great a change as the assignment of the Dewannee to the Company*.

A. D. 1769.

In less than four years these effects showed themselves very plainly. The country exhibited unequivocal signs of impoverishment and decay. The trade to the other parts of India was reduced, and the revenues, with increased exertions, could not be kept up to their first standard. In truth, upon a comparison of the state of the country in the year 1757, after the battle of Plassey, and in 1769, when the power of the English, in one form or another, had predominated twelve years, the result is extremely against the revolution. The English are not directly chargeable with the misconduct of the Nabobs and their ministers to whom they entrusted authority, especially with the ruinous enormities of Cossim Ali; but in the transfer of the country to a set of European merchants, consequences were involved unfavourable to its prosperity. The specie which those merchants and others had for a long series of years annually imported, ceased to flow in. The English Company bought their large investment, increased to three times the amount at which it stood when bullion was brought to pay for it, with the revenue of the provinces; other companies made their purchases with money received from English individuals, who also derived it from the country; and this was to be the system thence forward, at least for the greater part of the exports. Neither did the evil stop here. Both the Company and private persons exported large sums of specie collected there. The quantity thus extracted from the country, even within the period spoken of, was astonishing. A want of circulating medium began to be felt. These drains, added to the immense treasures which the extortion of Cossim Ali enabled him to carry off, exceedingly reduced the stock of the country, and the disorders which had arisen in the districts threatened to impair its annual produce. The first person who had the integrity and resolution to call the attention of government to the unhappy state of the country, was Mr. Becher, resident at the Durbar.

Certainly a great deal was due from us to the people in compensation of the evils which the establishment of our power had introduced among them; and in return for the vast advantages which we reaped from the change, it was but fit that what the country had suffered, or was subjected unavoidably to lose by being dependent upon us, should be repaid by all the benefits which good government, in consistency at least with that dependence, could bestow. And there was in the national genius of Britain, formed by superior lights and juster principles, and possessed of higher energies, what might still render that country happier than it had ever been before.

A. D. 1769.

To discover and suppress the abuse of trust and power in the collection of the revenues, in the purchase of the investment, and in the conduct of the courts of justice†, were the objects of another institution, which forms the commencement of a third period of territorial management. English servants of the Company were sent as supervisors into the districts, and the coercive officers whom the ministers had employed, were withdrawn. The supervisors were furnished with a commission of investigation and active superintendence over the various departments of provincial administration, the state, the peace, and order of the country; but without the direct charge of any department. To many persons in Europe these progressive assumptions of power may have appeared as so many exorbitant encroachments; but whatever may have been thought at first even by judicious men, if we determined to retain the country and to govern it either to the benefit of the people, or to our own, they were necessary. From the first acquisition of a controlling power to the possession of the entire executive government of those provinces, it has been found that there was no point at which to rest. Experience evinced that in every intermediate stage, the interest of the country was neglected, and the abuses of power more felt than its protection. Our national standard of sentiments and morals,

* Mr. Verelst, who was Governor of Bengal during this period, was certainly a man of fair intention and correct in his personal conduct. His successor, Mr. Cartier, was also a very honest and amiable man.

† Private European traders and the Native agents of Europeans, who had in the beginning of the Company's power been guilty of such disorders in the districts, were by this time brought under considerable restraint.

morals, undoubtedly gives a comparative elevation to the character of those who are reared under it. The European servants of the Company therefore, who were also held by greater responsibilities, were worthy of more confidence than transient adventurers, ignorant and barbarous, from the upper Asia. This institution was the first step towards an English provincial administration, and the remote beginning of a new system, more open to the influences of the British genius and principles.

CHAP. I.

*Introduction:
British territorial
Administration in
The East.*

The supervisors rendered considerable service. Their presence in the districts imposed a restraint upon the native officers, and their inquiries and interferences, whilst they evinced the wretched state of the interior, checked many evils. But they had acted only a very short time when the country began to suffer from another calamity, which in the end overwhelmed it in misery, incomparably more dreadful than all it had before endured. This was the famine that began in the year 1769, and continued through the greatest part of 1770; of which, as few circumstantial relations have been given, perhaps the following account may not be unacceptable.

A. D. 1769
1770

The principal food of the great body of the people who inhabit our provinces, is rice. Of this, from the fertility of the soil, the joint effect of an ardent sun and of saturating periodical rains, they have annually two crops, besides a variety of other grain and pulse. The first crop of rice is gathered in about the end of August, the second (which is the greatest) early in December; and the other inferior articles from the month of February till the end of April; so that the ground brings forth almost all the year round. In general the produce is so abundant as to render Bengal the granary of India, and it is but at considerably distant intervals that a season fails. The natives indolent, improvident, fatalists, and exposed till of late to be taxed in proportion to the produce they raised, or even to have any apparent superfluity invaded, by their brethren in power, had never adopted the practice of keeping a stock of grain in case of dearth. When a season of drought therefore occurs, the sun, usually the great agent in fertility, parches the ground. Scarcity ensues; a scarcity aggravated by the eagerness which people then show to purchase rice, and by the artifices of the grain dealers, who are skilful in taking advantage of the public apprehension. If drought extended through two successive seasons, it would almost inevitably follow that the quantity of grain in the country would not be equal to the consumption of a people whose lives depend on the supply of this article; for extremity of want will not induce the Hindoos in general to resort to animal food, especially the flesh of the cow, because of the horror with which they regard an act that they are taught to believe would incur the dreadful punishment of loss of caste in this life, and torments or degrading transmigrations in the next. The periodical rains begin early in June, and continue with intermissions till late in October, commonly falling more plentifully in the two last months.

The crops of December 1768 and August 1769, were both scanty; and throughout the month of October 1769, the usual period of heavy rains, which are absolutely necessary for the latter crop of rice, hardly a drop fell. The almost total failure of a third crop, after the deficiency of the two preceding ones, filled all men with consternation and dismay. Some hope was still placed in the crops of inferior grain, usual reaped between February and April, which every endeavour was exerted to increase; but the refreshing showers that annually fall in what are called the dry months, between January and May, also failed, and in the fatal year 1770 there was scarcely any rain till late in May. The heat was insufferable, and every kind of grain or pulse then growing was in a great degree dried upon the ground. Nothing appeared but universal despondence and unavoidable destruction; for the same calamity extended to the upper India, and there was no neighbouring country that had been used to furnish Bengal with rice by sea, or that could afford an adequate supply.

The Company's administration and the native ministers early took the alarm, and entered upon such precautionary measures as were within their power. In September 1769 the English and all their dependents were absolutely prohibited from trading in rice; not because they or any other set of people were at all suspected of having been monopolizing that article, but lest on the temptation of very high prices, European influence should in any form operate to collect such undue quantities as might aggravate the scarcity. General and strict injunctions were also published against hoarding grain, buying or selling it clandestinely, or carrying on any dealings in it but at the public markets; and a stock of rice, amounting to 60,000 maunds,

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

was laid in for the use of the army, a measure to which the preservation of our military power and indeed of the country may be ascribed; for it is not to be doubted that want would have made the soldiery throw off all command, and seek subsistence with their arms in their hands, which must have produced total anarchy. The prime mover in all these measures also was Mr. Becher*, resident at the Durbar.

The famine was felt in all the northern districts of Bengal as early as the month of November 1769, and before the end of April following, had spread desolation through the three provinces. Rice rose gradually to four, and at length to ten, times its usual price, but even at that rate was not to be had. Lingered multitudes were seen seeking subsistence from the leaves and bark of trees. In the country the highways and fields were strewed, in towns the streets and passages choaked, with the dying and the dead. Multitudes flocked to Moorshedabad, the capital. It became more necessary to draw supplies to that city, and no endeavour was spared to bring all the grain in the country to market. Subscriptions were set on foot. The Company, the Nabob, the Ministers, European and native individuals, contributed for feeding the poor. In Moorshedabad alone 7,000 were daily fed for several months, and the same practice was followed in other places; but the good effects were hardly discernible amidst the general devastation. In and about the capital, the mortality increased so fast, that it became necessary to keep a set of persons constantly employed in removing the dead from the streets and roads, and these unfortunate victims were placed in hundreds on rafts and floated down the river. At length the persons employed in this sad office died also, probably from the noxious effluvia they imbibed; and for a time, dogs, jackalls, and vultures were the only scavengers. It was impossible to stir abroad without breathing an offensive air, without hearing frantic cries, and seeing numbers of different ages and sexes in every stage of suffering and death. The calamity was not less in other quarters; in many places whole families, in others, the people of entire villages had expired. Even in that country there were persons who fed on forbidden and abhorred animals, nay, the child on its dead parent, the mother on her child. At length a gloomy calm succeeded. Death had ended the miseries of a great portion of the people, and when a new crop came forward in August, it had in some parts no owners. The number which fell in this period of horror has been variously estimated, and may perhaps be moderately taken at three millions.

It must be very evident from a simple review of this desolating event that it was the visitation of Heaven, not the work of man. Those Eastern countries have unhappily been too well acquainted with this species of calamity in all ages. Upon turning to the last century only, the records of the Company mention a destructive famine in Surat and the neighbouring countries about the year 1630. Dow gives an account of a prodigious one almost general in the Mogul empire, anno 1661. Instances might easily be multiplied by a more particular research; in our time, we have seen several on the Coast of Coromandel, the last of which a few years ago destroyed multitudes. Since the awful æra of 1770, there have been two seasons of great scarcity in Bengal, the years 1783 and 1788. The dearth in those years was only partial, but the common people were driven to great distress and some perished. Lord Cornwallis seeing how much the country was exposed to calamities of this sort, instituted public granaries in Bengal, in which a stock of grain should always be preserved against emergencies. Indeed if we could suppose that any man or set of men, especially European servants of the Company who had easy means of acquiring wealth, could have been so iron-hearted as to form the design of enriching themselves by with-holding sustenance from their fellow creatures, if we could suppose they could have borne the sight, even for the first week or day, of the miseries under which a whole people were sinking, if we could suppose further that

after

* A man noted for his honesty and humanity; whose anxiety and exertions for alleviating the miseries of that whole period ended in an illness that almost cost him his life. Yet on his return to England he found himself traduced as the author of the famine. This calumny is said to have had its rise at the French settlement of Chandernagore, in the vicinity of which an agent of his had in the year 1769, before things came to extremity, some articles of the provisions of the former year selling off, and among them a parcel

of rice, in value about 20,000 rupees. Perhaps the purchase of a stock of rice for the Company's troops may also have contributed to suggest the idea of a monopoly. It is from a MS. account, of which the materials were furnished by him when the event was recent, that this relation (of the facts stated in which the writer hereof was also an eye-witness) is chiefly taken.

Another gentleman, still living, was also accused of being the author of the famine, though he was in England when it commenced.

after denying every thing human for the sake of gain, they could so far forego their own object as instead of accepting a four-fold, nay ten-fold price, to allow those who would purchase, to die in immense multitudes for want; if we could entertain all these extravagant suppositions, and the equally extravagant one of a general monopoly of the produce of a great country, still a little cool reflection upon the means of accomplishing a scheme so flagitious, would show that the execution of it would be absolutely impracticable.

It is perfectly established that the dearth was general over the three provinces, and in all ruinously severe. A monopoly therefore, if that had been the cause, must have been general also. It is easy to conceive how one quarter could be deprived of its produce to supply another, but when in all quarters there was a like destitution, if we suppose this to have proceeded from monopoly, we must also suppose not a simple operation of emptying one district to fill another, still less to surcharge any other, because that would be to go from a better market to a worse one; but a local monopoly in every township, *keeping up*, not *sending away*, the grain found within its circle. Let us now enquire into the lowest quantity of grain that can be supposed to have been hoarded. In the course of twelve months, three millions of people are estimated to have died; that is, nearly one-third of the whole population; but as a third of the usual allowance of food might have preserved life, we should hence be led to conclude that the grain retailed in that year was two-thirds at least below the quantity usually vended. As, further, the failure would fall chiefly on those who in times of common plenty earned only a subsistence, and these may be computed at eight in ten of the community, the deficiency in the supply of the markets that year may well be rated at two-thirds of the usual consumption of eight millions of people, that is somewhat more than one-half of the whole quantity brought to market in ordinary times: and if this was occasioned by monopoly, so much must have been kept up. But let us assume what would be the most plausible theory, that a real scarcity, to a certain extent, was rendered severely fatal by the superintention of monopoly; of what magnitude must we conceive the monopoly to be, in order to become thus operative? Here we must go on an ample supposition; for if monopolists had thought of contenting themselves with collecting, for instance, only a month's demand at a time, their main purpose would have been defeated, because in the mean while the rest would have found a distribution in the usual way. They must therefore have bought up largely at or before the reaping of a crop, and bought up more than they withheld, because part of their purchases we must suppose would be resold. If then we admit a real scarcity which would have occasioned a mortality of a million of people, (which prejudice has never granted,) and ascribe the mortality of the other two millions who perished, to monopoly, concluding as we are obliged, that this monopoly consisted only of two great operations, that is, on the December crop of 1768, and the August crop of 1769, then the quantity of grain hoarded up will turn out to have been one-third of the market supply of ordinary years: and assigning in such years to ten millions of persons, the young and the adult taken together, half a seer (or a pound) of rice per diem, which is a moderate allowance, that third will amount to six hundred and four millions of seers, or fifteen millions of maunds; which at a rupee each, a probable purchase-price in a time of real scarcity which we here suppose, will amount to fifteen millions or a crore and a half of rupees, one half perhaps of the whole circulating medium of the provinces at that time, and such a capital in the hands of those suspected of being concerned, as no extravagance of credulity can hold to be supposable.

But we have not yet seen all the difficulties. The three provinces contain 150,000 square miles, and if we reckon fifteen square miles for the sphere of one monopoly agent, (which surely, after allowing for water, is an average full as much as he could compass,) and reckon further two assistants only to each agent, we shall have thus ten thousand monopoly stations, and thirty thousand persons employed at them. Such a set of operations, or the hundredth part of them, and operations continued through a whole year, would have furnished uncontrollable evidence to all men. The natives are indeed patient in suffering, when they think suffering inevitable; they suffered in that calamity with wonderful passiveness; but if they had traced their miseries to any source like this, the country would have soon rung with their complaints. They are known to be clamorous even on trivial occasions where any redress is possible. They have been known in a time of scarcity, merely apprehended or artificial, to have carried urgent representations against the grain dealers; they did so at the period spoken of, as long as they thought that those dealers

secreted

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

secreted any grain, which according to their usual practice, they may have done, thereby unnecessarily adding to the evil. But very probably, if the people had seen that the calamities of that period proceeded from human hands, they would not have borne them; they would have helped themselves to grain; perhaps have risen upon their European masters. No, they well knew and acknowledged whence their distresses came; they foresaw them in the drought of successive seasons, a drought not confined to their provinces; and felt in them the dispensation of a superior Power. This was one of those severe inflictions of the Almighty, by which offending creatures, who forget their Maker, are reminded of his being, and of his government of the universe. Those poor people sought by superstitious observances to propitiate their deities, but they were "*Gods that could not save*," and their votaries remained without any moral change.

The members of administration appointed from England by Parliament in 1773, a few years after the famine, with a special view to the discovery of abuses, men zealous in the execution of their trust, and free in expressing the most unfavourable opinions, never intimated the suspicion of monopoly; but always spoke of the famine as a natural evil of most destructive consequences, still visible in the country. Lord Cornwallis, if he had not judged in the same way, would not have contented himself with proposing only the simple preventive of an establishment for storing part of the surplus produce of plentiful years. Yet wonderful to consider, without any proof, without investigation, without one well authenticated adequate fact, the belief of a monopoly by some servants of the India Company has been, and perhaps may still be, very general in the western world. The French of Chandernagore, like the rest of that nation, too ready to blacken the British conduct in India, are accused, and with apparent reason, of being the authors of this tale. From Chandernagore it first passed to Calcutta, and from these places it was then transmitted to Paris, to London, and to all Europe. It has been registered as truth in the page of history, has been the public subject of religious lamentation, has been embalmed in verse, and still remains such a foul stain upon the British character, as the annals of any people can hardly parallel. Such is the power of credulity. In this case it not only "gave to airy" "nothing a local habitation and a name," but it ascribed to a phantom, effects, which had that phantom been a reality, it was incapable of producing. Nothing short of an absolute want of a sufficient stock of food in the country, could have occasioned so dreadful a devastation of the human race. The whole idea of a monopoly of any kind or degree, (unless such a natural aggravation of real scarcity as the eagerness of the people to lay in some store, and the retention of native grain dealers may have created,) the present writer, himself an eye-witness of that dire calamity, and with particular means of information, most assuredly believes to be without foundation, and to have originated in calumny or in error. This testimony, due to truth and to the British character, he is able deliberately and conscientiously to deliver; and though his main design may not have called for so full an exposition of a collateral subject, yet since the current of time swiftly removes the opportunities of giving and receiving information, he hopes he shall be pardoned in availing himself of the present occasion, to perform what he thinks an act of justice and of duty.

A. D. 1772

The subject of territorial administration shall now be continued. In 1772 the principle of sending English supervisors into the districts, considered here as introducing a third period, was enlarged by a very important measure which completed the change begun in the adoption of that principle. The Company stood forth as *Dewan*: hitherto the office continued to be executed by native ministers who resided at Moorshedabad, the old seat of government and of the public Exchequer. These ministers, with the officers whom they employed in the districts, were now laid aside, and the Company by the agency of their own servants, took upon themselves the entire care and collection of the revenues. The Governor and Council with their former controlling power, joined that of cognizance and executive management, which had been till then vested in those ministers. They removed the ostensible seat of Government and of the Exchequer to Calcutta, the principal English settlement; they divided the three provinces into collectorships, and stationed an European servant of the Company in each of those divisions as collector.

This change threw also the judicial administration of the country in civil affairs, into the hands of the English. Under the government which the Mahomedans had for many centuries maintained in Bengal, they established also their own system of laws, and it was the standard of decision in all cases civil and criminal, exclusive of those

those between Hindoos, which were determined by the code of that people. The Nazim, or ruler, in person executed the office of supreme criminal judge. By deputy he also administered in the principal civil court appointed for the cognizance of all matters of property, excepting claims of land and inheritance, which fell within a third department called the *Dewanee Adawlet*, or Court of the Dewan, to whom as the Emperor's officer for the collection of the revenues, all causes relating to the details of that extensive province, and particularly to property in land, were referred. From the time of the Company's accession to the office of Dewan, the authority of the Dewanee Court naturally enough encreased, till at length it became in effect, the sole tribunal for civil suits. In this state, as appertaining to the department of the revenues, it fell into the charge of the Company's servants when they assumed the executive management of that branch; and they immediately proceeded to make various regulations and improvements in the administration of civil justice. They appointed a Provincial Dewanee Court in every collectorship, over which the English collector was to preside; they even modified, in some respects, the administration of criminal justice, which was peculiarly the province of the Nabob; appointing inferior criminal courts in the districts, and subjecting them, as well as the principal criminal court, to English superintendence. Thus every interposing medium between the English and their Indian subjects was removed; they came then to transact immediately with each other. The direct authority of the English pervaded the interior of the provinces, and the *Native or Country Government*, saving only the prerogative of the Nabob as chief criminal magistrate, was in form and in fact done away.

Many obstacles to good government were dissipated by this change. The English administration entered upon their new functions with a tone of intelligence and vigour. Besides introducing more method and order into the conduct of the public business, they set themselves to correct some of the most prominent of those abuses by which the country had been so long oppressed. In collecting the revenue for instance from the ryots or husbandmen, there was no fixed standard. Agreements did indeed pass between the landholders and their tenants at the beginning of the year (for their leases extended only to one year), but as before hinted, those agreements were commonly broken by the stronger party upon a thousand pretences, of which the superior made himself the judge, and this practice opened a door of exaction to every subordinate officer of the revenue. Hence the people never knowing what portion of the produce of their labour would be left to them, were not only impoverished but discouraged from exertion.

Exactions still more scandalous were practised in the judicial courts. The *Phousdary*, or criminal court, raised a revenue by the imposition of fines upon crimes and misdemeanors tried before it, having thus a direct interest in the multiplication of accusations, and in finding the accused guilty. The government of 1772 styles its exactions, "detestable and unauthorized, but yet imitated by every farmer and aumil in the province."

The *Dewanee*, or civil court, in like manner, wherever it could, had recourse to heavy arbitrary fines. Things however sanctioned by the native government even down to the period now spoken of, may give a more striking idea of the state of the country. In law concerns the civil courts were allowed to take a commission, sometimes amounting to one-fourth, upon the sums recovered on their awards; in the revenue, the inhabitants of a town or district, however reduced in number, were obliged to make up the assessment at which that division had been rated by government, that is, to pay the rents of those who were dead or fled, as well as their own. This principle, which must surprise persons unacquainted with that country, was acted upon even after the famine; and the greatest wonder is, how the people could subsist under such accumulated barbarous impositions.

The English government of 1772, appears to have set out in the sincere desire of alleviating the sufferings of that people. But the first great financial measure which they adopted, produced most unhappy effects. In opposition to the annual leases, which were certainly very exceptionable, the idea of farming the lands for long terms of years had been frequently suggested, and came at length to be regarded as a remedy for many existing evils. Sufficient attention however was not paid to the wide distinction which exists between the landholder having an interest in the soil, and the revenue farmer, whose principal object it must ever be not to consider the permanent

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

welfare of a district or an estate, but the best return he can draw from it within the term of his engagement. The desire of keeping up the collections as near as possible to their former standard, still haunted the councils of the Directors at home and of the servants abroad. Under the idea that there were hidden resources in the country, (which might be so far justified, that early subductions and alienations had been made from the exchequer lands, but the resumption of them was become extremely difficult, whilst the general circumstances of the country had decayed,) and in the view of uniting increase of revenue with ease to the people, it was determined to lease the lands of Bengal on farm for five years; and that their utmost value might be ascertained, these farms were put up to public auction. Calcutta banians, money dealers, and adventurers, were among the highest bidders. The country was hence given into their hands, under a positive condition indeed for the equitable treatment of the occupants of the soil; but the ancient usage of collecting the instalment of the month, within the month, was still followed by the farmers; and if there was any interference with even the most violent exercise of their authority, they had to plead the impossibility of realizing the revenue and making good their engagements. The English collectors, afraid perhaps of having a failure in the revenue ascribed to them, were seldom willing to interpose except in flagrant cases; and the poor people preferring often the first loss to subsequent litigations, or wearied out by the protraction of the other party, had little redress. At the end of five years, an immense balance of the stipulated revenue was due by the farmers, and the country having been in effect delivered again into the hands of natives, still continued to suffer.

It has been said in favour of the English government, that under it, and even within the period of which we now treat, Bengal has enjoyed a tranquillity from hostile assaults and commotions, rarely experienced under its former masters. But though little disposed to panegyrize Mahomedan governments, we must observe, that this comparison can hardly be meant to extend to the times anterior to the dismemberment of the Mogul Empire. The usurpation of Aliverdi Khan, who waded to power through perfidy and blood*, provoked the court of Delhi to encourage an invasion of the country by the Mharattas, and for several years they harassed the districts west of the Ganges, the far larger divisions on the eastern side of that river remaining all the time perfectly safe. But from the establishment of Aurungzebe on the imperial throne, until the invasion of Nadir Shaw, a period of eighty years, Bengal enjoyed profound peace without, and experienced only few, and these transient disturbances, within.

If however, a comparison of this kind is to be instituted, it must be carried much further. Under the government of the last two regular viceroys, Jaffier Khan, and Shujah Khan, who ruled in succession near forty years†, the state of the country was eminently flourishing, and is yet a subject of celebrity. Jaffier Khan indeed appears to have been culpably as well as unnecessarily severe in inflicting personal punishments upon the zemindars, and this part of his conduct has brought reproach upon his memory; but he strenuously protected the common people, and most ably administered the affairs of the soubah. His successor is represented to have been a man singularly beneficent and humane. Under both, the taxes were little felt, and in the time of the latter, though the annual tribute remitted to Delhi was usually a crore of rupees, local collectors were seldom requisite, the zemindars paying their rents immediately into the royal treasury. Even after the usurpation of Aliverdi Khan, that class of persons was so opulent, as at one time to give him a donation of a crore of rupees, and at another time fifty lacs, towards defraying his extraordinary expences in repelling the Mharattas. The general power and authority of the empire were a protection to this dependency of it; its military force, especially during the long administration of Jaffier Khan, was inconsiderable, its civil administration simple and economical, and it had no separate political relations to maintain with neighbouring or foreign countries. Easy, in short, in its finances, moderate in its expenditure, and free from the state, the charges, and cares of independent dominion, its inhabitants enjoyed in the occupations of agriculture and commerce, public peace and abundance. Under the violent assumption of Aliverdi Khan, its connections of a political nature were

* A. D. 1741.

† Sujah Khan died in 1739, and was succeeded by his son Sirferaz Khan, who was deposed and slain by Aliverdi Khan in 1741. Aliverdi Khan possessed the government fifteen years, and was succeeded

succeeded in 1756 by his grandson Surajah Dowlah, who was deprived of the musnud and his life in consequence of the battle of Plassey, anno 1757; so that from the death of Shujah Khan to the ascendancy of the English power, was only eighteen years.

were still very limited, for it had nothing to fear from its neighbours, except on the western side, and he seems never to have cast an ambitious view beyond the provinces which he wrested from the family of his ancient master. But Bengal, as held by us, possesses the rank of a sovereign state; it is the head member of an empire whose parts are remotely separate from each other, and intermix with the territories of several powerful princes; it contributes to the support and defence of the other divisions of British Asia; and supposing its system of foreign policy to be entirely pacific, it is liable to be affected at so many points, that the government of it requires far greater resources than were necessary when it was merely a dependent province. The tribute then which it pays to us, being at least equal to what the Mogul Emperors derived from it, and neither its population nor produce, as we have already found reason to conclude, greater than in their time, it will follow that the inhabitants must now be more highly assessed than they were under their former rulers, not excepting even the usurpers. And if this state should pursue plans of offensive policy towards its neighbours, it might multiply beyond calculation its exigencies and dangers, and thus aggravate still more the disparity between its actual and preceding situation. It is indeed possible, as has been already observed, to render the country happier under our government than it ever was before; but after it had experienced so many convulsions, we need hardly look even for an equality, in the earlier unsettled stages of our management.

The time of which we now speak may be called a period of experiment. It is evident that with respect to the revenues, on the due regulation of which the ease of the people so much depended, the great desideratum was to fix a just standard for their amount, and to provide for the certain unoppressive realization of that amount. This was soon perceived; but there were various opinions concerning the best mode of attaining that, in the propriety of which all agreed, and whilst discussions were continued, current exigencies frequently decided. It can be no presumption to assert, that our first and main duty then was to establish a just and comprehensive system of domestic policy, to cherish our subjects, promote internal improvement, and according to the maxim recommended, and thence dignified, by Lord Clive, "to cultivate our garden."

The remote distance of the supreme directive seat of our authority was an obstacle to the settlement of wise plans of internal government. Persons at home could seldom act but upon transmitted information. Distrust produced hesitation. The constitution of the Company left the executive body without sufficient controul, and divisions weakened its energy. Official changes, both here and abroad, interrupted the progress of measures, and though the objects which ought to be pursued were understood, there was still uncertainty as to the sacrifices which might be hazarded in new attempts.

Such considerations as these may, probably, among others, have produced the legislative interference of 1773; by which a new constitution was given to the government of Bengal, and a majority of the members which were to compose it, sent from England, the rest being selected from the former administration.

A. D. 1773.

Whatever may be the views which the conviction of the writer has led him to entertain of the affairs of this period, he will surely be pardoned in wishing to avoid, as far as can possibly consist with any fairness to his subject, the introduction of controversial topics, always unpleasant, upon an occasion like the present. Where he is led to notice events which come within that description, his aim will be to consider them, not with relation to the motives which may have produced them, or their intrinsic character, but to their influence upon the condition of the people of our eastern dominions, and as articles of a national account, between those possessions and this country. Instead then, of entering into the merits of the contests which soon arose in the new government of Bengal, we may be allowed to remark, that however well intended the institution of that government might be, it was at first unhappily compounded. Only upon the supposition of a coincidence of opinions respecting past as well as present measures, which from the circumstances of that institution seems not to have been expected, could dissensions have been thought avoidable; and if they should arise, as may more particularly have been apprehended, concerning former acts, a disapprobation of which must implicate the credit both of the preceding administration, and of those connected with it, a divided government and state were naturally to be looked for. That these consequences, proceeding from criminatory retrospections, and the utmost discordance of opinion upon various important ques-

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

tions, did soon follow, is well known. And they produced unhappy effects upon the administration of affairs, upon the European service of the Company, and upon the people. The relief of the country was still suspended; and the failure of the first great measure adopted at home for this end, may have prevented a progress to others of executive and official regulation, probably at that time seen to be requisite, and subsequently included in the parliamentary provisions of 1784. Into the subjects of these we forbear to enter, although after all the candour and discrimination which would be solicitously exercised in treating of them, doubtless they would be found to discover a distinct source of pressure upon the country.

Hitherto, from the period of the revolution in 1757, we have not seen the English, on the side of Bengal, engaging in any offensive alliances or wars with the neighbouring country powers. The system recommended by Lord Clive and inculcated by the Company, was, to avoid schemes of conquest, and political intrigues with the native princes, improving our domestic state, and making ourselves respected for our moderation and good faith. Upon these principles, his Lordship and his Select Committee* had the magnanimity to restore to Shujah Dowlah the dominion of Oude, after victory had chastised an unprovoked aggression of that prince, and made us the arbiters of his fate†. A deviation from this system began in 1774, having professedly for one object, the pecuniary advantage of the Company; and a much wider departure from it was made in 1778, by carrying offensive war, with a view to the acquisition of territory, into the west of India. The long duration, the external effects, and the issue of this war, are sufficiently known. At home it plunged the government into a sea of military and political cares, that left little time or opportunity for the study and application of those protecting cherishing measures, which the state of the country required; it incurred an enormous expense, a heavy load of debt; and, when the public resources were greatly exhausted, to all these evils succeeded the attacks of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic, and a defensive war against him and the French, the support of which chiefly fell upon Bengal.

Such were the necessities to which our affairs were then reduced, that although we had before acquired a very forbidding experience of the farming system, a temporary recourse was again had to it in several districts, some of which were swept by the renters with a rigour that became afterwards a subject of public inquisition. Thus, notwithstanding the useful regulations begun in 1772, through errors or defects in carrying the designs then adopted into execution, through the effects of intestine divisions, fluctuating counsels, foreign wars, and real or conceived exigencies of government, added to its common cares, a series of twelve years past without the application of any effectual relief to the state of the country, without acting steadily and systematically upon the acknowledged necessity of fixing on just principles the extent of our demand upon the territorial possessions, and giving the people, once for all, rest and exemption from every species of arbitrary taxation.

About this time the legislature again interposed. The parliamentary regulations of 1784 went upon principles well adapted to the correction of the evils which prevailed in our Indian governments and possessions, and to the invigoration of the authority of the home administration over them. If they established a new power in giving the state a controul respecting the affairs of India, they established new responsibility. But after all, it is to be acknowledged, that whatever laws may be enacted for the government of those distant dependencies, inhabited by a people so dissimilar to the European nations, the efficacy of those laws must ever essentially depend on the character of the persons to whom the execution of them is entrusted‡.

The

* Consisting of Messrs. Sumner, Carnac, Verelst, and Sykes.

† In 1764. A time may perhaps come when it will seem less extravagant than it might now be thought, to insinuate, that it had possibly been well for us, notwithstanding the private wealth and even public subsidies derived from our connection with Oude, if we had to the present day adhered to the general spirit of Lord Clive's policy. The late war with Tippoo was a forced departure from the pacific system, and the ambition and perfidy of Indian powers may possibly expose us to new necessities of the same kind, until they are taught a better conduct, by our con-

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tinued superiority and moderation. But this probable necessity of extending our conquests is one of the disadvantages attaching to our dominion in Hindostan, for the wider it spreads the more vulnerable we become. It was the unwieldiness of the Mogul Empire that accelerated its fall; the loss of distant provinces being the rise of new enemies, and loss of reputation also.

‡ If the sole object of this review were not to treat of measures immediately affecting the natives, an economical retrenchment made at this time in the different departments of the Bengal government, under Sir John Macpherson, would deserve to be introduced here with applause.

The fourth and last period of which it was intended to speak was now approaching, and brought with it a great and happy change for the natives of Bengal. Under the auspices of the parliamentary system just alluded to, administered at home with enlarged and upright views, and seconded abroad by the excellent conduct of Lord Cornwallis, the objects till then ineffectually proposed, have been fully attained. A new constitution has been established for the land tenures of Bengal, whereby hereditary property in them is secured, the tax payable by the proprietors to government is equitably and unalterably settled, industry and improvement are hence encouraged, and provision is made for the extension of the same encouragement, the same enjoyment of rights, to every inferior occupant of the soil. This is in effect the foundation of a constitution for the country, because the government is bound by it as well as the subject. Very essential reforms have also been made by his Lordship in the administration of justice. The office of supreme criminal judge remained still vested in the Nabob, represented by some Mussulman delegate, by whom the inferior courts were filled with mean retainers of his own, who paid for their places. Nothing can be conceived more defective, oppressive, and scandalous, than the administration of these persons. The country groaned under it, the government was reproached by it, yet reluctant to touch the remaining prerogative of the Nabob, it endured this evil long; but seeing no other measures of reform could prosper whilst such a source of flagrant abuse was tolerated, the good of the people at length absolutely demanded an interference, and the Nabob appointed the Company his delegates in the office of supreme criminal judge. The Governor General and Members of Council then took upon themselves the execution of this office. The chief criminal court was removed to Calcutta, the collectors in the districts were invested with the powers of magistracy, for the apprehension and confinement of delinquents. Courts of circuit for the trial of criminals were established in the principal divisions of the country, and filled with English judges selected from the most experienced of the servants of the Company. In a word, this great department, which was before made up of the vilest perversions of legal power, was composed anew, and filled with men of principle and ability, placed under the strongest responsibilities, and acting upon a system which was to carry the inspection and the dispensation of the laws regularly into every section of the country. Even Europeans in the districts were subjected to the authority of the provincial laws, and in civil affairs the Dewannee Court, properly so called, that is the court of the collector for the trial of revenue causes, was abolished: that officer was no longer allowed to judge where he was a party; but all revenue cases, as well as other civil suits, were to be referred to the civil judge of the district, who was to have no concern with the collections, but to be employed solely in the administration of justice; whereby delay in decisions, the consequence of divided attention, and a grievance almost equal to a denial of justice, would be prevented. To his court also, the commercial agents of the Company, who had been, in consideration of the nature of their business, exempted in some degree from the ordinary routine of court processes, were henceforth regularly to refer all matters of litigation occurring within their departments. The law, in a word, is now made the arbiter in all matters of property, even between the government and its subjects*. With regard to the rules by which justice was to be administered, the Hindoo and Mahomedan codes were in general to be the standard for the respective subjects of them, but tempered, in some instances where they are barbarous

* It is to be remembered, that nothing said here or elsewhere in this treatise respecting the administration of justice, has relation to the *Supreme Court of Judicature*, established by his Majesty at Fort William. That tribunal seems to have been instituted with two views; the first to answer more effectually the purposes for which the municipal court, called the *Mayor's Court*, had been established at Calcutta in the merely commercial times of the Company, namely, to administer justice to British subjects, and to all persons living under the British flag; the second to answer another purpose, which the acquisition of territory was thought to have rendered necessary, the affording of an asylum to the natives of the acquired provinces who might be aggrieved by the English. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court therefore, now extends over all British-born subjects residing within the provinces, for all acts done by them against each other or against natives;

tives; it extends over some of the immediate native dependents of the English, and over such other natives as may by voluntary agreement, in any case submit themselves to it; and it extends also over all persons, of whatever nation, living within the limits of the English flag, as they were defined prior to our acquisition of territorial possessions. But the Judicial Courts, which the Mogul Emperors had established in those possessions, were continued after the transfer to the Company, and the regulation and controul of those Courts are now vested in the British government of Bengal, independent of the Supreme Court of Judicature; over them that Court has no power; to them only the natives of the provinces, not in the service of the English, that is to say, the great body of the people, are amenable, and it is of them only, and of the reforms made in them, that we all along here treat.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

barbarous and cruel, by the mildness of British sentiments, and improved in others which have relation to objects of political economy. "These codes," says Lord Cornwallis in his minute introductory of this great reform, "are still in force, as far as regards religious tenets, marriage, caste, inheritance, and some other points."

Thus by the measures of his Lordship's administration, important rights of property, never before enjoyed, and a meliorated legal constitution, really adequate to the protection of those rights, have been conferred upon our Asiatic subjects in Bengal.

Nor are these the only grand events by which the government of Lord Cornwallis has been marked as a providential blessing, and has become an epoch to that country. He has given a new tone, a new principle of purity and vigour to the British administration there; order and economy, integrity and zeal, pervade all its departments; for, exhibiting in his own conduct an example of equity on the part of government, he has been solicitous that all inferior authorities should follow it; and no where, it may be safely affirmed, throughout his Majesty's dominions, has public business been transacted, so far as the civil servants of the Company are concerned, with more public principle than in Bengal, under the influence of the spirit and the conduct of that illustrious nobleman. Distinguished among many other valuable qualities by good sense and magnanimity, which enable him with ease to meet the most trying exigencies, yet capable of descending to the smallest concerns, acquainted himself with all affairs and with the officers employed in them; by his intelligence and the uprightness of his own character he has overawed corruption, and by kind conciliating manners, flowing from a generous and modest mind, has produced, in the midst of a system of reform, attachment both to himself and to that system.

It would be easy and gratifying, if it came within the scope of this essay, to dilate upon other parts of his Lordship's character; his justice and good faith towards the Indian powers, his achievements in war, and his moderation in victory: but it may suffice to say, that whether we look to his internal administration or to his foreign policy, to his talents for civil government or for military affairs, to his conduct towards the Natives or Europeans, towards enemies or friends, we must rejoice that such an example of character, and of British character, has been displayed to the inhabitants of the East. Let it not then be imagined that any remarks which are made in the following pages are intended to derogate, or can justly be conceived to derogate from the merit of his administration. Even had there been any grounds which could give colour to such an attempt, one who can neither speak of his government, nor of himself without sentiments of respect and attachment, would have been among the last to engage in it.

It will now be fit to advert to the other Indian possessions held by the Company in full property; and after what has been said, a very brief notice of their state will be sufficient. Benares, which is completely incorporated with our dominions on the Ganges, has received the full benefits of the improvements made in Bengal. The Northern Circars have continued, until very lately, in a situation similar to that of Bengal under the second period of our management, and have suffered extremely from the mal-administration of the natives. The Bengal system, as nearly as it can be adapted to them, is, we understand, intended to be established in them and in the Company's jaghire lands, which have been more under European inspection. The same system, we may presume, will also, as speedily as possible, be extended to our newly acquired lands in the Carnatic and on the Malabar Coast.

If after this review, in which it will not be asserted that any excess of colouring has been employed, we proceed to form an estimate of the general effect of our early conquests, upon the state of the countries and the happiness of the subjects acquired by them, however we may be inclined to avoid censuring individuals, we can hardly fail, on the whole, to admit some humiliating conclusions. The history of our rule in Bengal is in great part a history of our own errors, or of the abuses public and private of power derived from us; and the brightest portion of our administration there, is that which has been employed in applying remedies to the political diseases, which either have arisen, or become more inveterate, in the country, in our time. Our accession to the government of it has been productive of prodigious changes; and if we take the result of them for thirty years together, from the elevation of Mhir Jaffier, we shall be compelled to allow, that at the end of that long period, the country and the people were not in so good a condition as that in which we found them. Doubtless the ravages of the famine greatly reduced the cultivation for a time,

time, as well as the number of inhabitants, which will account for a decrease of the national revenue, but not for decay in the circumstances of surviving individuals, either of the poorer sort or middle classes; because the natural effect of great depopulation was rather to enhance the value of labour and lessen the cost of subsistence, as also to leave the field of traffic in fewer hands.

Persons who remember the state of the country in the beginning of 1769 and in 1787, (the thirtieth year of the revolution,) think that it exhibited more appearance of opulence at the former period than at the latter; and it is clearly acknowledged in the Bengal records, not only that the country declined considerably in the twelve years anterior to 1769, but that various causes of its decline continued to operate after the calamity of the famine, though perhaps with less activity*. It will likewise be granted, that the wars in which we were engaged subsequent to that event, were unfavourable to internal prosperity, and whatever may be urged in vindication of our governments, as to the grounds on which they were undertaken, yet with respect to wars of offence, not even a remote necessity or interest of the people of Bengal, can be pleaded for making that people parties in them.

But exclusive of all local mismanagement, the nature of that subjection in which Bengal is placed to this country, will alone account for a wonderful change in its internal state. All the offices of trust, civil and military, and the first lines of commerce, are in the hands of foreigners, who after a temporary residence remove with their acquisitions in constant succession. The government is foreign. Of native rulers, even the *rapacious* exactions went again into circulation, and the tribute formerly paid to Delhi, passing chiefly by the medium of private commerce, when a general communication throughout the empire gave Bengal great advantages, was little felt. But the tribute paid to us extracts every year a large portion of the produce of that country without the least return. It may not perhaps be too much to say, that in the thirty years following the acquisition of the Bengal provinces, this nation, by public and private channels, derived from them alone, exclusive of its other Eastern dependencies and of the profits of goods remitted, fifty millions sterling.

These observations and the review which precedes them, are intended forcibly to impress upon the mind, the sense of those peculiar obligations under which we lie to the people of our Asiatic territories, on account of the benefits we draw from them, the disadvantages they have suffered, and must still in certain ways suffer from their connection with us, and the relation in which they stand to us as our subjects. True, we have corrected abuses in the internal government of these possessions, we have encouraged our Hindoo subjects, we have at length given to them the secure enjoyment of property, both inherited and acquired. All these events were most desirable and important, and to accomplish them was a work singularly arduous. But does nothing further remain to be done? In decreeing that our subjects shall be delivered from oppression and injustice, in setting an equitable limit to our own demands, and in establishing rights of property never well ascertained nor respected before; have we done all that the circumstances of the Hindoos require, all that is incumbent upon us as rulers? That by many this inquiry has not been seriously made, nor our obligations deeply considered, may be ascribed to several causes. There is a description of persons to whom the whole subject of India is confused and obscure. They know not what to believe or conclude; and a few there have been, who with very good meaning have thought of eluding all difficulties by giving back our territories to the natives, not reflecting that we should thus abandon them to new distractions, to adventurers of less pretensions than ourselves, and most probably to a rival European power. No, we cannot now renounce them without guilt, though we may also contract great guilt in the government of them.

It was long before our acquisitions in India, even those provinces which we professedly held in perpetuity, came to be regarded here as permanently our own. A secret idea of their insecurity prevailed, and our conduct towards them was perhaps influenced by this apprehension. We were eager to acquire, but slow to cherish. A better acquaintance with their natural and political advantages, and the experience of thirty years passed under trying vicissitudes, have now established an opinion,

* See the letters of Governor Verelst and Mr. Beecher, in 1769, in the Appendix to Verelst's View of Bengal; in Mr. Francis's Original Minutes, page 100; and Bolt's Considerations, Vol. III. page 199. See also Lord Cornwallis's Letter to the Court of Directors of August 2d, 1789.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

opinion, not only of the practicability of maintaining them, but with many, a confidence approaching to presumption that they cannot be lost. Were we indeed to become secure in this notion, it would be one of our greatest dangers. We are no doubt internally strong, especially in Bengal, and whilst we retain our superiority at sea, we have a peculiar and essential advantage over all enemies, European or Indian. But we ought still to remember that Hindostan is the region of revolutions. A few more successful turns in Benares on the part of so inferior a chief as Cheyte Sing*, would have put all Bengal in commotion. We ought also to remember how much the authority of a handful of strangers depends on *opinion*. To reduce the sources of prejudice against us, and to multiply impressions favourable to us, by assimilating our subjects to our modes of thinking, and by making them happy, and teaching them to understand and value the principles of the people who confer happiness upon them, may be some of the surest means of preserving the footing we have acquired. Under the influence of their original notions, it is impossible they can regard any foreign yoke with a greater degree of predilection than may arise from their deeming it preferable to some other foreign one.

It is indeed no uncommon idea among us, that our only duty towards our Hindoo subjects is to protect them from oppression, and that doing this, the more we "leave them to themselves" the better. But to evince that this vague hypothesis, like some others which have a currency on Indian subjects, must have been hastily adopted from its show, without serious examination, it may be sufficient to observe, that the code of the Hindoos, which they regard as divine, and which establishes not only principles but a multitude of positive minute laws, all held to be immutable, has received no addition for many ages; and as in all societies and affairs of men, the course of time must produce many changes, many new circumstances and combinations, which will require a succession of legal provisions, a code formed in an early stage of society in many respects rude, can never be adequate to the exigencies of all future generations. "These codes," (the Hindoo and Mahomedan) says Lord Cornwallis in the minute before quoted, "are in many respects inapplicable to the internal government of the country." The Institutes of Menu seem to leave a latitude to the sovereign (who was to be of the kheteree or military caste), with the advice of his Brahmins, to make new regulations according to occurrent necessities. But the Hindoos with whom we have chiefly to do, have had no sovereign of their own faith for many centuries; nor is it to be supposed that their original code has hitherto proved sufficient, even in causes between parties; for the institutions, or personal decisions of their Mahomedan conquerors, must have superseded an appeal to it in many cases. And there is reason to believe that the Hindoo rajahs, whom those conquerors found in possession of the provinces which had before formed a Hindoo empire, as lately they formed the empire of the Moguls, dispensed justice in cases not provided for by the code, according to their own discretion, by a summary verbal process and decision; a practice† not unusual with rulers in Hindostan, which tended however to derogate from the dignity of the courts of justice, and may account in part for our meeting with no ancient judicial records or precedents. From these considerations then it may be concluded, that when the state of society among the Hindoos calls for any new provision, it must be proper and even necessary for us to interfere.

But not to pursue these incidental discussions, since we treat our Indian possessions as permanent and consolidated parts of the British empire, and the impolicy of governing them on any other principle, even if the tenure were uncertain, is well understood, doubtless we stand charged with the duties resulting from a permanent relation: and surely a relation of so serious a nature cannot fail to be productive of numerous duties. It must involve in it various points highly important to the happiness of our subjects, and therefore various corresponding obligations.

If we have appropriated those territories in perpetuity to ourselves, if we have assumed the sovereign dominion of them, if we apply a large portion of their annual produce to the use of Great Britain, if we are avowedly resolved to maintain our possession by arms against all pretensions, foreign or local; if by these measures, as well as by specific declarations, we show that we regard the inhabitants as exclusively and absolutely our subjects,—all the duties of rulers must be incumbent upon us.

We

* A. D. 1781.

† The Brahmins, in countries under foreign rulers, are often made referees; but from their general

general character are little competent, excepting in cases respecting caste.

We are not only concerned to free the people placed under our dominion from evils connected with taxation, such as feudal oppressions and official abuses, which may be termed extraneous grievances, but to look into evils and disorders which arise among themselves, which prevail in their society, and destroy their peace; to enact and enforce wholesome laws for their internal regulation, and in a word, with the affection of a wise and good superior, sedulously to watch over their civil and social happiness. No laboured argument drawn from the nature of government, is necessary to prove this position; the consideration which has been just adverted to, seems naturally to establish it; nor could it ever suit the principles of this nation to hold the Hindoos under its power as slaves, whose labours are exacted without a due return of benefits. Besides, such a system would soon defeat its own end, by reducing the value of the subjugated country. It is a truth perfectly obvious, that our own interest recommends the happiness of that people. The primary object of Great Britain, let it be acknowledged, was rather to discover what could be obtained from her Asiatic subjects, than how they could be benefited. In process of time it was found expedient to examine how they might be benefited, in order that we might continue to hold the advantages which we at first derived from them; and now when we have wisely and for ever fixed a limit to our demand upon them, duty calls upon us to accomplish the remainder of our progressive work, and to exert that solicitude for the gradual improvement of their condition in all points wherein it is still capable of amendment, which is due to them as useful subjects and as fellow creatures, whose happiness is committed to our care.

To elucidate some of those points which thus demand our attention, and to suggest such means of melioration as we may with safety use, is the design of the ensuing pages; in which the method of proceeding shall be; first, to give a view of the present state of our Hindoo subjects with respect to society and morals, illustrated by authentic documents; secondly, to enquire into the causes which have produced that state; and thirdly, to propose remedies for the evils of it, with answers to such objections as are likely to be made to the plan which shall thus be offered to consideration.

CHAP. II.

View of the State of Society among the Hindoo Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals.

IN prosecuting the proposed inquiry, the state of society and manners among the people of Hindostan, and more particularly among those who inhabit our territories, becomes in the first place a special object of attention. It is an object which perhaps has never yet received that distinct and particular consideration, to which from its importance in a political and moral view, it is entitled.

It has suited the views of some philosophers to represent that people as amiable and respectable; and a few late travellers have chosen rather to place some softer traits of their characters in an engaging light, than to give a just delineation of the whole. The generality however of those who have written concerning Hindostan, appear to have concurred in affirming what foreign residents there have as generally thought, nay, what the natives themselves freely acknowledge of each other, that they are a people exceedingly depraved.

In proportion as we have become better acquainted with them, we have found this description applicable, in a sense beyond the conception even of former travellers. The writer of this paper, after spending many years in India, and a considerable portion of them in the interior of our provinces, inhabited almost entirely by natives, towards whom whilst acknowledging his views of their general character, he always lived in habits of good will, is obliged to add his testimony to all preceding evidence, and to avow that they exhibit human nature in a very degraded humiliating state, and are at once, objects of disesteem and of commiseration. Discriminations in so vast a body as the whole Hindoo people, there must be; though the general features are very similar.

CHAP. I.

Introduction: British territorial Administration in The East.

CHAP. II.

View of the Morals of the Hindoo Subjects of Great Britain.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

Among that people, the natives of Bengal rank low; and these as best known and forming the largest division of our Asiatic subjects, are held more particularly in view in this essay. The Mahomedans who are mixed with them, may, in regard to manners and morals, often be comprehended under the same observations; but something distinct shall afterwards be subjoined concerning them.

Of the Bengaleze then, it is true most generally that they are destitute, to a wonderful degree, of those qualities which are requisite to the security and comfort of society. They want truth, honesty, and good faith, in an extreme, of which European society furnishes no example. In Europe those principles are the standard of character and credit; men who have them not are still solicitous to maintain the reputation of them, and those who are known to be devoid of them sink into contempt. It is not so in Bengal. The qualities themselves are so generally gone, that men do not found their pretension in society upon them; they take no pains to acquire or to keep up the credit of possessing them. Those virtues are not the tests by which connections and associations are regulated; nor does the absence of them, however plain and notorious, greatly lower any one in public estimation, nor strip him of his acquaintance. Want of veracity especially, is so habitual, that if a man has truth to defend, he will hardly fail to recur to falshood for its support. In matters of interest, the use of lying seems so natural, that it gives no provocation, it is treated as an excusable indulgence, a mode of proceeding from which general toleration has taken away offence, and the practice of cheating, pilfering, tricking, and imposing, in the ordinary transactions of life are so common, that the Hindoos seem to regard them as they do natural evils, against which they will defend themselves as well as they can, but at which it would be idle to be angry. Very flagrant breaches of truth and honesty pass without any deep or lasting stain. The scandalous conduct of Tippoo, in recently denying to Lord Cornwallis, in the face of the world, the existence of that capitulation* which he had shamefully broken, was merely an example of the manners of the country, where such things occur in common life every day.

In the worst parts of Europe, there are no doubt great numbers of men who are sincere, upright, and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon; *one conscientious in the whole of his conduct*, it is to be feared, is an unknown character. Every where in this quarter of the globe, there is still much generous trust and confidence, and men are surprised when they find themselves deceived. In Bengal, distrust is awake in all transactions; bargains and agreements are made with mutual apprehensions of breach of faith, conditions and securities are multiplied, and failure in them excites little or no surprise.

A serious proposal made to a native, that he should be guided in all his intercourses and dealings by the principles of truth and justice, would be regarded as weak and impracticable. "Do you know," he would reply, "the character of all those with whom I have to act? How can I subsist if I take advantage of nobody, while every person takes advantage of me?" Frauds, deceptions, evasions, and procrastinations, in every line of life, in all professions, perpetually occur, and forgeries also are often resorted to with little scruple.

If confidence is from necessity or credulity at any time reposed, it is considered by the other party as the season of harvest. Few will omit to seize such an opportunity of profit. The chief agent or steward of a landholder or of a merchant, will commonly endeavour to transfer to himself what he can gradually purloin of the property and the influence of his principal; this agent is in the mean time preyed upon in a similar way, though on a smaller scale, by his dependents, especially if prosperity has rendered him less vigilant. But suppose him, by a slow, silent, and systematic pursuit, to have accumulated a large fortune, and to leave it on his death to his son; the son, rich and indolent, is in turn imperceptibly fleeced by his domestic.

Menial servants who have been long in place, and have even evinced a real attachment to their masters, are nevertheless in the habitual practice of pilfering from them. If a nephew is entrusted by an uncle, or a son by his father, with the management of his concerns, there is no certainty that he will not set up a separate interest of his own. Wardships and executorships, trusts of the most necessary and sacred kind, which all men leaving property and infant children must repose in surviving

* Of Coimbatore.

surviving friends, are in too many instances grossly abused. The confidence to which the Bengaleze are most true, is in the case of illicit practices, on which occasions they act upon a point of honour.

Even the Europeans, though in general possessed of power and of comparative strength of character, which makes them to be particularly feared, yet as often as they are careless or credulous in their transactions with the Bengaleze, find that they have fallen into the hands of harpies*.

Through the influence of similar principles, power entrusted to a native of Hindostan seldom fails of being exercised tyrannically, or perverted to the purposes of injustice. Official, or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all gradations, are generally used as means of speculation.

It has already appeared that the distribution of justice, whenever it has been committed to natives, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans, has commonly† become a traffic in venality; the best cause being obliged to pay for success, and the worst having the opportunity of purchasing it. Money has procured acquittance even for murder. Such is the power of money, that no crime is more frequent, hardly any less thought of, than perjury. It is no extraordinary thing to see two sets of witnesses swearing directly contrary to each other, and to find, upon a minute investigation, that few probably of the evidences on either side have a competent knowledge of the matter in question. Now as these corruptions begin not in the practice of the courts of law, but have their origin in the character of the people, it is just to state them in illustration of that character; for although the legal reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis will purify, it may be hoped, the fountains of justice, yet the best administration of law will not eradicate the internal principles of depravity.

Selfishness, in a word, unrestrained by principle, operates universally; and money, the grand instrument of selfish gratifications, may be called the supreme idol of the Hindoos. Deprived for the most part of political power, and destitute of boldness of spirit, but formed for business, artful, frugal, and persevering, they are absorbed in schemes for the gratification of avarice.

The tendency of that abandoned selfishness is to set "every man's hand against every man," either in projects, or in acts of open force. From violence however, fear interposes to restrain them. The people of the lower provinces in particular, with an exception of the military caste, are as dastardly as they are unprincipled. They seek their ends by mean artifices, low cunning, intrigue, falshood, servility, and hypocritical obsequiousness. To superiors they appear full of reverence, of humble and willing submission, and readiness to do every thing that may be required of them; and as long as they discern something either to expect or to fear, they are wonderfully patient of slights, neglects, and injuries. But under all this apparent passiveness and meanness of temper, they are immoveably persisting in their secret views. With inferiors, they indemnify themselves by an indulgence of the feelings which were controuled before; and towards dependents, especially towards those whom an official situation subjects to their authority, they carry themselves with the mean pride of low minds. In the inferior, and by far the most numerous class of the community, where each man is nearly on a level with his neighbour, the native character appears with less disguise. The passions have a freer range, and new consequences are seen to result from the absence of the primary virtues of society. Discord, hatred, abuse, slanders, injuries, complaints, and litigations, all the effects of selfishness unrestrained by principle, prevail to a surprising degree. They overspread the land, they come perpetually before all men in authority. The deliberate malice,

* If the reader should here advert to the many large fortunes which are brought from India, and thence infer that the Europeans make their own part good there, notwithstanding all the dishonest artifices of the Hindoos whom they are obliged to employ, he may be answered, that according to the judgment of the person who writes this, the great mass of the fortunes now acquired, is not by any mode of extortion or exaction taken out of the pockets of individuals. A considerable portion of it is derived from the offices, salaries, contracts, and emoluments, enjoyed under government. Another portion from commerce, particularly foreign commerce, in which Europeans have

superior

superior enterprize, character, and advantage. And if any part is obtained by forbidden means, still the acquisition may in general be traced ultimately to what is strictly public property, not the property of private individuals. These slight remarks are thrown out as worthy the consideration of those persons, who without examination or inquiry are apt to suspect, that every fortune gained in India is got by extortion. More might be added upon the subject, but it would not suit the design of the present work.

† There may be exceptions; Ibrahim Ali Khan of Benares is reckoned a man of probity.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

malice, the falshood, the calumnies, and the avowed enmity with which the people pursue each other, and sometimes from father to son, offer a very mortifying view of the human character. No stranger can sit down among them without being struck with this temper of malevolent contention and animosity, as a prominent feature in the character of the society. It is seen in every village, the inhabitants live among each other in a sort of repulsive state, nay it enters into almost every family. Seldom is there a household without its internal divisions, and lasting enmities, most commonly too on the score of interest. The women partake of this spirit of discord. Held in slavish subjection by the men, they rise in furious passions against each other, which vent themselves in such loud, virulent, and indecent railings, as are hardly to be heard in any other part of the world.

Though the Bengaleze in general have not sufficient resolution to vent their resentments against each other in open combat, yet robberies, thefts, burglaries, river piracies, and all sorts of depredations where darkness, secrecy, or surprize can give advantage, are exceedingly common, and have been so in every past period of which any account is extant. There are castes of robbers and thieves, who consider themselves acting in their proper profession, and having united their families, train their children to it. No where in the world are ruffians more adroit or more hardened. Troops of these banditti, it is well known, are generally employed or harboured by the zemindars of the districts, who are sharers in their booty. They frequently make attacks in bodies, and on those occasions murder is very common. But besides these regular corps, multitudes of individuals employ themselves in despoiling their neighbours. Nor is it only in large and populous places and their vicinity, that such violences are practised; no part of the country, no village is safe from them. Complaints of depredations in every quarter, on the highways, on the water as well as the land, are perpetual. Though these are the crimes more immediately within the reach of justice, and though numbers of criminals have been, and are executed, the evils still subsist. Doubtless the corrupt administration of criminal justice in Bengal, for many years under the authority of the Nabob, has greatly aggravated disorders of this nature; but they have their origin from remoter springs. Robbers among the Hindoos, and frequently thieves also, are educated from their infancy in the belief that their profession is a right one. No ray of instruction reaches them to convince them of the contrary, and the feeble stirrings of natural conscience are soon overborne by example and practice. Besides this, they hold, in common with other Hindoos, the principle of fatalism, which in their case has most pernicious effects. They believe that they are destined by an inevitable necessity to their profession, and to all that shall befall them in it; they therefore go on without compunction, and are prepared to resign life, whenever the appointed period shall come, with astonishing indifference; considering the law that condemns them, not as the instrument of justice, but as the power of a stronger party. And here again it is evident, that a radical change in principle must be produced, before a spirit of rapine, thus nourished, can be cured.

Benevolence has been represented as a leading principle in the minds of the Hindoos; but those who make this assertion know little of their character. How is it possible that benevolence should be vigorous where justice, truth, and good faith are so greatly wanting? Certain modes indeed of distributing victuals to mendicants, and a scrupulous abstinence from some sorts of animal food, are prescribed by the religion of the Hindoos. But the ostentatious distribution is frequently commutative; an offering from the gain of iniquity bestowed on idle and sturdy priests. And though a Hindoo would shrink with horror from the idea of directly slaying a cow, which is a sacred animal among them, yet he who drives one in his cart, galled and excoriated as she often is by the yoke, beats her unmercifully from hour to hour, without any care or consideration of the consequence. Though therefore the institution of the two practices in question, may be urged as an argument for the originally benevolent turn of the religion which enjoined them, it will not at all follow that individuals, who in future ages perform them in obedience to that religion, must also be benevolent; and he who is cruel even to that creature for which he is taught by his religion to entertain the highest reverence, gives the strongest proof of an unfeeling disposition. It is true that in many cases they are strict in observing forms. These are indeed their religion, and the foundation of their hopes; their castes are implicated in them, and in their castes their civil state and comfort. But of the sentiments which the forms would seem to indicate, they are totally regardless.

Though

Though from the physical structure of their bodies they are easily susceptible of impressions, yet that they have little real tenderness of mind, seems very evident from several circumstances. The first that shall be mentioned is the shocking barbarity of their punishments. The cutting off legs, hands, noses, and ears, putting out of eyes, and other penal inflictions of a similar kind, all performed in the coarsest manner, abundantly justify our argument.

*View of the Morals
of the Hindoo
Subjects of Great
Britain.*

A similar disposition to cruelty is likewise shown in their treatment of vanquished enemies. And in general a want of sensibility for others is a very eminent characteristic of this people. The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans. At any rate his regards extend but to a very narrow circle. Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindostan.

These observations lead us to another striking proof of want of benevolence in the Hindoos; namely, their deficiency of natural affection. It is admitted that examples are not very uncommon of parents who show much tenderness to their children, especially during their infancy; but instances on the other side are so general, as clearly to mark the dispositions of the people. The following fact is one out of many, by which this assertion might be justified. In the scarcity of grain which prevailed about Calcutta in the year 1788, a gentleman then high, now still higher in office there, ordered his servants to buy any children that might be brought for sale, (for in times of dearth Hindoo parents frequently sell their offspring,) and to tell their mothers, that when the scarcity should be over, they might come again and receive their children back. Of about twenty thus humanely preserved, most of whom were females, only three were ever enquired for by their mothers. The scarcity was neither extreme nor long. The unnatural parents cannot be supposed to have perished from want, for each received money for her child, and by the liberal contribution of the inhabitants of Calcutta, and chiefly of the Europeans, rice was distributed daily to multitudes at various stations about the city. And yet notwithstanding this facility of obtaining food, a woman was at that time seen, in broad day, to throw away her infant child upon the high road. Most of the slaves in Hindostan (where they are used only for domestic services) have lost their freedom by the act of their parents. If the necessity is such at times as to lead to this expedient, is it not also an occasion to call forth the warmth of parental affection? Filial and paternal affection appear equally deficient among them; and in the conjugal relation, the characteristic indifference of the people is also discernible among those who come most within the sphere of European observation, namely, the lower orders.

The domestic state of the better ranks is more concealed from general view; but from the knowledge which is acquired, and from the peculiar usages by which marriage is governed among the Hindoos, we have no reason to believe that it is often sweetened by generous attachment or rational enjoyment. The parties betrothed by their parents whilst mere children, transplanted, with minds uncultivated and inexperienced, from the maternal zenana* into one of their own, united whilst reason is still in its infancy, can give little more account of the situation in which they find themselves than animals of a lower species. Affection and choice have had no influence in this connection, nor does it often happen that the former is studied and improved. The parties continue passive under that law which first brought them together. According to the despotic manners of the East, the husband is lord, and the wife a servant; seldom does he think of making her a companion or a friend. Polygamy, which is tolerated among the Hindoos, tends still more to destroy all rational domestic society. The honour of the family, and the preservation of its caste, the most awful of its concerns, depends on the reputation of the wife. She is secluded from all eyes but those of her nearest relations, and the most terrifying and disgraceful punishments are held out against misconduct. From so early an union, and such subsequent care, Europeans may suppose that order and decorum reign in the Hindoo zenanas; but the conclusion is founded on conjecture, rather than upon actual knowledge. The profound reserve and caution observed by the men in their conduct, and even in their conversation, respecting their family connections, keep all foreigners at a distance; and it is to the honour of the English, that there is perhaps no instance of their attempting an invasion of the domestic recesses of the Hindoos. But those who have an opportunity of living among the natives in the interior of the country,

* The private apartments of the women.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

country, see reasons for apprehending that the purity of the female character is not always so well preserved in reality, as in appearance.

In a residence of several years entirely among the natives, the present writer heard so many charges of irregularity, and saw so many disorders among the inferior ranks, that he could not but believe the existence of a gross laxity of behaviour and principle in this great branch of morals, in some degree at least reaching to the better classes. But the disgrace and loss which follow to the family from the proof of dishonour in the wife, are such as to induce the parties concerned to hush up all matters of that sort, and to take their revenge in some secret way; they will seldom seek redress openly, unless the affair has already become notorious. Accusations by others of such contaminations in families, are very common among the lower Hindoos, and scandals of the same kind pass among the higher orders. Enmity, it is true, may be supposed to have its share in these charges; it may occasionally fabricate them, and is undoubtedly active in bringing them forward; but that it should always invent them, and should persevere in a succession of inventions which experience was ever ready to discredit, is not to be conceived. The truth is, the Hindoo writers, and the Hindoo laws, express the worst opinion of their women, and seem to place all security in vigilance, none in principle. And indeed what fund of principle can minds which have received no improvement in education, and in which reason as yet has hardly begun to act, carry into a premature and unchosen conjugal relation? a relation, the early commencement of which, is probably to be ascribed to the apprehension of parents for the conduct of their children. Imperious dominion, seclusion and terror, are the means afterwards used, to enforce the fidelity of the wife. But opportunities of guilt are not wanting. In the hours of business, men are generally at a distance from the retirements of the women; they are often, and for considerable periods, far from home; females, who are the great instruments of corrupting their own sex, are permitted access to the zenanas; besides the Hindoo law allows women to converse with Soneassees, a set of vagrant devotees, some of them most indecent in their appearance. The consequences are such as might be expected.

It is not however asserted or believed, that the infection of depravity has overspread the whole mass of females, many of whom, doomed to joyless confinement through life, and a violent premature death, are perhaps among the most inoffensive and suffering of the Hindoo race. As to the men, they are under little restraint from moral considerations. The laws of caste impose restrictions and fines for offences of the nature in question, so far as *that distinction* is concerned, but leave great scope for new connections, and for promiscuous intercourse, which is matter of little scruple or observation. Receptacles for women of infamous character are every where licensed, and the women themselves have a place in society. The female dancers, who are of this order, make the principal figure in the entertainments of ceremony given by the great. Indecency is the basis of their exhibitions; yet children and young persons of both sexes are permitted to be present at these shows, which have admittance even into the principal zenanas*. Licentious connections are therefore most common, though subsisting apparently without that intoxication of passion which hurries on the mind against conviction, and carried on without much concealment, nay almost with the insensibility of brutes. On such points, the Hindoos seem to advert to no rule except what the law enjoins; there is no sentiment, diffused at large through society, which attaches shame to criminality. Wide and fatal are the effects of this corruption of manners; a corruption not stopping here, but extending even to the unnatural practices of the ancient Heathens, though in these the Mahomedans are still more abandoned.

Europeans who not having *resided* in Asia, are acquainted only with a few detached features of the Indian character, may possibly feel some doubt whether this sketch, which professes to trace but the greater and more palpable lines, is to be received as a sober and faithful representation. They will reason concerning the Hindoos from what they have seen of human nature elsewhere; and it is unquestionably true, even that part of Europe which is most corrupt, offers no such picture as that which has been drawn in the preceding pages. They may be staggered too by having heard many discordant opinions on this very subject. For some modern philosophers already hinted at, whose aim has been to subvert, together with revealed religion, all ideas

* Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival in Bengal, refused to be present at an entertainment of this sort, to which he was invited by the Nabob.

ideas of the moral government of the Deity, and of man's responsibility to him, have exalted the natives of the East, and of other pagan regions, into models of goodness and innocence. Other writers, with far better views, indignant at the alledged delinquencies of Europeans in Hindostan, have described the natives of that country as a harmless, kind, peaceable, and suffering race. Others again, speak rather from an admiration inspired by the supposed past state of the Hindoos, mixed with pity for their present situation, than from experience of their actual qualities and dispositions. And there may be others still, who have not had much personal experience of the evils resulting from the state of society among the Hindoos, but being pleased with their obsequiousness, and easily acquiescing in the licentiousness prevalent among them, have been willing to treat of their character and proceedings with indulgence. The doubts, however, arising from these sources, will it is hoped, be entirely removed by the corroborating testimonies now about to be produced.

It is indeed true, that travellers are apt to form their opinions of countries and of nations from what they have themselves happened to see; and it is also to be remembered, that of the many Europeans who have visited India, especially in later times, the opportunities, the means, and perhaps the desire, of information, have been very different. We may all be sensible that more accurate observation, and mature experience, often correct the first impressions we receive, even of European countries or places new to us; and that it is no easy work to attain to a just and comprehensive knowledge of the character of any people. Whilst an European, deriving a superiority from his race, or from the station he is appointed to fill, regards only in a distant speculative way the effeminate exterior, adulatory address, and submissive demeanor of the Hindoos, he naturally enough conceives them to be a people in whom the mild and gentle qualities predominate. He is apt to consider them with a mixture of complacency and contempt; and even the bad dispositions towards each other, which he soon discovers to exist in them, he may view with feelings analogous to those which the petty malignity of children, or of beings of a diminutive species, might excite. But let him enter into dealings with them, let him trust them, or become in concerns of importance dependent on them; let him in short by these, or any other means, come more upon a level with them, and he will then learn better to appreciate their real character. Let it therefore be recollected, that as members of the same community they always stand, in many respects, on such a level with each other, suffering continually from mutual injuries; and that it is in thus viewing them, in considering not so much the mischiefs which they can do to us, as the evils which they diffuse through their own society, that we shall assign to them their true place in the moral scale. Whether that is done here, shall therefore be cheerfully left to the determination of those who have had a long residence among them, and extensive dealings with them. It is believed, that no person of this description will think the picture now given, adds fictitious features, or aggravates real ones*.

It will not however be understood, that what is here advanced generally, is to be applied to the utmost extent to every individual, and every transaction; it is the universality of great depravity that is here insisted on,—a general moral hue, between which, and the European moral complexion, there is a difference, analogous to the difference of the natural colour of the two races.

There is a standard to which, for the elucidation of this subject, we may largely appeal,—the records of the East-India Company, which contain an immense collection of facts respecting the Hindoos, and relating to various subjects, political, judicial, financial, and commercial. Those records, less frequently profess to treat of character and common life, than of matters of business; but it continually happens, that they incidentally develop the principles and conduct of the Hindoos, and that in a more convincing way than if the primary object had been to describe them.

Nor

* It may be proper to remark, that the features here delineated, are taken from the Hindoo character as it generally exists in civil life. Those gentlemen who have passed their time chiefly in our Indian armies, may not have seen it with exactly the same aspects. The military caste of the Hindoos have a portion of those qualities which usually accompany the profession of arms: better pay, better treatment, and our high reputation in war, make it their interest to attach themselves

themselves to our service; they are withdrawn from many of the collisions of civil affairs, and they are under the powerful control of military discipline, which, with the habits of military life, must throw a perceptible distinction into their character, at least while they remain embodied in our employ; but when they retire and separate, they assimilate more to the rest of their countrymen.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

Nor do they contain the mere representations of Europeans, who might be suspected of a tincture of partiality in this case, but the natives are themselves brought upon the stage, and heard concerning each other. These records will be found abundantly to substantiate all that is here advanced.

To introduce a great variety of quotations from so copious a source, (as numerous as they must be, to do justice to the subject,) is not within the compass of the brief exposition here intended; but after having previously stated the opinion of an intelligent traveller, who observed the manners of the Hindoos in the last century, we shall select a few extracts, containing the sentiments of persons of distinguished information and respectability, writing at different periods, without any concert with each other, and under no temptation to depreciate the people of whom they speak.

BERNIER, about 1670.

“ Ces sortes de rois barbares n'ont aucune véritable générosité, et ne sont guères retenus par la foi qu'ils ont promise, ne regardant qu'à leurs intérêts présens, sans songer mêmes aux malheurs qui leur peuvent arriver de leur perfidie, et de leur brutalité.

“ Pour se tirer de leurs mains, il faut être ou le plus fort, ou n'avoir rien qui puisse exciter leur avarice.”

“ Je ne sai s'il y a au monde, une nation plus avare et plus sordide que celle-là.”

“ Les Brahmens entretiennent ces peuples dans ces erreurs et superstitions, et passent même jusques à des fourberies et à des vilainies si infâmes, que je ne les aurois jamais pû croire, si je ne m'en étois pleinement informé*.”

MR. SCRAFTON, 1759.

“ The Gentoos are found still more cruel and rapacious than their foreign masters, and what is more extraordinary, the Brahmens still exceed the rest in every abuse of power, and seem to think if they bribe God, by bestowing part of their plunder on cows and faquirs, their iniquities will be pardoned.”

“ Loyalty and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown; and when they cease to fear they cease to obey.”

“ Such of the Brahmens as engage in the world, are generally the worst of all the Gentoos; for persuaded that the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins, and being exempted from the utmost rigour of the courts of justice under the Gentoo government, they run into the greatest excesses*.”

GOVERNOR HOLWELL, about 1760.

“ A race of people, who from their infancy are utter strangers to the idea of common faith and honesty.”

“ This is the situation of the bulk of the people of Indostan, as well as of the modern Brahmins; amongst the latter, if we except one in a thousand, we give them over measure.”

“ The Gentoos in general, are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious, and wicked a people, as any race of people in the known world, if not eminently more so, especially the common run of Brahmins; and we can truly aver, that during almost five years that we presided in the Judicial Cutchery Court of Calcutta, never any murder or other atrocious crime came before us, but it was proved in the end a Brahmin was at the bottom of it.”†

LORD CLIVE, 1765.

“ The inhabitants of this country we know by long experience, have no attachment to any obligation.§”

GOVERNOR

* Voyages de François Bernier, Tome I. page 150, 162. et Tome II. page 105.

† Reflections on the Government of Hindostan, by Luke Scrafton, Esq. pages 26, 27. See in the same work, page 19 & seq. a striking character of the Mahomedans of rank in India.

‡ Holwell's Historical Events, Vol. I. page 228, and Vol. II. page 151.

§ Cited by Bolt's Considerations, Vol. III. Appendix A, page 33.

GOVERNOR VERELST*, about 1768.

CHAP. II.

*View of the Morals
of the Hindoo
Subjects of Great
Britain.*

"It is customary with these people to spin out treaties to an immoderate length; *avaricious in the highest degree, they endeavour by every artifice to encrease their exorbitant demands; and faithless themselves, they are suspicious of the faith of others.*"

"His (Hafiez Rahmet Caun's) character has little to distinguish it, *except that low cunning, intrigue, and deceit, so general in this country.*"

"The Nabob Sujah-al-Dowlah, is our next ally, and *if gratitude can be any tie on an Hindostan heart, we have every reason to look upon him as connected with us by the most indissoluble bonds.*"

"His (Jewhar Sing's) character, like the majority of the great in Hindostan, is that of a man absorbed in pleasure and luxury, weak, vain-glorious, aspiring, without experience or abilities."

"The body of the people are in a manner formed to bear the yoke. They possess nothing of the inquisitiveness of the European nations, and the most slender arts (i. e. in things unknown to them) are sufficient to obscure their understanding, and fit them for implicit submission."

"It would be as easy to change the genius and manners of the people, as to prevent the Banians and followers of men in station, from abusing their master's name. Chastisements may deter the oppression for a moment, but in such cases, the servility of the people must be removed before oppression can be eradicated."

"An Englishman will ever be unfit to follow the subtle native through all his arts: The treachery of Hindostan professions will prepare him better for the frank declarations of his English allies."

"The venality which forms part of the genius of the people, and which is known to be openly exercised, or tacitly allowed by government, without drawing any shame or discredit on the guilty, or being thought any peculiar hardship on the injured"

"Every person of any substance or character in this country, has been successively tried in the department of the collections. Fear, reward, severity, and indulgence, have all failed, and ended in a short political forbearance, or additional acts of dishonesty and rapine."

"The evasions and artifices which are familiar to the natives of this country, have often been successful in screening them from that open and manifest detection which can justify punishment."

"Certain it is, that almost every decision of theirs (the Mahomedan judges, who continued to decide in criminal matters to the time of Lord Cornwallis) is a corrupt bargain with the highest bidder. The numerous offences which are committed by fines, have left a great latitude for very unjust determinations. Trifling offenders, and even many condemned on fictitious accusations, are frequently loaded with heavy demands; and capital criminals are as often absolved by the venal judges."

"The peculiar punishment of forfeiting castes, to which the Hindoos are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and personal resentment among themselves †."

The GOVERNOR (MR. HASTINGS) and COUNCIL of BENGAL, about 1772.

"The decoits of Bengal are not, like the robbers in England, individuals driven to such desperate courses by sudden wants. They are robbers by profession, and even by birth; they are formed into regular communities, and their families subsist by the spoils which they bring home to them; they are all therefore alike criminal; wretches who have placed themselves in a state of declared war with government, and are therefore wholly excluded from every benefit of its laws. We have many instances of their meeting death with the greatest insensibility."

"The

* Besides what has been already said of him, we may add that he was a well informed servant of the Company; and that many papers in the Appendix to his "View of Bengal," are valuable.

† Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal; Original Papers in the Appendix, pages 58, 102, 103, 105, 108, &c.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

" *The litigiousness and perseverance of the natives of this country in their suits and complaints, is often productive, not only of inconvenience and vexation to their adversaries, but also of endless expence and actual oppression.*"

" *To curb and restrain trivial and groundless complaints, and to deter chicane and intrigue, which passions amongst these people often work to the undoing of their neighbours**"

MR. SHORE†, about 1783 or 1784.

" *The natives are timid and servile. As individuals they are insolent to their inferiors; to their superiors, generally speaking, submissive, though they are to them also guilty of insolence when they can be so with impunity. Individuals have little sense of honour, and the nation is wholly void of public virtue. They make not the least scruple of lying where falsehood is attended with advantage; yet both Hindoos and Mahomedans, continually speak of their credit and reputation, by which they mean little more than the appearance they make to the world.*"

" *Cunning and artifice is wisdom to them. To deceive and over-reach, is to acquire the character of a wise man. The greatest disgrace they can suffer, is to lose their caste, or as we say, to be excommunicated. This punishment is inflicted for the breach of the injunctions of their religion, or what is the same, of the ordinances of their priests.*"

" *To lie, steal, plunder, ravish, or murder, are not deemed sufficient crimes to merit expulsion from society.*"

" *With a Hindoo, all is centered in himself; his own interest is his guide; ambition is a secondary quality with him, and the love of money is the source of his passion.*"

" *The advantage they derive over Europeans, is by practising those arts of meanness, which an European detests. A MAN MUST BE LONG ACQUAINTED WITH THEM‡, before he can believe them capable of that barefaced falsehood, servile adulation, and deliberate deception, which they daily practise. It is in vain that we search for men of enlightened understanding, deep reasoning and reflection, among the natives. The education of the Hindoos is confined to their being taught their own language. The Mahomedans are little better instructed: the acquisition of a few moral or political maxims, which in practice they neglect, is all they know of the art of government: if exceptions can be found, they are very rare. An Englishman cannot descend to those little practices of oppression, or extortion, so familiar to the natives, his mind recoils at the idea of them. And admitting even that some are by habit, connection, or necessity, become depraved, there is, after all, in every breast, a sense of honour and virtue that recoils from the low vicious acts of a native of Bengal. It is the business of all, from the Ryott to the Dewan, to conceal and deceive; the simplest matters of fact are designedly covered with a veil, through which no human understanding can penetrate§.*"

SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, Governor General, about 1785-6.

" *I am afraid that the picture which he (Mr. Shore) draws, and the low ebb at which he states the popular virtues of the Bengalize, are not fictitious representations||.*"

COLONEL SIR ROBERT BARKER.

" *It is well known that neither promises nor oaths, have been able to bind this treacherous sect of people to their engagements. Sujah Dowlah was like all other Indostanners, not observing much faith when it was his interest to do otherwise¶.*"

The transcriber of the preceding pages, writing at a distance from public offices, and possessed of few unpublished documents, is not able to adduce any comprehensive

* Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, 1772. Appendix, No. 2.

† Now Governor General of Bengal.

‡ To this declaration from a witness eminently competent, attention is particularly requested.

§ The whole of this curious paper is inserted in the Parliamentary proceedings against Mr. Hastings.

Hastings, Appendix to Vol. II. page 67.—*The Remarks in the preceding sheets were penned before this document was examined by the writer of them.*

|| Parliamentary Proceedings against Mr. Hastings, Appendix to Vol. II. page 65.

¶ Ibid. Appendix to Vol. I. page 229. and Vol. II. page 8.

sive opinion delivered by Lord Cornwallis, respecting the natives; but in the many papers on almost all subjects connected with his government, which his Lordship has entered on the records of the Company during his administration, his sentiments must be abundantly seen, and to those papers the reader is referred, without fear of their contradicting the views here given. A government of reform, like his Lordship's, implies a sense of many existing evils, and the conduct in one striking instance, of a person so considerate and humane, is entitled to particular notice. Though civil and attentive to the natives, *he has reposed no confidence in any one of them, nor has he had a single individual, either Hindoo or Mahomedan, about his person, above the rank of a menial servant, contrary to the general usage of men occupying such stations as he filled.*

Upon one very important subject, the criminal justice of the country, to the administration of which, Lord Cornwallis has given a new constitution, some of his observations, written as introductory to that essential improvement, are here exhibited.

3d DECEMBER, 1790.

“ The regulation of justice in criminal cases, although constituting one of the most essential requisites of good government, yet never appears (as far as can be traced) to have received the attention it so well merits, under any system, either of the Mogul or Hindoo administration, in India. . . . The next alteration I would propose is that already alluded to, in regard to the option left to the next of kin, to remit the sentence of the law and pardon the criminal. The evil consequences, and the crimes which hereby escape punishment, are so manifest and frequent, that to take away the discretion of the relations, seems absolutely requisite to secure an equal administration of justice, and will constitute a strong additional check on the commission of murder, and other crimes, which are now no doubt often perpetrated, under the idea of an easy escape through the notorious defect of the existing law, which at first perhaps was confined to appeals, or private prosecutions, by the next of kin, and had no application to public prosecutions in the name of the sovereign; and which is besides peculiarly inapplicable to this country (however it may have suited the society it was originally intended for); because where *Brahmins commit murder on any person of the Hindoo religion, they know that they do so with almost perfect impunity*, since in most cases it cannot be expected that any Gentoo will ever desire, or be consenting to the death of a Brahmin, of which a case exactly in point, is now depending before the Board, from Benares, where *a Brahmin having wantonly killed his wife, has, although confessing and convicted of the crime, been pardoned by her relations*. But it is unnecessary to have recourse to the testimonies of the magistrates, to prove the abuses practised in these courts. The multitudes of criminals with which the jails in every district are now crowded, the numerous murders, robberies, and burglaries, daily committed, and the general insecurity of person and property, which prevails in the interior parts of the country, are melancholy proofs of their having long and too generally existed. The inefficacy of the clause in the engagements of the land-holders, making them responsible for all robberies, has been long experienced, and so far from protecting the country, they or their police officers (who in general purchase their appointments, or pay an annual consideration for them) are but too often concerned in the enormities it is their duty to prevent.”

When this great change in the administration of criminal justice was in contemplation, various queries were proposed to the English magistrates, stationed throughout the country, respecting the existing state of the police. Their answers, which are inserted at length in the records of the Bengal government, present a scene of shocking disorder. As it would be too tedious to insert the whole of them upon a subject so little questionable, one only, which goes into character as well as facts, shall be quoted. It is from Mr. Rocke, the magistrate of Jessore.

DECEMBER, 1789.

“ The punishments however, though they exceed in variety and severity, those inflicted by a British court of justice, do not appear at all adequate to the suppression of crimes; and of this the Fougedary records, to the present hour, will bear a
282. “ melancholy

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

" melancholy testimony, as well with regard to the number, as the nature of the
" offences, always to be found in the calendar. The partiality of the natives of this
" country to a profession they have once embraced, and their extreme reluctance to
" quit it, are notorious. The same principle and inherent prejudice, which attach
" the mechanic to his particular line of profession, operate equally upon the robber,
" house-breaker, or murderer, who, desperate as his occupation is, cherishes it
" as much, holds it as dear, and follows it as systematically, as the peaceful merchant
" his easy and lucrative one. Besides this, the constitutional apathy of the natives
" of this country, and the patience with which they endure pain, and even resign life,
" render them, for the most part, regardless of corporal sufferance; and principally
" to this cause may be ascribed the reason, why crimes of all descriptions still
" continue to be perpetrated, although such frequent sacrifices are made to the
" offended laws."

" Of the effects produced by the different modes of punishment in this country,
" we have frequent experience. It may be needless to particularize the milder ones
" inflicted for trifling offences, as their effects may be judged of from what we see
" produced by those of greater magnitude, and more severe nature. Perpetual im-
" prisonment is, I think, improperly regarded as a punishment of a higher order.
" To British minds, the idea it conveys is indeed dreadful; but there is nothing in it
" so terrible to a native of Bengal, to whose natural indolence and inactivity, a life of
" this nature is perfectly congenial, and whilst the necessaries and comforts of life
" are within their reach, the restraint they are under is a circumstance of no great
" hardship to them, being seldom or never so close as to debar them from intercourse
" with the rest of the world. The effects of this punishment are, I apprehend,
" never such as must evidently have been expected from it, as being in rank imme-
" diately next to a capital one. Loss of a hand, or a foot, is undoubtedly a punish-
" ment of a very severe nature, as being not only a painful and dangerous operation,
" but at once depriving the body of a most useful limb, and stamping a mark of
" indelible infamy upon it, and yet this is so little regarded, that *many an offender, on*
" *apprehension, is found to have already forfeited a limb, and sometimes even two, to*
" *the laws.* Death, the last, and in the general opinion of mankind, the greatest of
" all punishments, fails here greatly of its intended effect. *Fortified by their strong*
" *religious prejudices and notions of predestination, and not unfrequently elated with*
" *the idea of suffering as martyrs to the cause, and amidst the prayers and applauses*
" *of their confederates, criminals in this country, meet death with indifference and*
" *composure.*"

Authentic relations of the transactions of Hindoo nations, and Hindoo individuals with each other, would constitute a very satisfactory kind of evidence in the illustration of their character. But of true history they possess few records. The genius of the government, and the genius of the people, were alike unfavourable to that species of composition. Such accounts however as have reached us of their ancient wars, exhibit pictures of eminent cruelty and injustice.

Of recent times, the public occurrences, in which Europeans have been parties or witnesses, are generally diffused through voluminous official writings, which if accessible, could not be perspicuously contracted within one division of this limited work; and of private observation and experience, which might have furnished many curious and instructive collections, seldom has it been the practice to register accurate details. But happily one testimony presents itself, which unites with unquestionable authority, views of Hindoo character, in a country never under a Mahomedan power. This country is Nepaul, and the relation is given by Father Joseph, a Romish missionary of known respectability in Bengal, from whom it was communicated by Mr. (now Sir John) Shore, to the Asiatic Society*. Father Joseph was in Nepaul in the year 1769. Three chiefs of that region then contended for sovereignty, and some of their proceedings are described in the following extracts.

" The inhabitants of Certipore, receiving no support from the King of Lelit-
" Pattan, to whom they were subject, applied for assistance to Gainprejas, who
" immediately marched with his whole army to their relief, gave battle to the army
" of the King of Gorcha, and obtained a complete victory. A brother of the King
" of Gorcha was killed on the field of battle, and the King himself, by the assistance
" of good bearers, narrowly escaped with his life by fleeing into the mountains.
" After

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. page 307.

“ After the action, the inhabitants of Certipore demanded Gainprejas for their King, and the nobles of the town went to confer with him on the business; *but being all assembled in the same apartment with the King, they were all surprised and seized by his people. After the seizure of those persons, Gainprejas, perhaps to revenge himself of these nobles for having refused their concurrence to his nomination as King (upon a former occasion) privately caused some of them to be put to death; another, by name Danucanta, was led through the city in a woman's dress, along with several others, cloathed in a ridiculous and whimsical manner, at the expence of the nobles of Lelit-Pattan.* They were then kept in close confinement for a long time; at last, after making certain promises, and interesting all the principal men of the country in their behalf, Gainprejas set them at liberty.”

“ The King of Gorc'ha, despairing of his ability to get possession of the plain of Nepaul by strength, *hoped to effect his purpose by causing a famine; and with this design, stationed troops at all the passes of the mountains, to prevent any intercourse with Nepaul: and his orders were most rigorously obeyed, for every person who was found in the road, with only a little salt or cotton about him, was hung upon a tree; and he caused all the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, to be put to death in a most cruel manner; even the women and children did not escape, for having supplied a little cotton to the inhabitants of Nepaul; and when I arrived in that country at the beginning of 1769, it was a most horrid spectacle to behold so many people hanging on trees in the road.* However the King of Gorc'ha, being also disappointed in his expectations of gaining his end by this project, fomented dissensions among the nobles of the three kingdoms of Nepaul, and attached to his party many of the principal ones, by holding forth to them, liberal and enticing promises, for which purpose he had about two thousand Brahmins in his service.”

“ The inhabitants of Certipore having already sustained six or seven months siege, a noble of Lelit-Pattan, called Danuvanta, fled to the Gorc'ha party, and treacherously introduced their army into the town; the inhabitants might still have defended themselves, having many other fortresses in the parts of the town to retreat to; but the people of Gorc'ha having published a general amnesty, the inhabitants, greatly exhausted by the fatigues of a long siege, *surrendered themselves prisoners upon the faith of that promise.* In the mean time the men of Gorc'ha seized all the gates and fortresses within the town; *but two days afterwards, Prit'hwinarayan, who was at Navacuta (a long day's journey distant) issued an order to Suruparatna, his brother, to put to death some of the principal inhabitants of the town, and to cut off the noses and lips of every one, even the infants, who were not found in the arms of their mothers, ordering at the same time, all the noses and lips which had been cut off, to be preserved, that he might ascertain how many souls there were, and to change the name of the town into Naskatapur, which signifies the town of cut-noses. The order was carried into execution with every mark of horror and cruelty, none escaping but those who could play on wind-instruments; although Father Michael Angelo, who without knowing that such an inhuman scene was then exhibited, had gone to the house of Suruparatna, interceded much in favour of the poor inhabitants. Many of them put an end to their lives in despair; others came in great bodies to us in search of medicines, and it was most shocking to see so many living people with their teeth and noses resembling the skulls of the deceased.*”

“ During the siege of Cal'hmandu, the Brahmins of Gorc'ha came almost every night into the city, to engage the chiefs of the people on the part of their King; and the more effectually to impose upon poor Gainprejas, many of the principal Brahmins went to his house, and told him to persevere with confidence, that the chiefs of the Gorc'ha army were attached to his cause, and that even they themselves would deliver up their King, Prit'hwinarayan, to his hands. Having by these artifices procured an opportunity of detaching from his party all his principal subjects, tempting them with liberal promises according to their custom, one night the men of Gorc'ha entered the city without opposition, and the wretched Gainprejas, perceiving he was betrayed, had scarce time to escape with about three hundred of his best and most faithful Hindostany troops, towards Lelit-Pattan, which place however he reached the same night.”

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

" The King of Gorc'ha, having made himself master of Cat'hmandu in the year 1768, persisted in the attempt of possessing himself also of the city of Lelit-Pattan, promising all the nobles that he would suffer them to remain in the possession of their property, that he would even augment it; and because the nobles of Lelit-Pattan placed *a** reliance on the faith of his promises, he sent his domestic priest to make this protestation, That if he failed to acquit himself of his promise, he should draw curses upon himself and his family, even to the fifth, past, and succeeding generation: so that the unhappy Gainprejas, and the King of Lelit-Pattan, seeing that the nobility were disposed to render themselves subject to the King of Gorc'ha, withdrew themselves with their people to the King of B'hatgan. When the city of Lelit-Pattan became subject to the King of Gorc'ha, he continued for some time to treat the nobility with great attention, and proposed to appoint a viceroy of the city from among them. Two or three months afterwards, having appointed the day for making his formal entrance into the city of Lelit-Pattan, *he made use of innumerable stratagems to get into his possession the persons of the nobility, and in the end succeeded.* He had prevailed upon them to permit their sons to remain at court, as companions of his son; he had dispatched a noble of each house to Navacut, or New Fort, pretending that the apprehensions he entertained of them had prevented his making a public entrance into the city; *and the remaining nobles were seized at the river without the town, where they went to meet him, agreeable to a prior engagement.* Afterwards he entered the city, made a visit to the temple of Baghero, adjoining to our habitation, and passing in triumph through the city amidst immense numbers of soldiers, who composed his train, entered the royal palace which had been prepared for his reception; in the mean time, parties of his soldiers broke open the houses of the nobility, seized all their effects, and threw the inhabitants of the city into the utmost consternation. *After having caused all the nobles who were in their power to be put to death, or rather their bodies to be mangled in a horrid manner,* he departed with a design of besieging B'hatgan, and we obtained permission, through the interest of his son, to retire with all the christians into the possessions of the English."

A multitude of other quotations which might be made in illustration of the Hindoo character, both from modern publications and from authors of more ancient date, as Sir Thomas Rowe, Hamilton, Baldæus, Nieuhoff, Tavernier, and others, are for the sake of brevity omitted; but as it may be interesting to see the sentiments of so distinguished a character as Timour, or Tamerlane, upon the subject in question, these extracts shall be closed with a quotation from his Institutes, supposed to have been compiled *A. D.* 1400.

" The inhabitants of Hindostan are equally debilitated in their corporeal, and inert in their mental faculties; inexorable and penurious to such an extreme, that only personal violence can enforce justice. Regardless of honour, and indecent in their dress, they sacrifice their lives for trifles, and are indefatigable in unworthy pursuits; whilst improvident and imprudent, their ideas are confined and views circumscribed. When reduced to poverty, they patiently have recourse to the most menial employments, forgetting their previous circumstances, and seldom quitting the world without injuring their benefactors; but whilst the acquisition of riches tempers every atrocity, indolence pervades their most momentous transactions. The native of Hindostan has no pretensions to humanity but the figure; whilst imposture, fraud, and deception, are by him considered as meritorious accomplishments †."

Of the Mahomedans, who mix in considerable numbers with the former inhabitants of all the countries subdued by their arms in Hindostan, it is necessary also to say a few words. Originally of the Tartar race, proud, fierce, and lawless; attached also to their superstition, which cherished their native propensities; they were rendered by success yet more proud, sanguinary, sensual, and bigotted. Their government, though

* So in the original; but it seems to be an error of the press, the sense requiring that it should be "no reliance."

† Mackay's Asiatic Miscellany, Vol. I. page 279. This picture may be compared with that which Sir John Shore, drawing likewise from the life, more than three hundred years afterwards, has

has delineated. If it be said, that these are the representations of conquerors and foreigners, it may be replied, that they are not opinions advanced in a state of hostility or controversy, but mature observations, made in a time of settled government, after many years experience of the behaviour of the Hindoos to each other.

though meliorated under the house of Timour, was undoubtedly a violent despotism, and the delegated administration of it too often a severe oppression. Breaking through all the restraints of morals which obstructed their way to power, they afterwards abandoned themselves to the most vicious indulgences, and the most atrocious cruelties. Perfidy in them, was more signal than in the Hindoos. Successive treacheries, assassinations, and usurpations, mark their history more perhaps than that of any other people. The profession of arms was studied by them, and they cultivated the Persian learning. They introduced Arabic laws, formed for rude and ignorant tribes, and in the administration of them, as may be judged from the specimen above exhibited, were most corrupt.

Every worldly profession, indeed every course of secular business, was in their avowed opinion (an opinion which they still hold) irreconcilable with strict virtue. Commerce, and the details of the finances, they left chiefly to the Hindoos, whom they despised and insulted. Where their government still prevails, the character resulting from their original temper, and superstition, aggravated by the enjoyment of power, remains in force. In our provinces, where their authority is subverted, and where many of them fall into the lower lines of life, that character becomes less obvious: but with more knowledge, and more pretensions to integrity, they are as unprincipled as the Hindoos. Their perfidy, however, and licentiousness, are the perfidy and licentiousness of a bolder people*.

From the government and intermixture of the Mahomedans, the Hindoos have certainly derived no improvement of character. The invaders, may fairly be supposed to have contributed their share to the general evils, and even to have increased them. But they did not produce those evils, nor could they have perpetuated them in opposition to the genius and spirit of the Hindoos, who are in number probably as eight to one. They may therefore be considered, rather as constituting an accession, than as giving a character to the mass. The vices however of the Mahomedans, and Hindoos, are so homogeneous, that in stating their effects, it is not inaccurate to speak of both classes under the description of the one collective body into which they are now formed.

Upon the whole, then, we cannot avoid recognizing in the people of Hindostan, a race of men lamentably degenerate and base; retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation; yet obstinate in their disregard of what they know to be right, governed by malevolent and licentious passions, strongly exemplifying the effects produced on society by great and general corruption of manners, and sunk in misery by their vices†, in a country peculiarly calculated by its natural advantages, to promote the happiness of its inhabitants. The delineation from which this conclusion is formed, has been a task so painful, that nothing except the consciousness of meaning to do good could have induced the author to proceed in it. He trusts he has an affecting sense of the general imperfection of human nature, and would abhor the idea of needlessly or contemptuously exposing the defects of any man, or set of men. If he has given an unfavourable description, his wish is not to excite detestation, but to engage compassion, and to make it apparent, that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes, springs from moral sources capable of correction.

CHAP. III.

Causes which have produced the present Situation and Character of the Hindoos.

IN investigating the peculiar characters of different nations, it is both usual and reasonable to ascribe them principally to the influence of climate, of government and laws, and of religion: it will be proper, therefore, to lay before the reader the situation of Hindostan, with respect to each of those particulars, that he may be enabled

* See the character of the Mahomedans, before alluded to, in Scrafton's Reflections, p. 19, et seq.

† Some persons may be disposed to enquire, how the frame of society has been preserved from dissolution

solution among these people, if they are indeed so greatly and so generally depraved. To that question, an answer will be given in the course of the following chapter.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

enabled to judge whether the wretched state of society and manners among the Hindoos, who, as has been already observed, have a general identity of character, may not fairly be traced to that source.

The climate of India, particularly of the south-east provinces, must be allowed to be less favourable to the human constitution than the more temperate regions of Europe. The bodily frame is less strong and hardy, the faculties have less energy, their exercise is less expanded and delightful, ardor is checked, the oppressed spirits yield more easily to indolence and indulgence, and the fertility of the soil easily supplying the few natural wants of the natives, aids this propensity. Nevertheless in developing the causes of the Hindoo character, too much seems sometimes to have been imputed to the climate; effects greater, and of more necessary result, than fair examination will confirm.

The inhabitants of foreign descent, who continue the use of animal food, especially the Armenians, a sober people, are more robust than the Hindoos; and to speak of the Hindoos themselves, their military tribe has discovered, under foreign discipline, a considerable share of active vigor. The Banians, and all the trading part of the community, are capable of long sedentary application. Porters, boatmen, runners, and others of the labouring class, can endure severe fatigue. Multitudes of devotees manifest a resolution and perseverance in painful sufferings altogether astonishing. And with regard to the faculties of the mind, the Brahmins, who have cultivated learning, have certainly evinced themselves an acute, subtle, and penetrating order of men. These circumstances show, that the people in general are equal at least to decent application in different lines, susceptible even of a strong impulse, though not perhaps of great continued energy. And it is reasonable to believe, that were those evils corrected which do not arise from the climate, they would in time hold a much higher place among the human species, than they are now capable of maintaining.

The despotic mode of government which generally is prevalent in the East, and appears at all times to have subsisted among the Hindoos, has undoubtedly had a very considerable influence in the formation of their character. When a man finds himself dependent on the will and caprice of another, he thinks and acts as a degraded being; his regard for all that is valuable in life is reduced to the degree of personal interest which he has in it, his care for whatever extends to the rest of his race, and to future time, is sunk in the precariousness of the present hour. Fear necessarily becomes his grand principle of action; thence springs distrust; and as arbitrary power does not excite in those over whom it tyrannizes, the expectation of finding truth and justice its associates, it is not productive of integrity and veracity. The arts of deception, suppleness, and servility, are resorted to, and thus a system of falsehood and narrow selfishness is generated. Violence in the ruler quickens the process. The first idea raised is that of self-defence against him; then follow plans of concealed and avowed hostility against his deputies and agents, from whom injury is apprehended. The despotic principle actuates all the subordinate offices, and posts of authority, and its effects become general; every man is a slave to those above him, and a despot to those below him; the more he is oppressed, the more he oppresses; and thus is diffused a temper of universal enmity, acting secretly or openly according to opportunities. No wonder therefore, that when the principle is highly strained, treasons and revolutions are continual; by which the insolent and abject frequently change places, so that he who yesterday scarcely deigned to look on the suppliant before him, is to-day spurned from the feet of that suppliant, now in his turn exalted to the seat of authority. Such, in particular, is the description that may be given of a large period of the Mahomedan government in Hindostan. The descendants of Timour, holding for a time the greater part of that continent under one head, prevented much of the war and bloodshed that had before, and have since wasted it; but internal disorders, under the best of their governors, were necessarily very great; and the character of the Hindoos, suffering from the oppression of numerous invaders, must in several respects have been debased.

But they did not receive the despotic form of government from the Tartars, nor were they degraded only when they became subject to Mahomedan conquerors. Had they not been an abject people before, foreigners from a vast distance, carrying few magazines with them, could not have possessed themselves of so great a country, rendered by its natural defences, its climate, and its periodical rains, very strong against invasions by land. They have had among themselves a complete despotism from the remotest antiquity; a despotism, the most remarkable for its power and duration that the

the world has ever seen. It has pervaded their government, their religion, and their laws. It has formed by its various ramifications, the essentials of the character which they have always had, as far as the light of history goes, and which they still possess; that character, which has made them a prey to every invader, indifferent to all their rulers, and easy in the change of them; as a people, void of public spirit, honour, attachment; and in society, base, dishonest, and faithless. That despotism, with a variety of subordinate principles to which it has given birth, still exists in great vigour, even where the political government is in foreign hands, and therefore although by acting the part of upright rulers towards our Hindoo subjects, and endeavouring to provide for a fair administration of justice among them, we shall repress many disorders that before prevailed, yet this reform will not reach those evils in their character and conduct, already described, which are the bane of their happiness, personal and social. Nor will it ensure to us their attachment, which, in point of policy, it would be desirable to engage by an amelioration of their character, instead of leaving their old facility in changing, to co-operate with their imbecility, in favour of any new invader.

The ancient Hindoo government is thought scarcely to exist now in its original form*. The Hindoo states, raised from the ruins of the Mogul Empire, cannot well be taken as pure representations of it; at least we have but little certainty of possessing an entire model, and can therefore only refer to its fundamental principles, of which there is indisputable evidence. But their religion and their laws, both parts of one complex system, still remain; the former in all its authority, the latter also, in its essence and in many of its branches, operative: and these, by the principles on which they are founded, and by the rules and precepts which they deliver, have given birth to that spirit, and those practices of oppression, injustice, corruption, in a word, those immoralities which incomparably more than every other cause, render the people base and miserable. To this position, the most particular attention is requested. A full exhibition of all the proofs which might be brought in support of it, would require a much longer space than is necessarily prescribed to this treatise. Some leading facts and arguments however, sufficient it is hoped solidly to establish it, shall now be stated. They will be derived partly from the code of Hindoo laws, and partly from the tenets of the Hindoo religion. The code of laws was compiled and published in 1773, under the government of Mr. Hastings, and at his desire, by a body of "experienced lawyers, selected for the purpose from every part of Bengal," who we are further told, "carefully picked out the ordinances, sentence by sentence, from various originals in the Shanscrit language, neither adding to, nor diminishing from, any part of the ancient text†." And the translator adds, what is of importance to be observed, "that from this code may be formed a precise idea of the customs and manners of these people; that their institutes are interwoven with the religion of the country, and therefore revered as of the highest authority." The authenticity of this work, and the value of the general evidence which it furnishes, must thence be unquestionable.

With regard to the religion of the Hindoos, although a regular translation of the Vedes, those writings which they repute as sacred, has not yet given us all their mythology, doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, in authoritative detail; yet the intercourse of three centuries between the Europeans and that people, the relations of various travellers in different parts of India, and their agreement as to the general matter and character, as well as many particulars of the Gentoo faith, the elucidating accounts of the Mahomedans, and the daily experience of multitudes of Europeans, leave us at no loss concerning the grand features, the main credenda and agenda of that superstition, its genius, and its consequences. Of late the public has had other accessions of information, stamped with great authority. We refer, in the first place, to the Institutes of the Emperor Akber, compiled by his learned and intelligent minister

* The government of Nepaul, of which less was known when this passage was written, is probably no inexact representation of the original Hindoo constitution. Of that country, which, as has been already observed, was never subdued by the Musselmans, our information was scanty before the late deputation thither of Captain Kirkpatrick from Bengal. That gentleman has given a curious and interesting account of his journey, which affords much light into the history of Nepaul. It would thence appear, that the form of the government,

ment, the state officers, civil and military, employed under it, and the sources of its revenue, are nearly the same in kind as are found to have been established in Hindostan under the rule of the Moguls; a strong presumption in favour of what we have ventured elsewhere to suppose, that these conquerors did not innovate greatly in the forms of administration in the Hindoo countries of which they possessed themselves. 1797.

† Preface to the Hindoo Code.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

minister Abul Fazil, about *A. D.* 1550, in the zenith of the Mogul power*; one volume of which work is employed solely upon the religion and sciences of the Hindoos, and professedly formed from the communications of the most learned Brahmins. We may rest assured, that such a man, employed in a work intended for a public record of the highest order, would obtain from that source much authentic information, and that the view given him of the Hindoo doctrines would be at least sufficiently favourable. Favourable indeed, both in respect of those doctrines and the character of the people, that view will appear to have been, by comparing it with other authorities; and there are obvious reasons why the noble writer would naturally be disposed to acquiesce in it. It was the design of Akber, who was of a tolerant spirit, to conciliate all his subjects towards himself and towards each other; and in a work composed immediately under his inspection with this intention, and for public use, it could never be admissible to delineate at length the faults of the great body of those subjects.

The second recent acquisition, is the *Bhagvad-Geeta*, translated by Mr. Wilkins from a Shanscrit work, certainly of considerable antiquity. This is a very curious record. It is deemed to be so purified from the grosser parts of the Hindoo superstition, that it is carefully concealed by the Brahmins from the rest of the people; yet it has evidently been corrupted, in order to conciliate some tolerably just principles with a degenerate practice. Besides these publications, Sir William Jones†, a man wonderful for his stores of knowledge, and for the ardour with which he still presses forward to increase them, who penetrates into the abstruse recesses of oriental learning with singular felicity and success, has communicated much valuable information from his late researches. Arrived at length at the fountains of Shanscrit learning, he indeed appears to consider past discoveries as inaccurate or imperfect‡; referring probably to the speculative and metaphysical doctrines contained in the Vedes, concerning which the Brahmins themselves have divers opinions and systems. But of the obvious and popular tenets of the Hindoo religion, its worship, and ceremonies, enough is certainly known to enable us to judge of their nature and their effects.

In the following pages, the writer will rest the argument he maintains, on information already before the public, rather than on any new matter which his own observation, during his residence in India, might enable him to furnish. For though the shoots from the great trunk of Hindoo superstition are so numerous, and all partake of the same nature, yet the additional facts which a single individual, whose attention was not wholly devoted to the subject, could have an opportunity of ascertaining, must appear trifling, in comparison of the whole mass of knowledge collected by the industry of numbers, during a long course of time, and rendered more worthy of notice by ascending nearer the source of things. And where important deductions are to be made, as in the present case, he is far from wishing the premises from which they are drawn to rest upon his authority.

It is proposed then, to proceed to the consideration of the Hindoo laws. But since it has appeared that both the Mahomedan and English conquerors of India have by legislative provisions of their own, in part superseded those which they found there, persons who reason from the changes which have relatively taken place in the social state and in the laws, of every European nation, and from the mutual influence of laws and of manners upon each other, may naturally conceive, that rules which have been abrogated

* Translated from the Persian into English, by Francis Gladwin, Esq.

† Europe, and Asia, and the world, have since sustained an irreparable loss in the death of this most valuable man, who was cut off in the vigour of his days, and in the midst of new inquiries and discoveries, among the recondite repositories of Hindoo learning, into which he carried such a lamp of general knowledge, as threw surprizing light on every subject he investigated. What he has done, however, will immortalize his memory. He has opened the way into the mythological and scientific arcana of a people, who have for many ages been as remarkable for their adherence to their peculiar institutions, as for arrogating to themselves an unfathomable antiquity, and the possession of a pure and primeval, though carefully concealed system of theology and science; claims which have been as officiously as ignorantly accorded

accorded to them by some anti-christian philosophers of Europe. He has shown that one of their earliest traces of true history describes an *universal deluge*, in which only a *patriarch*, and *seven* other men, (to whom this account gives wives,) were saved in an *ark*; and that the whole of their chronology is reconcileable with the Mosaic history.—See Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. Art. "Chronology of the Hindoos."—It is impossible on this occasion to avoid expressing a very high degree of respect and esteem for the learned and instructive labours of various other members of that distinguished society. Though the character of the Hindoos be in a moral view now low, yet the development of their history, their literature, their mythology, and science, has been a great desideratum in human knowledge, and must prove of eminent importance to mankind. 1797.

‡, Asiatic Researches, Vol II.

abrogated can no longer affect the character of the people; therefore that before any application is made of evidence deduced from the Hindoo laws, it ought to be shown what portion of those laws is still operative, and from that portion only to estimate the effect produced. It is the wish of the writer, to allow to this objection all the weight to which it is entitled, and as far as he can, to afford the satisfaction which it requires.

To give an exact enumeration of the Hindoo laws, and to distinguish those which may now be regarded as obsolete, would, if the task could be performed, require a detail inconsistent with the design of this essay. But no such digest has yet been made. The general lines of discrimination however are tolerably clear. The Mahomedans, as we have seen, introduced their own forms of judicature. In criminal matters, their code, severe and barbarous, like that of the Hindoos, was made the general rule of judgment. In civil concerns between Hindoos, these people had the benefit of their own laws. The English continued, as we have also seen, the legal establishments of their predecessors, improving them, and softening in some instances the cruelty of punishment. At present therefore, the criminal law administered in Bengal, is that of the Mahomedans rendered in certain cases more mild and equitable. The civil code stands likewise upon the basis of their system, but has a larger infusion of English ordinances, and it refers causes between Hindoos to be decided by the laws of that people.

Those laws prescribe certain rules to the *sovereign*, which cannot of course be acted upon in our government, though the general influence of a governing power will still be felt: and on subjects of political economy, such as cultivation of the soil, revenue, and commerce, respecting which the Hindoo code is very defective, we have been obliged to enact new regulations.

On the whole, besides the Hindoo institutions, purely religious, all those which relate to castes, to marriage, to inheritance, and to divers other civil concerns, remain still in force; excepting only that certain offences against caste, for which the code decrees capital or sanguinary punishments, dreadfully severe, are not cognizable in our criminal courts; nor does our government countenance the infliction of those barbarities; and transgressions of the innumerable rules of caste being tried among themselves, are commonly punished by fines or excommunications. Still however, the branches now particularized, of their system, are those which have the greatest influence in the formation of their character and manners; and it should be remembered, that the ways in which caste may be contaminated or lost, have been, in course of time, arbitrarily and exceedingly multiplied.

But in estimating the effect produced upon the Hindoos of our territories, even by that portion of their institutions which is in a proper sense legal, some other considerations must be taken into the account.

The Hindoo law stands upon the same authority as the Hindoo religion; both are parts of one system, which they believe to have been divinely revealed. That law is regarded by them therefore with a superstitious veneration, which institutions avowedly of human origin do not produce; so that even under a foreign yoke, which in various particulars superseded its injunctions, it still maintained its credit. Hence may be deduced, in part, the predilection of that people, especially of the leading orders, for their ancient state and peculiar customs, which in all the long period of Mahomedan rule, prevented them from being assimilated to the institutions of their conquerors.

Laws, which by tacit consent have fallen into general disuse, can no longer be quoted as characteristic of the actual state of manners. They serve rather to prove some change in the sentiments or dispositions of a people; but the abrogation or suspension, by the power of a foreign master, of certain parts of a code still approved, does not necessarily infer any such alteration. The Hindoos have generally in their intercourses with each other, acted in the spirit of their own institutions. The landholders, for instance, many of them possessing extensive districts, have been to their obsequious dependents, as petty sovereigns; causes originating in their vicinity have been very commonly referred to their decision, or even in parts more distant, to their deputies. Disputes are also frequently referred to the Brahmins. Matters of caste are solely cognizable by them, or by arbitrators of the tribe in which the contest breaks out, and form a source of endless litigation. If even encreasing security and ease conciliate them more to our government, which is probable, they will still perhaps ascribe the change, not to the superiority of our system over their own, but

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

to the superior personal conduct of the English, who preside over them. Their Mahomedan rulers, especially since the accession of the line of Timour, have partly from political, and partly from venal motives, paid considerable regard to their prejudices; and the English, both in the execution of the laws, and in the general exercise of their authority, have uniformly and spontaneously displayed a spirit of extreme toleration and indulgence to all their peculiar notions and usages.

It is to be remembered also, that our subjects form only a small part of the vast race of people who profess the Hindoo faith, and that with whole nations of these, they live in immediate contact.

Nor lastly, must it be overlooked, that the account which has been given of the Hindoos, is a description of their character as it exists after a long suspension by their former rulers (a suspension continued by us) of some of the worst parts of their legal system.

If all these things then be considered, together with the influence of the congenial institutions, which are still authoritatively in force, perhaps we shall not see reason to suppose, that the innovations which we have made in the administration of law among the Hindoos, have produced, or are likely to produce, any material change in their character; but we may rather expect that this character will still bear the lively impress of the general spirit of their institutions, civil and sacred. To illustrate that spirit, is one object particularly proposed by the survey upon which we are now to enter of the Hindoo code.

Despotism is not only the principle of the government of Hindostan, but an original, fundamental, and irreversible principle in the very frame of society. The law, not contenting itself with enjoining passive obedience to the magistrate, or sovereign, and with having a due regard to the inequalities in condition, and subordinations in rank, which arise from the constitution of the world, and are plainly agreeable to the will of the great Creator, rests entirely on the following fundamental position:—that certain classes or races of the society are in their elementary principles, in the matter from which they were formed, absolutely of a higher nature, of a superior order in the scale of being, to certain other classes. It is, in the opinion of the Hindoos, an awful and momentous truth, a truth maintained in full vigour to this day, a truth placed in the front of their code, that the Brahmins were formed from the mouth of Brimha, the Kheterees from his arm, the Vyse (or Bice) from his thigh, and the Sooders from his foot. Hence it is a necessary consequence, that this primeval and essential distinction is no more mutable or defeasible, than it is possible for one of the brute creation to advance itself to the rank of man*. And such is the division of the Hindoos into four great tribes or castes—the priests, the soldiers, the husbandmen or traders, and the servile class, whose sole assigned duty is to serve the other three†.

Now the evils that flow from such an arrangement, are infinite. Other modes of depotism lead in their very excess and abuse to a remedy, but here the chain of servitude is indissoluble and eternal. Though the highest orders be guilty of the most flagitious wickedness, pervert the use of power, become weak, arrogant and oppressive, the frame of society can suffer no change; that order must still continue in the enjoyment and exercise of all its vast privileges and prerogatives.

The lowest rank, on the contrary, is doomed to perpetual abasement and unlimited subjection. It has no relief against the most oppressive and insulting tyranny, no hope of ever escaping from its sufferings. Though permitted indeed to

* "The Brahmins, indisputably persuaded that the superiority of their tribe is interwoven with the very essence of their nature, esteem that to be a full and satisfactory plea for every advantage settled on them above the rest of the people." *Preface to the Code*, page 52.

† It is worthy of remark, that according to a tradition in Nepaul, reported by Captain Kirkpatrick in the ingenious work before-mentioned, Pusso-Pusp-Deo, a Rajah of that country, is said to have first divided the general mass of his people into the four grand and well known tribes of the present day. The chronological series of Nepaul princes, which Captain Kirkpatrick has been able to exhibit, and which, as he well ob-

serves, assigns to many of the reigns an extravagant duration, (making on the whole an average of more than forty years,) would give to Pusso-Pusp-Deo an antiquity of about three thousand years. Be that as it may, it is evident, that a tradition subsisting in Nepaul makes the first institution of castes an human appointment. A small secluded valley like Nepaul, environed on all sides with hills, is very likely to have been an early, if not an original seat of such an institution; and there are at least strong reasons for believing, that the Brahminical religion had not its first rise in the southern parts of Hindostan, if at all in that region.

to employ its industry, the greatest success can never in the slightest degree rescue it from inherent dishonour; and if the genius of a Newton should arise in that class, it could have no room to expand, nor if it had, could all its excellence deliver its possessor from the obligation of administering to the most ignorant and vicious of the Brahmins.

CHAP. III.
*Causes of the present
Situation and
Character of the
Hindoos.*

One of the heaviest grievances attending this state of degradation, is, that it discourages all liberal exertions, and consigns those who are destined to it, to ignorance, mean opinions of themselves, and consequent meanness of manners, sentiment, and conduct. Lest however, through the medium of learning, they should have a chance of emerging from this low and confined state, the Brahmins (by an ordinance of the Vedes, which through their imposture have the credit of proceeding from a divine origin, and of containing all valuable science) have forbidden them, on pain of death, to read the sacred books.

Now as this fourth tribe would naturally comprehend, at the very first, more than a fourth part of the people, and as the offspring of every subsequent, irregular commixture of the four original tribes, and all the descendents of that mixed race, fall by the law still lower than the fourth class, we may conclude that a large portion of the people is thus held down to earth. The evils inherent in this sort of distinction, (widely different it will easily be seen from mere gradation in society, because here essential superiority is entailed upon some classes, and essential inferiority upon others, for all generations,) extend in their degree to each of the intermediate classes, and the lowest feels the accumulated weight of general superiority. Those nearer the summit, become a cement to this system, which by allotting to them certain prerogatives, disposes them the more easily to acquiesce in it, and to support it.

Nothing is more plain, than that this whole fabric is the work of a crafty and imperious priesthood, who feigned a divine revelation and appointment, to invest their own order, in perpetuity, with the most absolute empire over the civil state of the Hindoos, as well as over their minds. It is true, that they assigned the reins of political government to another order, the Kheterees; but they still maintained in full exercise the indefeasible superiority of their own rank, they prescribed the rules of administration, they were the privileged advisers of the *Magistrate*, (as the sovereign, or ruler, is termed in the code,) they rendered themselves necessary to the man invested with that dignity, in his personal, as well as official capacity; and in the preliminary discourse to the code, we are told of a king, whom on his obstinate disregard of some ordinances of the Vedes, and of the counsel given by the Brahmins, they put to death. That "this resignation of the secular and executive power into the hands of another caste, is a striking instance of the moderation of the Brahminical order," cannot then be conceded to the translator of the code, for they secured to themselves all the power of the empire, but transferred the danger and trouble attendant on it to their inferiors; they retained all the advantages of secular pre-eminence, and divested themselves of all responsibility*.

To

* As some persons* appear disposed to think the institution of castes, and their separation by impassable barriers, the effect of profound political wisdom, it may be well for them to consider, whether it be possible to reconcile with the idea of true wisdom, that which derives both its origin and support from fraud and imposture; whether fraud and imposture can finally produce the fruits of truth and justice; and how far the supposed object of such policy, namely the good of society, is in fact fairly and solidly obtained by it. The subjection of one part to another is indeed secured; but is it good for the part so subjected, (infinitely the larger part of the whole,) and its numerous posterity, through all the successions of time, to be placed in bondage to the other? It seems difficult to maintain such an assertion by arguments, which will not also recommend, both in a personal and social view, the ancient system of slavery. That such a mechanical construction of society is not favourable to the external interests of

of a body politic, may be easily discerned: for what public principle can exist in a state, where the greatest part of the people are totally and forever excluded, under the highest penalties, from taking any concern in public affairs. Some who have considered this subject philosophically, seem to rest the defence of such an arbitrary arrangement, upon a sentiment supposed to pervade the different classes, of the inviolability of each others rights†. Had a sentiment of that nature influenced them, the rights remained very unequal; but the truth is, that the same consequences follow which must ever be expected from unlimited power,—pride and tyranny on one side, abject servility and suffering on the other. And were it certain, as the translator of the code has intimated, "that long usage has persuaded the people of the equity of their distinctions‡," this would be an additional proof of their minds and judgments being debased. Nothing is better known, than that the Brahminical tribe are pre-eminent in those

* See Dr. Robertsen's Ancient India.

† Ditto - - - - - page 264.

‡ Preface to the Code, page 11.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

To show how the singular species of despotism here described, pervades the legal system of the Hindoos, and to exhibit specimens of different laws, various passages from the code shall now be produced. Since it has, we trust, appeared, that the still remaining influence of that system is not to be ascribed solely to those parts of it which are sanctioned by British authority, we shall be justified in extending our view, and our selection, beyond them. And it will be recollected, on the other hand, that those parts include the laws which relate to the grand concerns of inheritance, marriage, and caste, besides others of inferior import; the severity only of some of the Hindoo punishments being discountenanced by our administration of criminal law. To one or other of those branches, the greater part of the ordinances now to be quoted, will be found to appertain; and for the introduction of others which do not belong to them, particular reasons, in addition to the general one already urged, will appear.

The specimens of laws to be adduced here, shall be arranged under the following heads:

First, Of those which determine some of the prerogatives, or duties, of the Chief Magistrate or Ruler.

Second, Of those which establish distinctions in favour of the superior castes.

Third, Of those which, without reference to castes, give a direct sanction to immoralities.

Fourth, Of those which, without reference to castes, go upon principles of oppression and injustice.

Fifth, Of those which, without reference to castes, discover a spirit of cruelty.

FIRST then, Specimens of Laws which establish some of the Prerogatives and Duties of the Chief Magistrate or Ruler.

Although no Hindoo can now exercise this office in our Eastern territories, these passages, few in number, are produced to show the arbitrary power with which the law invests the sovereign, and the abject submission which it imposes on his subjects. It may be remarked, that our tributary zemindars in the Carnatic, and even the great landholders in Beagal, have still retained some resemblance of this lordly authority over their people.

SOME of his PREROGATIVES.

Code, page 110. "He is not to be considered as a mere man, but as a *Dewtah*" (a subordinate deity, of whom they actually worship numbers.)

269. "If

those atrocities which disturb the peace of society: and this is but one branch of the mischiefs generated by such a system.

The subdivisions of the four original castes, arising from difference of professions, and a variety of separating distinctions, are now so many, the ways of contamination, (and therefore of purification,) so multiplied; stains or expulsions, on the one side, so terrible, and to those, on the other, who thereby succeed to property, so advantageous, that the subject of caste is a prodigious source of wrangling, animosity, litigation, loss of time, of property, and of peace, among the people, and of influence and emolument to the Brahmins, who are the arbiters in all these matters.

When these consequences are considered, together with that which must inevitably have been expected from the beginning, namely, the irregular commerce of the tribes, the political sagacity of the legislators of the Hindoos seems not entitled to great praise, since to every public benefit which they could propose from their system, the preservation

of its simplicity appears to have been essential. And although a celebrated name* regards the institution of castes as a mark of considerably advanced society, there seems more probability in referring it to one of the earlier stages, in which there would indeed be priests, soldiers, and husbandmen, labouring and domestic servants, but the community would be small; and in such a community, an ordinance, apparently simple, fixing the several members and their families in the professions which they already exercised, might more easily be adopted and enforced. Had an ordinance of that nature been promulgated after the society was become numerous, and intermarriages, (not before prohibited), between persons of different professions, and between their descendants, had taken place; and when occupations had been multiplied, and various gradations already established, the difficulty of carrying it permanently into execution, would apparently have been insuperable.

* See Dr. Robertson's Ancient India.

269. "If in any place where the Magistrate is playing at tables, or any such game, in that case if any person, without permission of the Magistrate, interposes with his hand, or by speaking, *the Magistrate shall put him to death.*"

270. "If a man complains causelessly against the Magistrate's counsellor, *the Magistrate shall put him to death.*"

"If a man performs any business or service for the Magistrate's accuser, *the Magistrate shall put him to death.*"

"Men who vilify the Magistrate, men of *innate bad principles*, or men who without reason, cause any internal uneasiness to others, (*of all which the Magistrate himself must be the judge*), the Magistrate shall banish all such the kingdom."

188. "If a man speak reproachfully of any upright Magistrate, the Magistrate shall cut out his tongue; or having confiscated all his effects, shall banish him the kingdom."

189. "If a Magistrate, *for his own good*, has passed any resolutions, whoever refuses to submit to such resolutions, the Magistrate shall cut out the person's tongue*."

207. "If a man beat or ill use a Magistrate *who commits a crime*, whatever it be, the crime of murdering a hundred Brahmins shall be imputed to him; he shall have an iron spit run through him, and be roasted with fire."

Note.—This contains an exception in favour of Brahmins, for *which see the next head.*

SOME of his DUTIES.

Code, page 91. "A Magistrate *must have near him a learned Brahmin.*"

92. "The Magistrate is required to maintain *not less than ten Brahmins of learning and worth*, to give them money, and every token of respect and consideration in the judgment seat."

113. "In all cases, he shall spare and excuse *the Brahmins.*"

116. "He shall give much effects and money to the Brahmins of a conquered country."

"And erect a stately building for them."

118. "He shall keep magicians *who can cure by spells.*"

"He shall keep a great number of buffoons, or parasites, jesters, and dancers."

119. "If he resume a religious endowment, he shall remain in hell a thousand years."

SECOND, Specimens of Laws, which establish Distinctions in favour of the Brahmins and the other Superior Castes.

First, concerning AUTHORITY.

Code, page 117. "The other three orders shall be obedient to the Brahmins†."

282. "Whatever

* In the Institutes of Menu, a work of great antiquity and curiosity, translated by Sir William Jones, since this tract was written, is the following description of the formation and dignity of the king:

"Since a king was composed of particles drawn from those chief guardian deities, he consequently surpasses all mortals in glory."

"Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creature on earth even gaze on him."

"He is fire and air; he, both sun and moon; he, the god of criminal justice; he, the genius of wealth; he, the regent of waters; he, the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child, must not be treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; no, he is a powerful divinity, who appears in human shape.—*Institutes of Menu*, page 159.

† The following passages in the Institutes of Menu are remarkable:

"Let not a king, though in the greatest distress for money, provoke Brahmins to anger by taking their property; for they, once enraged, could immediately, by sacrifices and imprecations, destroy him and his troops, elephants, horses, and cars."

"Who, without perishing, could provoke those holy men, by whom, that is, by whose ancestors, under Brahmá, the all-devouring fire was created, the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase?"

"What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who if angry could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, could give being to new gods and mortals?"

"What man, desirous of life, would injure those, by the aid of whom, that is, by whose oblations,

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

282. "Whatever ordinances Pundits, (who are Brahmins,) deliver to the Ryots, (the body of the people,) from the Shaster, the great body of their ordinances, civil and religious,) the Ryots (who cannot and dare not read the Shaster,) *are bound to obey.*"

"A Pundit, not delivering the sentiments of the Shaster, to be fined two hundred and fifty puns of cowries," (about four or five rupees, or ten shillings.)

261. "If a Sooder reads the Bedes to either of the other three castes, or *listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up.*"

"If a Sooder gets by heart the Bedes, *he shall be put to death.*"

"If he always performs the jugg, (one of their modes of worship, in which the Brahmin officiates,) he shall suffer death, or be fined two hundred ash-ruffees," (about £. 300.)

Second, Concerning RESPECT.

Code, page 261. "If a man of inferior caste, proudly affecting equality with a superior, shall travel by his side on the road, he shall be fined equal to his abilities."

"If a Sooder sits on the carpet of a Brahmin, the Magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, shall banish him the kingdom, or else shall cut off his buttock."

Note.—The shadow of a Chandal, one of those degraded below the fourth caste, passing over victuals, milk, or even water, defiles it. Ten thousand other ways of being polluted by the lower ranks, mark their vileness*.

275. "Brahmins waiting upon great men, shall have free entrance."

"Being passengers in a boat, shall pay no fare, and have precedence."

"And shall pay for goods in a boat, no freight."

Third, Concerning CRIMES,—as ASSAULTS, &c.

Code, page 206. 283. "No crime whatever, nor any number of crimes, shall forfeit the life of a Brahmin: *he shall not be put to death on any account whatever.*"

"No crime in the world is so great as that of murdering a Brahmin; the Magistrates shall never desire his life, nor cut off his limbs."

284. "A Brahmin murdering a Brahmin, or committing incest, shall be punished only with ignominious branding."

206. "If a man deprive another of life, the Magistrate shall deprive that person of life, except he be a Brahmin; *he shall be fined a hundred gold mohurs,*" (about £. 150.)

207. "For

"oblations, worlds, and gods perpetually subsist; those who are rich in the learning of the Veda?"

"A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity, even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular."

"Thus, although Brahmins employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must invariably be honoured, for they are something transcendently divine."

"Of a military man who raises his arm violently on all occasions against the priestly class, the priest himself shall be the chastiser, since the soldier originally proceeded from the Brahmin."

"A priest who well knows the law, needs not complain to the king of any grievous injury; since even by his own power, he may chastise those who injure him."

"His own power, which depends on himself alone, is mightier than the royal power, which depends on other men; by his own might therefore, may a Brahmin coerce his foes."

"He may use, without hesitation, the powerful charms revealed to Atharvan, and by him to Angurā; for speech is the weapon of a Brahmin,

"with

"with that he may destroy his oppressors."—*Institutes*, pages 285. 286. 311.

* "The abode of a Chandal and a Swapaca must be out of the town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place."

"Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages only between equals."

"Let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns."

"By day they may walk about for the purpose of work, distinguished by the king's badges; and they shall carry out the corpse of every one who dies without kindred: such is the fixed rule."

"They shall always kill those who are to be slain by the sentence of the law, and by the royal warrant; and let them take the clothes of the slain, their beds, and their ornaments."

Institutes of Menu, page 295.

207. "For beating or ill-using a Magistrate, *who commits a crime*, (which the first head rates as the crime of murdering a hundred Brahmins,) a Brahmin shall only be fined a hundred ashrupees," (about £.150.)

209. "If a man sets fire to another person's house, with intent to destroy him; or causes him to take poison; or is desirous to murder him with a sword; or carries away that person's wife from his house, and keeps her himself; or plunders all that person's effects, or his tillage; in that case, if the latter deprives the former of life, he shall not be amenable. *But he shall not kill either a cow or a Bramin*," (consequently a Brahmin may do all this for a fine*.)

206. "With whatever limb a man strikes a Brahmin, *that limb shall be cut off*."

"If a Sooder strikes either of the other three classes, *it shall be so done to him*."

208. "If a Sooder spit on a Brahmin, his lips, &c. shall be cut off."

"If a Sooder plucks a Brahmin by the hair, &c. both his hands shall be cut off."

"If a Sooder gives much and frequent molestation to a Brahmin, *he shall be put to death*."

CRIMES continued—ADULTERY.

Code, page 242. "A Sooder, Bice, or Kheteree, guilty with a woman *of the Brahmin caste, who has a master*, (that is a husband or keeper,) shall suffer death by mutilation and burning."

"A Sooder, guilty with a Chandal woman, (one of a degraded tribe,) shall suffer death."

"A Bice or Kheteree, guilty with a woman of inferior caste, to be fined *five hundred or one thousand puns of cowries*," (from eight to sixteen rupees, sixteen to thirty-two shillings.)

"A Brahmin, guilty with a woman of any of the castes, *who has a master*, to be fined *five hundred, or one thousand puns of cowries* (*eight to sixteen rupees*.) He is not in any case of adultery, to be deprived of life."

243. "A woman, guilty with one of the inferior caste, to be eaten by dogs, or burnt with faggots."

"A woman of equal or inferior caste, guilty, *shall not be liable to punishment*, only she shall perform the ceremony of expiation."

244. "If a man commits adultery with an unmarried girl *of inferior caste, by her consent*, he shall not be deemed guilty. If it was done *by violence*, the Magistrate shall take a small fine from him."

248. "For crimes beyond this class, and beyond the line of the human species, the superior castes are taxed in a fine of *five hundred puns of cowries* (about *eight rupees*) the *Sooder only*, doomed to death."

CRIMES continued,—STEALING.

Code, page 220. "If a man steals any man of superior caste, *he shall be burnt with fire*, by having a particular species of grass bound round his body. If he steal a woman, he shall have that grass bound round his body, *be stretched out on a hot plate of iron, and burnt in the fire*."

"If a man steals a man or woman of middling caste, the Magistrate shall cut off both his hands and feet, and cast him out upon a highway where four roads meet."

"If any person *steals a man of inferior caste*, he shall be fined *one thousand puns of cowries*," (about *sixteen rupees or thirty-two shillings*.)

"If he steals a woman of inferior caste, all his property shall be confiscated."

"If a man, in time of war, steals a horse, or an elephant, the Magistrate shall *deprive him of life*."

"If he steals either of these animals in time of peace, the Magistrate shall cut off from him one hand and one foot." (Compare this article with the preceding one concerning stealing a Sooder.)

"If

* The Institutes of Menu however, appear to permit to a man who cannot otherwise escape, the slaying of a Brahmin, who assails him with an intent to murder. Page 234.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

- " If a man steals an elephant or a horse, excellent in all respects, the
Magistrate shall cut off his hand, and foot, and buttock, and *deprive him of life.*"
221. " If a man steals a small animal, the Magistrate shall cut off *half his foot.*"
224. " If a man steals flowers for dying, &c. the Magistrate shall cause the
article to be returned, and *take a coin of gold as a fine.*"
225. " If a man steals flowers, or fruit, or wood, or grass, *belonging to a Brahmin,*
the Magistrate shall cut off his hand."
226. " If a Brahmin who every day performs the jugg, commits a robbery
that deserves death, the Magistrate shall cut off the hair of his head."

Concerning the SCALE of PUNISHMENT, for scandalous or bitter Expressions,
which species of offence will be further explained under a subsequent article,
(Page 101.)

	Puns Cowries
Code, page 182. " A man of equal caste and equal abilities with the accused, shall be fined, - - - - - 1,000 (about sixteen rupees, less than £. 2.)	
" A man of inferior caste and inferior abilities, - - - - - 2,000	
" A man of superior caste and superior abilities, - - - - - 500	
" An equal in caste and abilities, accusing another of one of the crimes in anoo patuk, (the third class of this offence) - - - - - 100	
" An inferior in caste and abilities, ditto, - - - - - 200	
" A superior in caste and abilities, ditto, - - - - - 50 (about one rupee.)	

183. " A Sooder, accusing one of a superior caste of any of the crimes of the
three first classes, (which will be hereafter described,) shall have his *tongue cut*
out, and a hot iron of ten fingers breadth thrust into his mouth." This article may
be compared with the one immediately preceding. The Sooder forfeits his tongue,
and in effect his life, for committing against a superior that offence, which, if a supe-
rior commit it against him, costs only half a crown; a fine so trifling, whilst the
penalty of retorting on the other side is so dreadful, as rather to encourage than pre-
vent this species of wrong in the upper ranks.

Concerning CIVIL AFFAIRS.

As to interest of money, the proportion of rates payable by the different classes,
shall be introduced for the sake of illustrating the spirit of the code.

Code, page 2. " Where a Brahmin pays per month 1 per cent.	
" A Kheteree shall pay - - - - - 1½	
" A Bice (or Vyse) - - - - - 2	
" A Sooder - - - - - 5	
" And so in proportion whatever the rate is *."	

PAYMENT of DEBTS.

Code, page 21. " If a very rich man, of *weak understanding* and of a *very*
mean tribe, from a principle of fraud and obstinacy refuses to pay his debts, the
Magistrate shall oblige him to discharge the money claimed, and *fine him double*
the sum."

22. " If a very rich man, of *an excellent education and of a superior caste*, from
a principle of fraud and obstinacy refuses to pay his debts, and the creditor com-
mences a suit against him, the Magistrate shall cause the money in dispute to be
paid, and shall *fine the debtor one-twentieth* of the sum recovered."

As to TAXES on BUYING and SELLING.

Code, page 258. " On all sales. Inland purchase and sale 10 per cent.	
" Foreign - 5 per cent. on the profit.	
" A Brahmin, learned in the Bedes, shall pay no tax on sales."	

As

* The English government in Bengal has now
ordained twelve per cent. per annum, to be the
general legal maximum of interest, without dis-
tinction

tion of castes or nations. Wealthy natives
however, probably still favour borrowers of the
higher castes.

AS TO FINDING THINGS.

Code, page 256. "A man finding *his own*, long lost, is to inform the Magistrate, who is to take from him,

"If he be a needy unlearned person, *one-sixth*;

"If a man of science, - - - *one-half**."

256 "A learned Brahmin finding any thing, the property of a stranger who is unknown, *takes the whole*; an unlearned Brahmin takes five-sixths, and gives one-sixth to the Magistrate."

"A Kheteree is to give the Magistrate one-fourth, and the Brahmins one-fourth."

"A Vyse is to give the Magistrate one-fourth, and the Brahmins one-half."

"A Sooder finding any thing, divides to the

"Magistrate, five-twelfths;

"Brahmins, five-twelfths;

"Himself, - two-twelfths."

"A Magistrate finding any thing, shall give one-half to the Brahmins, and keep the other half himself."

AS TO GIFTS, and SUCCESSION to the PROPERTY of BRAHMINS.

Code, page 26. "A woman *may give to the Brahmins* any part of her husband's effects to procure his future happiness: if she gives the whole, *the gift is approved*, but *she* is blameable."

"A gift proposed to be given to a Brahmin, if afterwards withheld, shall be enforced by the Magistrate with interest."

33. "The property of Brahmins, *must always descend to Brahmins*."

46. "So must the property of Brahmins' wives."

128. "On failure of heirs to one of the three lower castes, the Magistrate may appropriate the property to himself."

"But if a Brahmin has no heir, his property shall pass to other Brahmins; and if there are no Brahmins, the Magistrate shall cause it to be thrown into the water †."

AS TO SLAVERY.

Code, page 143. "Slaves are made of the three castes of Kheteree, Vyse, and Sooder."

"A Brahmin can never be a slave."

"A man of superior caste, if he is upright and steady in the principles of that caste, can never be the slave of a man of inferior caste."

144. "If a Brahmin has purchased a Sooder, or even if *he hath not purchased him*, he may cause him to perform service."

These instances may suffice to illustrate the *nature of the distinctions* which obtain among the different castes. They extend indeed to all the concerns of life; and the laws regulating them are diffused throughout the code; make up a great part of it, and seem in reality to be its main business.

THIRD, Of those Laws, which without reference to Caste, give a direct Sanction to Immorality.

Concerning EVIDENCE, PROMISES, and FALSE PRETENCES.

Code, page 115. "Wherever a true evidence would deprive a man of his life, in that case, if a false testimony would be the preservation of his life, *it is allowable* to

* So it is in the code, and the proportion in this instance seems to contradict the main principle of the law; but the striking point of comparison is, that a Brahmin, finding *what belongs to a stranger*, keeps the whole, or five-sixths of it; and another person finding *his own*, is obliged to give up a part of it.

† "Should the king be near his end, through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priest all his riches accumulated from legal fines." *Institutes of Menu*, page 286.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

“ to give such testimony ; and for absolution of the guilt of false witness, he shall perform the *Poojah Sershuttee* (worship to Sershuttee, the Goddess of Letters) : but to him who has murdered a Brahmin, or slain a cow, or who being of the Brahmin tribe has drunken wine, or has committed any of these particularly flagrant offences, it is not allowed to give false witness in preservation of life.”

“ If a marriage for any person may be obtained by false witness, such falsehood may be told ; as upon the day of celebrating the marriage, if it is liable to be incomplete for want of giving certain articles, at that time, if three or four falsehoods are asserted, it does not signify ; or if a man promise to give his daughter many ornaments, and is not able to give them, such falsehoods as these, if told to promote a marriage, are allowable.”

“ If a man, by the impulse of lust, tells lies to a woman ; or if his own life would otherwise be lost ; or if it is for the benefit of a Brahmin ; in such affairs falsehood is allowable.”

136.—“ If a man says to another, I will give you something if you are able to apprehend a thief or a murderer, or such kind of criminals, then even if the other should apprehend and bring such a person, nothing shall be bestowed on that account. If any thing had been given before the business, it may be taken back.”

19. 20.—“ A creditor is repeatedly directed, by feigned and by evasive pretences, to get hold of some of the debtor's goods.”

Introd. to the Code, page 114. “ The Magistrate is directed to send to the party in hostility against him, a man of intelligence, and well skilled in artifice, to insinuate himself among the enemy's men, and make them dissatisfied with each other, that they may quarrel and fight among themselves, and so be ruined.”

It will be remembered, that the two last articles are not supposed to describe merely the practice or the counsel of sinister human policy, but to be, like the rest, the dictates of a divinity.

MODE OF SHARING among ROBBERS.

Code, page 129. “ The mode of shares among robbers is this : If any thieves by the command of the Magistrate, and with his assistance, have committed depredations upon, and brought any booty from another province, the Magistrate shall receive a share of one-sixth of the whole ; if they received no command or assistance from the Magistrate, they shall give the Magistrate, in that case, one-tenth for his share ; and of the remainder their chief shall receive four shares, and whosoever among them is perfect master of his occupation, shall receive three shares ; also whichever of them is remarkably strong or stout, shall receive two shares, and the rest shall receive one share. If any of the community of the thieves happen to be taken, and should be released from the Cutchery Court upon payment of a sum of money, all the thieves shall make good that sum by equal shares.”

This is in every view, a curious, characteristic article. The translator of the code maintains, that it “ by no means respects the domestic disturbers of the tranquillity of their country, or violators of the first principles of society, but only such bold and hardy adventurers as sally forth to levy contribution in a foreign province.” It were to be wished the article itself had spoken as definitely ; but suppose it to be thus understood. In the first place then, it sets before us, not an open military expedition, but a thieving, robbing, excursion ; for the actors are “ robbers, thieves, by profession,” they are recognized to be of a “ community of thieves,” to be amenable for the depredations they have committed, to the civil court, and if taken, liable to punishment.

2d.—The Magistrate directs and assists these robbers and thieves to plunder in another province. It is a clandestine operation, and his concern in it must therefore be clandestine. Booty is the professed object, and he shares it with them.

3d.—As this regulation authorizes the procuring of a release from the court which may have seized any of these offenders, by the payment of a sum of money, it sanctions the concurrence of the Magistrate in such a transaction, which has strongly the complexion of being a private corrupt bargain between the judge of that court and

and the culprit; but whether the ransom be a secret bribe, or a more open commutation for punishment, the principles of justice are violated, the Magistrate becomes a party in a complicated outrage against society, and is in fact countenanced by this ordinance in being indulgent, in his turn, to criminals who may come into his power, for a pecuniary consideration.

4th. But it may be asked, how this "community of thieves," some "perfect masters of their occupation," are formed and brought to such a state of perfection in their vocation?—Can we conceive it to be solely by the exercise of their parts in alien lands? Born, educated, and dwelling in the Magistrate's district, is it to be supposed that they never practise at home? Yet the Magistrate harbours these *banditti*, he knows them personally, and he sets them at work.

If the translator's apology be admitted, that this is an ancient law, correspondent to the early manners of other nations, still it is to be remembered, that it stands in a code which claims to be divine, that therefore an equal authority is necessary to its repeal, and that it is offered to us as a law of the Hindoos at this day.

But what are we understand by "another province:" if it means another state, Hindostan consisted anciently, as it does now, of many states. This law was made for the whole Hindoo people; therefore it authorizes and encourages them to rob and plunder each other. It recognizes a community of thieves and robbers in each state, and makes it lawful for them to live by depredations on their neighbours. Such accordingly has been the practice of at least smaller divisions, in all time past. The zemindars, throughout Hindostan, keep robbers and thieves under their protection; and whatever else has changed, the business of pillage, often attended with murder, still continues universally and systematically. Can it be doubted whether this ordinance has not had a most powerful effect in establishing and fortifying a practice so ruinous to the peace and good order of society? Must we not believe that robbers, finding their professions evidently recognized and sanctioned by the law, have thence with a quiet conscience formed themselves into castes and bands, and that it is the persuasion of acting upon the divine authority of the Shaster, which inspires them with contempt of death, and perseverance, from one generation to another? Can we suppose that our prohibition, and our punishment of predatory outrage, will in minds *prone* to them, destroy that persuasion? But the ordinance under consideration can hardly apply to any other than small divisions of territory: and if we were certain that "province" means the territory of another master, yet no fact is more notorious than that the bands of robbers whom the zemindars of Bengal are known to entertain, employ themselves within that country; for its "domestic tranquillity is disturbed by them" perpetually from one end to the other, as the extract before quoted from Lord Cornwallis has evinced, and a variety of other vouchers might be produced, if necessary, to prove.

We see then a most glaring instance in this ordinance, of immorality in principle, and of the consequent wide diffusion of evil in practice.

To proceed to further examples.

SERVANTS committing Crimes by order of their MASTERS.—Divers Cases of Licentiousness.

Code, page 149. "If a servant, at the command of his master, *commits theft or murder, or any such crimes, in that case, it is not the fault of the servant, the master only is guilty.*"

239. "Adultery with common prostitutes and dancing girls, *shall not be finable.*"

247. "Several kinds of adultery allowed, *with consent of the Magistrate*, for the trifling fine of ten puns of cowries," (less than a shilling.)

"If a man by violence commits adultery on his own slave girl, a fine of ten puns of cowries," (about a shilling.)

151. "Prostitutes and dancing women:"—Cases stated, and decrees thereupon, including pimps, &c.

COMMISSION of a BAD ACTION allowed, to save life.

Code, page 271. "If a man in immediate danger of his life, *by committing a bad action can save his life, in that case the Magistrate shall not fine him.*"

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

DESIGNING TO PROCURE DEATH.

Code, page 268. "Performing a jugg (religious ceremony), to *procure the death of an innocent person*, a fine of two hundred puns of cowries."

268. "Causing an innocent person to drink a potion, in order to *procure his death*, a fine of two hundred puns of cowries."

Note.—They have great faith in both these expedients; intentional murder is therefore here rated at about ten shillings.

Concerning GAMING.

Code, page 254. "Games of chance are allowed *before the Magistrate*, or a man belonging to him; the winner to *give half to the Magistrate*." This last clause explains the reason of prohibiting hazard, except *before the Magistrate*.

138. "A man may become a slave by loss on the chances of dice, or other games."

SCANDALOUS and BITTER EXPRESSIONS.

This is a copious article in the code, and becomes such from a correspondent feature in the character of the people. Virulent, foul, criminating abuse, overflows among them in a manner probably unparalleled any where else in the world. No language but their own could describe its shameless nature, and the malicious persevering eagerness with which they lavish it upon each other.

The Hindoo law has therefore found it necessary to arrange the various topics of scandalous abuse under distinct denominations, expressive of the quality, or rank, of the crimes which it imputes.

This classification is curious: it places together offences of very unequal enormity; it distributes into the same division, moral and ceremonial pollutions; and thus tends to lessen the guilt of some heinous iniquities, and to confound all just ideas of morality. For instance, under the second denomination, or class of crimes termed *maha-putuk*, with the murder of a Brahmin and *incestuous adultery*, there appears *stealing eighty ashruffees*, (about £. 120.) *from a Brahmin*, and a Brahmin drinking wine. Under the third, with "the murder of a friend," and divers kinds of incestuous adultery, is conjoined, "*eating the victuals of the washerman's or any base caste*." The fourth class termed *opoo-patuk*, which the glossary of the code explains to be "*small offences*," contains a large association of crimes, of which the following make a part.

Code, page 108. "Slaying a cow; adultery with the wife of another; performing the jugg to procure the death of any person; giving a philter to obtain an unwarrantable power; spoiling trees; eating victuals at the hands of an astrologer; a man's not paying his debts; stealing grain and metals, *except gold*; depriving a woman or a man of either of the three inferior castes, of life."

Petty assaults (see code, 191) are also frequent among these people, and proceed from the temper just described. They employ a large chapter of the code, in which a number of frivolous ridiculous cases, hardly fit to engage the attention of children, the offspring of superstition, pushed to endless punctilios, are stated. The punishment, though lighter in itself, proceeds in the same gradation, as that for scandalous imputations, of which the scale has been already given. But concerning these it may be observed, under this head, that there is surely a direct breach of moral propriety in taking "*abilities*" into the decision, especially by the superiority of ability to alleviate indecorous behaviour; yet this direction, very frequently occurs; and how is the superiority of ability to be ascertained? In this instance, as in numberless others, every thing is left to the judge.

FOURTH, Of Laws which, without reference to Caste, go upon principles of Oppression and Injustice.

Of INHERITANCE.

Code, page 64. "A person born blind, deaf, or dumb, without a hand, a foot, or a nose, &c.; whoever is of such general ill-behaviour, that his relations and
"partners

“partners refuse to eat or drink with him; whoever is so incurably disordered as that remedies have no effect upon him; a man afflicted with a consumption, &c; whoever procures his subsistence by an unwarrantable business or profession; is thereby incapacitated for inheritance.”

Causes of the present Situation and Character of the Hindoos.

Note.—The relations must probably be often interested in the succession.

OF RECOVERING DEBTS.

Code, page 19. “After other methods prescribed there to a creditor for recovery of debt, fail, *he shall carry the debtor home with him and detain him.* If this mode also fails, he shall by *feigned pretences*, endeavour to get hold of some of the debtors goods. If he succeeds not here, and has no pledge, *he shall then seize and confine the debtor's wife, children, cattle, buffaloes, horses, and such kind of useful animals, also his pots, (necessary for dressing his food,) clothes, matts, and furniture;* and seating himself at the debtor's door, there receive his money. If even these methods prove unsuccessful, *he shall seize and bind the debtor's person, and procure by forcible means, (corporal punishment,) a discharge of the debt.*”

21. “If a man acknowledges himself indebted to another, and yet refuses to pay, the creditor shall use the means above specified, to recover his money *without hindrance or molestation from the Magistrate.* If the debtor should lodge a complaint, the judge *shall fine him,* and cause the creditor to be paid.”

37. “If during the time of a famine, or for the execution of some religious purpose, or on account of sickness, or to satisfy the importunate demands of a creditor, who has proceeded so far as to seize his debtor, and *confine him without victuals,* the husband should appropriate to himself his wife's property, *without her leave,* he is justifiable, nor *is he obliged to return or repay* what is so appropriated.”

These regulations are limited by the following.

Code, page 20. “If a man lends money to a Magistrate, his own master, or a Brahmin, he shall not be rude or uncivil in procuring payment.”

23. “When a creditor procures his money by application to a Magistrate, he shall give him *one-twentieth* of the sum received, for his interposition.”

270. “If a Magistrate's officer hath brought before the Magistrate any person for any crime, and upon the Magistrate's examining that person, he should deny the crime laid to his charge, then, even if a small offence be proved against him upon a trifling crime, the Magistrate shall levy a *great fine.*”

FIFTH, Specimens of laws which, without reference to Caste, discover a Spirit of Cruelty.

Code, page 211. “A man killing a goat, horse, or camel, *except for sacrifice,* to have *one hand and one foot cut off.*”

212. “A man always guilty of selling the flesh of dogs or jackalls, for goat or stag flesh; *to have his hand and his nose cut off, and his teeth broke.*”

217. “A man selling white copper, &c. to counterfeit silver, the Magistrate shall break the *hands, nose, and teeth,* of such person, and fine him a thousand puns of cowries.”

220. “A man stealing an elephant or horse, excellent in all respects, the Magistrate shall cut off his *hand, foot, and buttock,* and *deprive him of life.*”
(*Note.*—Stealing a man of inferior caste is rated at a fine of a thousand puns of cowries, as we have already seen.)

218. “A man frequently guilty of counterfeiting gold, *to be cut in pieces with a razor.*”

But the cruelty of the Hindoo people appears in no way more evident than in the whole of the treatment to which *their women* are subjected in society, under the sanction

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

sanction and authority of the code. They are truly an unfortunate part of the community, and greatly to be pitied. Receiving no education, disposed of in marriage without having their consent asked, or knowing any thing of the person to whom they are to be given, they are immured for life, and made mere servants in the family of their despotic lord. If barren, or bearing only daughters, they are neglected; and not always released from oppression, even when death removes the husband; for they are then frequently reduced to the alternative of sinking into a state of infamy, or of burning themselves with his dead body.

The code expressly sanctions this inhuman and astonishing custom.

253. "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse."

"Every woman who thus burns herself, shall remain in paradise with her husband, three *crore* and fifty lacks (three millions and a half) of years."

This strong recommendation and injunction from a law-giver, believed to be divine, is of course admitted to have the force of a religious obligation; and it is one of those institutions of which the Brahmins are very tenacious. We are naturally led to inquire, what could have been the primary cause of an institution so horrid. The Hindoo writings, so far as they are known, seem to be silent on this head: but an explanation however offers itself, from the principle of the perpetual separation of castes, and the manners of the people. It was essential to that principle, that the castes should marry each within itself. In a few permitted cases, men of a higher caste might take a wife from an inferior one of the original four orders, and all the children were deemed of that to which the father belonged; but in no case was it allowed to a woman of a higher caste to marry with a man of a lower.

Mixed intercourses were therefore almost universally prohibited under penalties; and the offspring which, notwithstanding prohibitions, appeared from that source, was degraded below the fourth caste. But polygamy has always been practised among the Hindoos, especially among those of the higher orders; and the latter wives must infallibly, from the custom of the country, be considerably younger than the husband, and generally still young when he dies. A multitude of widows must thus soon arise in the community, and from the nature of the case, progressively encrease. Second marriages of women, appear to be unknown and repugnant to the Hindoo law and usages.

When a woman's husband therefore dies, she is reckoned an useless being, and what is worse, a dangerous one. The jealousy of the Eastern people has placed their honour in the conduct of their women, as being what touches them most. Not the husband himself only, but the whole family are stained by the misbehaviour of a wife; and if she degrades herself after his death, they are still affected by her dishonour. If she should bring other children by a man of inferior caste, she would introduce, more signally than any misconduct in a man could, that disorder and confusion into the society which would tend to break down the lines of separation between castes. But seeing the number of widows must always be great, and they have no effectual superintendent or protector, there must be a proportionable danger of such irregularity as would at length make the exceptions bear down the rule; and if mothers, as in many instances might thus happen, were to rear the children of a Sooder with those left by her former noble husband, the higher caste could not be preserved, during infancy, from defilements produced by eating and drinking, and touching what appertained to the other; nor could the son of a Sooder, brought up in this way, afterwards regard his Brahmin brother and companion with the veneration deemed indispensably requisite to be shown to that order.

How then, might it be said, shall the evils to be apprehended from this source, notwithstanding prohibitions and disgrace, be prevented? Let an ordinance, professedly divine, recommend to widows a voluntary departure with their husbands to paradise, under an assurance of enjoying there a very long succession of felicity; honour shall stimulate them to embrace this choice, and lest the love of life should still prevail, the fear of infamy shall compel them to die. Nor would this expedient appear as shocking to the Hindoos, as it does to us. Admitting the separation of castes to be a sacred institution, whatever tended to subvert it, might be obviated, not only lawfully, but as a matter of duty.

Women

Women there have no concern in the education of their children after infancy; they cannot go abroad; the chief, if not the only way in which they are considered to be useful, terminates with the life of the husband; the code imputes to them the most depraved, impure, unsafe nature; they are ranked in the "*Bhagvad*" with those who are "of the womb of sin;" and it is believed that they are doomed to successive transmigrations, until they are regenerated in the body of a Brahmin. Vile therefore in their nature, and become useless and dangerous, to remove them from the earth, would be to study the preservation of order below, and to accelerate the course they have to pass through to a happier state. And thus there is a regular progress from the first stage of a false principle to a practical consummation that is tremendous.

Our supposition, that the original design of this institution was to prevent the dishonour and confusion of castes, appears to be confirmed by the terms of the ordinance in which it is delivered; for after saying that "it is proper for a woman" "to burn herself in the fire with her husband's corpse," it adds, "*if she cannot burn, she is to maintain an inviolable chastity.*" If she remains always chaste, she goes (still) to paradise, and if she does not preserve her chastity, she goes to hell*.

It is probable that though the ordinance speaks in general terms of any woman, the Brahmins might not mean its operation to extend beyond the higher orders, and might especially intend to preserve their own in all the distinction of purity necessary to maintain their authority. Among the lower castes it is seldom enforced. With the others, what was originally in part at least policy, is now superstition, or an honourable family distinction; and in this last view, the practice seems to have extended to other Eastern nations, who probably adopted it from the Hindoos. Expences and domestic inconveniences attend it, which may contribute to confine it to those alone, even of the superior castes, who are in better circumstances; but among persons of that description, happiness and misery, honour and infamy, the present and the future, are all urged as motives to destruction, with great and horrid success. The number of women thus annually destroyed in Hindostan, probably far exceeds the general conception of Europeans†.

As connected with this subject, it may be added in illustration of the cruel genius which pervades the Hindoo code, that the Vedes undoubtedly enjoin human sacrifices; that such were certainly formerly offered to Kallee, the Goddess of Destruction, one of whose terrific ornaments is a necklace of human skulls; and that there is reason to believe, that this infernal practice, though now publicly disused, has not yet entirely ceased‡.

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* A paper in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Transactions, published long after this passage was written, exhibits a variety of decretory sentences from the Vedes and Shasters, relative to this subject, confirming in general the view of it here given. *Asiatic Transactions*, Vol. IV. page 209.

† No judgment can be formed of the number, from the transactions of this kind, occasionally seen about English settlements; by far the greater part takes place in the interior of the country, out of the view and intelligence of foreigners. Roger, a writer of great credit in the last century, relates that the *Kheterees* compelled their women to burn, reckoning it a disgrace if their wives were not laid on the funeral pile with them; and that during his residence at Paliacatta, a man of distinction of that caste dying, six/y of his wives were burnt alive with his corpse. A Hindoo of education stated to a friend of the writer, his conjecture that the victims thus annually burnt in the Bengal provinces, amounted to fifteen thousand. The calculation indeed seems excessive; yet if we adopt moderate data, the result will be enormous. Hindostan has been estimated to contain a hundred millions of inhabitants, and at least one-tenth of these to be Mahomedans. In the more opulent families of the three *inferior* original tribes, particularly the *Kheterees*, the practice in question is occasionally followed. Suppose then the four original tribes to make up two-thirds of the Hindoos, that

that is, sixty millions, the Brahmin families, with a small proportion of the *Kheterees*, and a few of those belonging to the other two tribes, to constitute a tenth part of the four original tribes, or six millions, the heads of families in this number to be one-sixth, or one million, the deaths of these annually, one in thirty, and (and a plurality of wives being in many of these families) one woman only to be burnt for each, the number annually sacrificed in Hindostan will then be about thirty-three thousand.

These data are all hypothetical and have little certainty; but let the proportion be reduced to the lowest probable scale, the annual immolation of human victims to a dire superstition, will still appear an enormity under which language must sink.

The principle alone, however, is so dreadful, that it needs not the aid of numbers to shew its atrocity.

‡ When Mr. Elliot, deputed by Mr. Hastings in 1777 to the Rajah of Berar, had advanced into the country, between that prince's capital and our territories, a young man presented himself, and solicited leave to travel under the protection of his suite; on being asked his reason, he replied he understood the rajah or zemindar of a district, before them, offered every year a human sacrifice, and generally seized some stranger passing by at that time.

One article more shall close the elucidations from the Hindoo code.

Code, page 274. "In cases where it is ordered, a man shall be put to death, instead thereof he shall pay one hundred ashrupees, (about £. 150); and where it is specified that one of his hands, or one of his feet, shall be cut off, instead thereof he shall pay fifty ashrupees; and instead of having two of his fingers cut off, he shall pay twenty-five ashrupees; so also, when banishment from the kingdom is his sentence, instead thereof he shall be fined twenty-five ashrupees."

"Men of rank, or good principles, or learning, committing such a crime as to deserve capital punishment, if they are not men of property, the Magistrate shall take less than one hundred ashrupees, according to his fortune."

"If a Brahmin who hath always acted in conformity to the Vedes, commits such a crime as to deserve capital punishment*, the Magistrate, to prevent him in future from the commission of such crimes, shall confine him in perpetual imprisonment." (No heavy punishment to a Hindoo, to whom indolent inactivity is a species of enjoyment.)

From what has been stated in the former part of this chapter, it will be understood that the ordinances quoted under this last article, as relating to criminal law, are not now a rule of judgment in our territorial courts, but they are introduced here for the sake of illustrating the genius of the Hindoo code. At first sight, they seem to diminish the cruelty of that code. They only afford however, a fresh and striking demonstration of its injustice and venality.

The best apology for a severe system of laws would be, that they were impartially administered. But here is an office of indulgence set up to the rich, and the pecuniary rates fixed at which they may commit crimes worthy of death. On the poor, who cannot perhaps raise one ashrupee, the laws must still have their course; and thus it becomes evident, that their steady object is not the prevention of offences, and that their remissions do not proceed from clemency; but that there is in the dispensation of punishments, a scandalous partiality in favour of rank and wealth, and a palpable regard to the emolument of the Magistrate. Indeed pecuniary fines are one great object of the code; they occur perpetually, the law is so loosely delivered that in personal disputes almost every thing is left to the discretion of the Magistrate, and one sure issue of them is his private advantage.

From this brief inspection of the Hindoo code, a tolerable adequate idea of its genius, in points upon which the happiness of society essentially depends, may be obtained. The articles which have been selected, are such as do not take their character from the light wherein they are placed, from forced constructions, or extraneous circumstances; their real nature, their intrinsic quality, their conformity or repugnance to the fair unalterable standard of good and evil, is evident. It cannot certainly have escaped attention, that the immorality, the injustice, and the cruelty of the code, are by no means confined to the instances which have been adduced under these heads, respectively, but appear in glaring colours in the numerous regulations which have been quoted, in reference to that wide and important subject, the distinctions in favour of the superior tribes. Actions are indeed often estimated, not according to their intrinsic good or evil, but according to the relation they have to caste.

Immoralities of every description are tolerated on easy terms to one part of the society, and some of the most atrocious kinds are permitted without reprehension, that is to say, have all the encouragement which a legal sanction can give them.

An unfeeling barbarity also runs through the punishments of the code; it defends sanguinary inflictions; and the translator, who is usually its apologist, acknowledges, that its "various modes of capital retribution contradict the general opinion adopted in Europe, that the Gentoo administration was wonderfully mild, and averse to the deprivation of life." If such an opinion has ever been general in the West, it was plainly a gross prejudice, and may show the necessity of paying more attention than has hitherto been given to the character of this people, in order to know it.

Of

* The implied consistency of these two suppositions deserves to be remarked.

Of the effects produced upon a feeble, ignorant, superstitious people, by such a departure from the genuine principles of equity, truth, honesty, purity, benevolence, peaceableness, and good order, in a word, by such a standard of morals as these laws, professing the authority of a divine appointment, establish, it cannot be difficult to judge. It is a maxim so plain as not to be mentioned without apology, that a corrupt rule, must produce a practice still more corrupt, since no higher point of perfection being aimed at, and a progressive degeneration common to all establishments, the spirit and manners of the people, if seasonable reforms are not interposed, will in time become generally vicious.

But other causes have essentially co-operated in the formation of the Hindoo character; these are to be found in that part of their complex system which is purely Religious, and of which we next proceed to give some account.

So great an undertaking as a general or systematic exposition of the Hindoo religion, is not here intended. All that is proposed or thought necessary, is only a view of some of its tenets and institutions, which have a direct influence upon the morals and sentiments of the people; and these shall be presented under the five following heads:

First, Ceremonial and pecuniary atonements.

Secondly, Doctrines relating to transmigration.

Thirdly, The characters of the Hindoo deities.

Fourthly, Modes of worship.

Fifthly, Superstitious opinions, immediately affecting the conduct of the Hindoos in common life.

In the first place then, concerning that grand article, *the expiation of the guilt of sin*; the Hindoos are taught to have recourse to various ceremonial works and observances, and confidently to depend on these for absolution: real contrition and amendment, hatred of evil, and a respect to the holiness of the divine nature, do not appear to enter into their consideration of this subject. The whole is reduced to certain external performances; and in the Vedes, there are long enumerations of sins, that is to say, of offences against morality, and every species of offences which men can commit, with the particular expiation prescribed for each*. In general, these

* Ayeen Akberry, Vol. III. page 252.—Roger, pages 262, 267.—Sonnerat, Vol. I. pages 220, 273, & seq.—Religious Ceremonies, Vol. VI. pages 190, 221.—Baldaus, in Churchill's Collection, Vol. III. page 785.—Bernier, Tome II. page 121.—Herbert's Travels, page 334.—Bhagvad Geeta, page 46 et seq.—But see more particularly the Institutes of Menu, published since this tract was drawn up, Chap. II. pages 307, 343. The professed business of this chapter is to treat of *penance and expiation*. The efficacy of expiatory penance is laid down as a general principle or doctrine.

"Some of the learned, consider an expiation as confined to involuntary sin; but others, from the evidence of the Veda, hold it effectual even in the case of a voluntary offence."

"A sin involuntarily committed, is removed by repeating certain texts of the scripture; but a sin committed intentionally, through strange infatuation, by harsh penances of different sorts."

After employing near thirty pages in describing various crimes, many of the deepest dye, and the performances by which atonement for them, if they are publicly known, and thence mischievous by their example, may be made, we meet with some sentences which speak of open confession, repentance, loathing of the sin committed, and abstinence from it. If the most favorable construction be put upon these expressions, what are a few such glimmerings of mental religion, amidst a heap of ceremonial observances, painful or ridiculous? They are overwhelmed and lost in a mass of false principles and senseless practices. They are indeed superseded and contradicted by the general tenor of this very chapter, and by the doctrine

doctrine of penances; for no hint is any where given that the expiations and sacrifices prescribed in the Vedes are emblematical or typical, the plain and obvious sense of the precepts which enjoin them is that they really atone for sin. "*By these penances,*" says the legislator, to quote the conclusion of his impositions for one species of offence, *may a twice-born man* (one of the three "superior castes) *atone for the guilt of theft.*" So with respect to secret sins, "the man who desires to expiate his secret sins, great and small, must repeat once a day, for a year, the text *ara* or the text *yatcinchida*. Though he have committed many secret sins, he shall be purified by repeating for a month the text *somaraandra*, or the three texts *aryamna*, while he bathes in a sacred stream: or if he thrice repeat a *sandita* of the Vedas, or a large portion of them, with all the *mantras* and *brahmanas*, dwelling in a forest with subdued organs, and purified by three *paracas*, (a total abstinence for twelve days and nights,) he shall be set free from all sins, how heinous soever." If some of the Brahmins should have juster views of the evil of sin, and of the necessity of moral purity, we may be assured that the bulk of the people, from whom even the contents of the Vedes are carefully concealed, rest in the external forms which are prescribed to them. So it has happened in various parts of Europe, amidst more general knowledge, and a light truly divine. Men have turned aside from that light, and resorted to inventions of their own, to penances, pilgrimages, indulgences, and supererogatory works; which being corruptly grafted upon a system in itself altogether pure and complete, have thence reconciled the practice of allowed sin, with the hope of pardon and of heaven.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

these expiations consist in pilgrimages, in living and dying in places reputed holy, in ablutions, in penances, in the celebration of festivals, in fasts, in largesses to Brahmins, in sacrifices and offerings to idols, in anointing the body with the excrements of a cow, and in other expedients of a similar nature.

It would far exceed the limits of this treatise, to enter into a detail of the methods adopted among the Hindoos for obtaining remission of sin. Besides those which the authority of the Vedes, or general usage has established, there are many other inventions, imposed by teachers individually upon their respective followers:—a few examples however shall be stated, of those which fall under the former description.

I. HOLY RIVERS, dedicated to one or other of the deities, Brahma, Vishnow, or Mahadeo, may be mentioned in the first place. There are twenty-eight of them named in the *Ayeen Akberry*, beginning with the *Ganges*, and traversing the whole continent to the *Indus*; so that all the professors of Hinduism are within reach of an antidote against the consequences of guilt. Each of these rivers has some peculiar property ascribed to it, and many places upon the banks are held sacred, and annually resorted to.

The virtues of the river *Ganges* are universally allowed to be pre-eminent;—the water of it assuredly purifies from all sin. Ablutions in it are used continually for this end, as Europeans daily see; and the dying, when within a moderate distance of it, are carried to its edge, and their feet are placed in the river, that thus they may have a happy passage out of life. Its water is conveyed to distant parts for the same purposes; and if persons confiding in its virtue are not within reach of it, thinking of it and invoking it, when they bathe in any other water, will still give them all the efficacy of it. This river is believed to have flowed down from Heaven; hence its transcendent excellency.

II. HOLY PLACES*, dedicated to the same deities, are also spread through all parts of Hindostan. Some of the most distinguished are the following.—The city of *Kashee*, or *Benares*, with the district around it for ten miles. It is held that those who die here are transmitted immediately to Heaven. The celebrity of this city, and the continual resort to it of pilgrims, are well known.

Ayoda, or *Owde*, is another sacred region of considerable extent, hallowed by the birth of Rama, one of the most popular deities of the Hindoos.

Metra, with a territory around, is famous for the birth of Crishna, another of their distinguished deities.

Herdewar, where the *Ganges* falls into Hindoston, a place of great annual resort.

Ellahbass, formerly *Pyag* or *Prayaga*, at the confluence of the rivers *Jumna* and *Ganges*. This place is esteemed superlatively holy; the man who dies there, not only has the pardon of all his sins, but it is said, that whatever he wishes for, he will obtain in his next regeneration; and there also *suicide*, though in general thought by the Hindoos to incur future punishment, is deemed meritorious.

“The Hindoos,” says Abul Fazel† “regard all *Cashmere* as holy land. Forty-five places are dedicated to Mahadeo, sixty-four to Bishen or Vishnow, three to Bramha, and twenty-two to the goddess Durgah. In seven hundred places, there are carved figures of snakes which they worship.”

Cashmere is about two hundred and forty miles in length, and thirty-five in breadth.

The famous Pagoda of *Jaggernaut*, in *Orissa*, is another place of great sanctity. It is alleged that the body of Chrishna was carried there, by an inundation of the sea, from *Dowarka*, near *Surat*, formerly a station of distinguished fame and resort. At *Jaggernaut*, a Brahmin, who would every where else be defiled even by the touch of a Sooder, may receive, without the least stain, victuals from his hands.

There are many more such places of great resort in the Decan, and the northern parts of Hindostan. Rules are laid down for every pilgrimage to them, and various rewards promised to those who perform them‡.

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* *Ayeen Akberry*, page 255.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II. page 156.

‡ *Ayeen Akberry*, Vol. III. page 254.

Not only are pilgrimages held beneficial, both to the soul and to the body, but such is the virtue ascribed to the sanctity of the sacred places, that by *naming them only*, men receive the remission of their sins; and on that account great persons, who are somewhat solicitous on this score, run over the names of the principal of them every morning, as if they repeated a prayer; so that where a pilgrimage cannot be conveniently undertaken, yet the benefit may thus be secured*.

III. SACRIFICES, OFFERINGS, and FESTIVALS, are celebrated at particular periods, and by the different castes in their respective forms. These are deemed eminent means of obtaining absolution from guilt.

IV. ALMSGIVING is prescribed in various ways, for the remission of particular crimes, or the obtainment of particular favours†. The Dan-Poojah, a religious ceremony, in which by many fantastic modes, costly presents are bestowed, is conceived to be followed by prodigious rewards in a future state.

V. ENDOWMENTS TO THE BRAHMINS, TO PAGODAS, &c. are all esteemed highly meritorious, and the variety and extent of these cannot be described. A large portion of the lands of Hindostan has been transferred, by means of them, into the hands of the Brahminical order.

VI. RIGOROUS PENANCES, procure the pardon of some species of offences particularly enormous.

VII. Methods are likewise devised for the *benefit of those who have not been sufficiently careful during their own lives to ensure the pardon of their sins*, by which their friends who survive, are enabled to be highly useful to them. The body or the bones of the deceased being thrown into the Ganges, temporary happiness at least is procured to the soul, and the advantage of such a condition in another transmigration as shall at last bring it to Heaven. At Gaya, a famous resort of pilgrims in Bahar, there is a particular stone on which the god Vishnow set his foot; and a person by putting on this stone, in the form prescribed, a certain paste prepared there, and by repeating at the same time the name of a deceased friend, can transfer that friend from hell itself to supreme felicity. And this benefit he may extend, not to one friend only, but by repeated applications of paste, to as many as he can recollect, even of his distant connections.

VIII. WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION, to procure distinguished eminence in the heavenly world, are also exceedingly numerous, and many of them altogether astonishing. An account of them would fill a volume; and a few instances, however striking, would give but an inadequate idea. The hideous painful distortions, and tormenting inflictions to which the Joguis subject themselves, till life is wasted away, would be perfectly incredible if they were not so abundantly attested, and yet seen, by many who visit those countries. They afford new proofs of what the human mind can invent, and the body endure, in the way of torture, under the influence of superstition. There is reason however to believe, that this species of zeal rather declines in the present day.

But though the painful details which it furnishes must be spared, it would be injustice to the present subject not to mention that divers kinds of suicide are held by the Hindoos to be meritorious. These, as stated in the institutes of Akber, are five in number. “1. Starving. 2. Covering himself with cow-dung, and, setting it on fire, consuming himself therein. 3. Burying himself in snow. 4. At the extremity of Bengal, where the Ganges discharges itself into the sea, through a thousand channels, he goes into the water, enumerates his sins, and prays till the aligators come and devour him. 5. Cutting his throat at Allahabad, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.” To this last species of suicide, performed at appointed times, such as eclipses of the sun and moon, great stores of wealth are promised in the next state‡.

In short, the modes of expiating guilt, and of acquiring merit, are endless among this people. To accomplish this end, is the business of all their vast train of ceremonies, services and external performances; it is the very thing that has upheld the

* Roger.

† Ayeen Akberry, page 174.

‡ Ayeen Akberry, pages 274. 174.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

the fabric of Hindoo superstition, and has perpetuated the credulity of the multitude, and the impostures of their priests: even the *Bhagvad*, the purest production of Hindoo theology, proceeds upon the same principles for the remission of sin. The ingenious Translator, upon whose authority it has been stated that this work is carefully concealed from the vulgar, also observes that the great ignorance in which they are kept, contrary to the better knowledge of at least the more enlightened of the Brahmins, supports, together with the ceremonies of the Vedes, the consequence, and the very existence of the Brahminical order. But although the *Bhagvad* refines upon the popular system, and contains some moral passages, with others, which though mystical, have respect to the intention of the mind in religious worship; yet it palpably admits polytheism and idolatry, and inculcates such pitiable and pernicious doctrines as the following:

"Those who eat not but what is left of the offerings, shall be purified from all their transgressions. Some attend to the worship of Devatas or angels; others sacrifice their ears and other organs in the fire of constraint. There are also the worshippers with offerings, the worshippers with mortifications. Some there are who sacrifice their breathing spirit, and force it downward from its natural course, whilst others force the spirit that is below, back with the breath. *All these different kinds of worshippers, are by their particular modes of worship, purified from their offences.**"

An intelligent friend of the writer expresses himself thus in a late letter from Calcutta. "One day at a Brahmin's house, I heard a wonderful man, a Pooranee (a reader of commentaries on their sacred books,) explaining their Shasters. He frequently made the people burst into tears, and weep aloud. Whenever their passions were touched with any pathetic passage, the man obtained several rupees, thrown to him both by Brahmins and Sooders, only the latter attended their donations with a *pernaum*, or act of worship to the Pooranee. The Sooders, you know, are taught to worship the Brahmins, and they do it by *pernaum*, that is, touching the ground with their heads while they pronounce the word, then the Pooranee holding out his hand in a convex manner, says *isho*, i. e. *come*, amounting to "thy sins be forgiven thee," for by "come" they mean to call all the sins on the neck of the Sooder to the hollow of their hand, where a mystic fire consumes them. The Brahmins are the true idols, while they carry about with them the powers of absolution, and to break off their yoke will not be easy. One evening I went to Kallee-Ghaut (a temple of Kallee), at the time of the Arutee, which is performed by the moving of a lamp with several wicks about the face of the goddess. When the operation was over, a Brahmin brought up the lamp, and walked through a passage lined with poor Sooders on each side, who anxiously, as he passed, put their hands for a moment over the flame before it went out, in order to procure the remission of their sins *for that day*."

Upon the whole then it appears, that the Hindoos pursue methods of obtaining pardon of sin without regard to the disposition of the mind, or the conduct of life on their own principles. They may go on committing wilful offences every day, and as regularly wiping them off, and die at last pure and in peace, and pass through the water of the Ganges to happiness in a new state. For the violations of conscience, which though smothered is not extinct†; for the disregard of truth, of justice, and of mercy, their system has enabled them, without making any the slightest compensation to men, to give sufficient satisfaction to their gods‡. To them they pay a certain quit-rent, or acknowledgment, for liberty to do whatever their inclination and ability may prompt them to, as far as their fellow creatures are concerned. Can we hesitate to say what must be the effect of such principles on their character? Among such a people, crimes must prevail. True it is, and greatly

* Bhagvad-Geeta, page 55.

† "If having performed any expiation, he feel not a perfect satisfaction of conscience, let him repeat the same devout act, until his conscience be perfectly satisfied."—*Institutes of Menu, On Expiation*, page 339.

‡ This is spoken of their practical system. In a passage of the work just quoted (page 330) it is said that "the penitent thief must always restore the goods that he stole." But besides that neither restitution nor penance can satisfy the of-

fended justice of God, this seems to be spoken only of those who literally, by the act of stealing, subduct the property of others. It ought certainly to apply to all dishonest agents and traders, but is probably not so understood; if it be, surely no precept was ever less observed. The banks of the Ganges afford every day the sight of multitudes of worshippers of different lines of business, who are in the habitual practice of cheating, and never think of restitution.

greatly to be lamented, the prevalence of crimes is no new thing, nor peculiar to them. The ancient world exhibited a picture of the same kind; and to the dishonour of the Christian name, in countries nearer home, that pure religion has been changed into a mystery of imposture and corruption. But though it must be said, that the light which overspreads Europe, has prevented the same degree of effect from the system of delusive fraud still practised there, yet have not the consequences been infinitely prejudicial to those countries where it has prevailed; and is not that system likely, in the end, to dissolve the frame of society in them?

SECONDLY, The DOCTRINE OF TRANSMIGRATION, and others connected with it, universally received among the Hindoos, have great influence upon their modes of thinking and acting, and serve to weaken their sense of moral obligation. The Hindoos are taught to believe that their present corporeal habitation, and earthly sufferings, whatever they may be, result from their actions in a former state; and that there are inherent original qualities in the constitution of man, from which all his good and all his evil actions proceed. From these tenets it follows, that the commission of crimes is the result of *destiny*, and yet that they are punished; and that natural evils, the consequences of personal misconduct, will be regarded as the chastisement of offences to which destiny compelled the sinner in a former state. Thus ideas are introduced of original injustice, of arbitrary destination to sin, and to punishment, in the constitution of things; and offences bear the character of misfortunes rather than of guilt. It is very common to hear a criminal answer, when he is asked how he could be guilty of such atrocity, "that it was his *nusseeb*," his fate. The same persuasion extends to the success of men in life, particularly of warriors and conquerors; and he who has once got the opinion of a happy destiny in his favour, will from that very prejudice, achieve things which a contrary opinion might have rendered impracticable to him.

The doctrine of transmigration tends likewise to weaken the idea of future responsibility. It unites the soul sometimes to the human form, then again to one of the lower animals, in which, even according to the Hindoo notions, there is an incapacity for the exercise of rational powers, and a want of a moral sense: it likewise supposes the consciousness of former states of existence to be lost. Hence there is no sense of personal identity, no suffering from the reflection of past crimes, no real perception of the reasons of suffering; but merely passive temporary endurance. It is true the Brahmins have an art by which they profess to discover the former state and character of persons, by their present sufferings; but the existence of such an imposture does not invalidate these observations, since with whatever credulity it may be regarded by a Hindoo, it cannot impart to him the conscious knowledge of experienced truth. Its chief object seems to be money, and as it affords a curious specimen of the subjection into which the human mind may be brought, some notice of it shall be taken hereafter.

The Hindoos, indeed, entertain such inadequate and obscure apprehensions of a future state of punishment, and have so many ways of fortifying themselves against them, that their moral conduct is little influenced by fear derived from that source.

One of the notions which they have acquired from the doctrine of transmigration is, that some departed spirits may be doomed to whirl for ten days after death, like devils, in the air, suffering from hunger and thirst; and therefore during that space, after funerals, victuals are laid out for the birds, that the unhappy deceased, if they are floating in the airy regions, may partake of the food. On the other hand there is a happy state, to which the *course* of transmigrations may convey men, to the court of *Indra*, God of the Firmament, "where," says Sir William Jones, "the pleasures, as in Mahomed's paradise, are wholly sensual."

But even he who is arrived at paradise is not secure; for the omission of certain ceremonies, or oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors, by the *descendants* of those no longer in a state of probation themselves, is dreadfully fatal, "precipitating the unhappy persons into *nark*, or hell, thence to be borne again into the bodies of unclean beasts, until by successive regenerations, all sins are done away*." These offerings, which come under the denomination of *sheradha*, are made by some daily, by others monthly and annually; and the manner of performance is thus explained in the Ayeen Akberry †. "He gives to the Brahmins, money, goods, and food, dressed and undressed, in the name of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather,

* Notes to the Bhagvad.

† Vol. III. page 231.

Mr Grant's State
 & Society among
 the Asiatic Subjects
 of Great Britain.

"grandfather, and of his mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother." The principle upon which they proceed, is that of increasing the welfare, solace, and enjoyment of departed progenitors; the real effects are to provide a stated succession of sacrificial entertainments for the Brahmins, to add to the ceremonial burthens and superstitious terrors of the people, by threatenings of dreadful consequences, as well to those who omit these rites, as to the spirits of the deceased, who are thus neglected.

What suitable ideas of spiritual happiness and of divine justice can a people, adopting such a practice, possess; and how must it discourage virtuous exertion to think, that all may be *undone after the death of the performer*, by the carelessness of another person!

THIRDLY, The CHARACTER of the WHOLE MULTITUDE of HINDOO DEITIES, male and female, is another source of immorality. The legends and histories of their actions are innumerable, and in the highest degree extravagant, absurd, ridiculous, and incredible. But the feature by which they are, above all, distinguished, is the abandoned wickedness of their divinities, Brahma, Vishnow, Mahadeo, (who are held to be respectively the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the world,) and of all the rest, in their several subordinate capacities. The most enormous and strange impurities, the most villanous frauds and impostures, the most detestable cruelties and injustice, the most filthy and abominable conceits, every corrupt excess and indulgence, are presented to us in their histories, varied in a thousand forms. These scandalous legends are more or less known among all the millions of Hindostan; they form an immense series of adventures, which fill the imagination of a weak and credulous people; very many of them are perpetuated by images, temples, and ceremonies, and those of such a nature as it were pollution to describe. Representations which abandoned licentiousness durst hardly imagine within the most secret recesses of impurity, are there held up in the face of the sun to all mankind, in durable materials, in places dedicated to religion; nay, they are the objects of religious adoration, and miniatures are taken from them and worn by multitudes about the neck*. Is it conceivable that the senses and imagination of the people, especially of the youth, should not be utterly depraved by such representations; or that all feelings and ideas of natural modesty should not be confounded and extinguished by them? What then must be the effect when religious influence is superadded?

If such indecent exhibitions as are now forbidden by the law in this country, were to be presented to public view with the highest honour, in lofty and elegant edifices, appropriated by the legislature for that purpose, and all ranks, sexes, and ages, were encouraged to resort to them; if religious merit were added as a further encouragement; and if the practice were to be permanent; what would be the effect upon the general manners? A great revolution in all ideas of modesty, chastity, continence, and decorum; the exclusion of sentiment and virtue. Of all these, nothing would be left, but the consideration of what custom had prescribed, and positive institution had forbidden, as to exterior demeanor and conduct. Such is the state of the people of Hindostan as to these points: there is a discernible absence of our feelings and opinions of propriety and decorum in what regards the sexes; a grossness in their language, manners, and ideas, which (whatever allowances are to be made for the differences of eastern or of ancient habits of life) is best to be accounted for by tracing it to this source. There is a certain modesty which seems to be inherent in the constitution of the human mind; traces of it are to be seen in the rudest hordes still uncorrupted; it is positive corruption that destroys it; and the usages of the Hindoos must therefore be an effect, as well as a cause of depravity.

Nor are these which have been enumerated, the only ways in which the Hindoo mythology influences the manners of the people. He who wants to glut his revenge, knows where to address himself to a patroness, Kali (or Kalee), the Goddess of Destruction, has still many votaries; and the Vedes afford examples of sacrifices and tremendous incantations for the destruction of enemies. The robber also, when about to issue forth against the person and the property of his neighbour, propitiates his

* Ceremonies Religieuses, Tome VI. passim.—Roger, page 157.—Voyage de Gentil, Tome I. page 163.—Voyage de Sonnerat, Vol. I. page 41 & 175.—Hamilton's Travels, Vol. I. page 379.—Pietra della Volle, page 55, &c.—Sir William Jones,

Jones, in the first Vol. of the Asiatic Transactions, page 254.—Baldaus, in Churchill's Collection, Vol. III. passim.—Nieuhoff, in Ditto, Vol. II. page 184.—Fryer's Travels, page 179, &c.

his tutelar deity for a successful expedition: We have seen from the code, that the practice of offering worship and sacrifices, in order to compass the death of another, is known to the law. In short, what is the nefarious practice for which a patron may not be found in the Hindoo pantheon? The morals of these people are therefore poisoned at the fountains and altars of religion.

FOURTHLY. The WORSHIP and CEREMONIES practised by the Hindoos, with various circumstances appertaining to them, have the effect of *vitiating*, as well as of *stupifying*, their minds. In an enlightened land it may appear superfluous, formally to state, that such are the consequences of idolatry; but that which is admitted, it may be well also, to recollect and to view, as exemplified in practice. The divine nature is infinitely degraded by every material representation; and the man already so gross as to resort to one, becomes more gross in using it. If he does not at length drop the idea of a distinct invisible power, and think only of the object before him, (as there is reason to suspect he will,) he at least believes that his god inhabits the stock or the stone, which he has set up. European apologists for so monstrous a practice, have been willing to deny this idea of idolatry; but an evidence of far superior authority, the author of the Bhagvad, asserts its reality. He introduces Crishna, who is *there represented as Vishnow, with supreme authority*, saying, "the ignorant * believe me, who am invisible, to exist in the visible form under which they see me †." And the learned translator of the Bhagvad is of opinion, that it was one of the aims of that work, "to induce men at least to believe God, that is the Supreme God, present in every image before which they bent." Between depraved opinions entertained of the Divine Being, and depraved practice, there is a necessary and inseparable connection. Those opinions originate from corruption, and he who makes a god for himself, will certainly contrive to receive from him an indulgence for his corrupt propensities. Hence all the scandalous and shocking proceedings, of which some intimation has been given in the preceding pages. If we suppose the origin of the erroneous notions in question to have been the allegorization of physical truths, or of the powers of nature, still if the inventors had not ceased to be shocked by lust, fraud, and robbery, would they have stamped those qualities on their gods, and chosen extravagant representations of them as badges of religion? In all the popular worship of the Hindoos, God is never set forth under the idea of *Holiness*, "as of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;" nor is any service offered to him worthy of a rational mind. *The Supreme God has indeed neither temple nor honour among the people*; the few Brahmins who recognize his being, do not suppose him to concern himself with the affairs of the world; and the better conceptions which they have of his nature, (though the rays of original truth scattered through their system, are overwhelmed in the mass of polytheism and idolatry,) they hold as speculations, which they conceal from the multitude, and in practice oppose. So that the indulgence in immorality, which we have seen to be carried to such a length, is not the perversion and degeneracy of their system, but its very essence.

Unrestrained however as the Hindoos are, with respect to immoral licence, they gain little satisfaction from their religion, with regard to those things which affect them most, namely, natural evils, and the interests of the present life. They do not consider one Mind, one Power, as governing the universe; they are distracted by a multiplicity of deities, who are not represented as acting in uniform concert, but often as at variance. It must generally therefore be an uncertainty among them, whether the tutelar deity whom they have chosen, is able to protect them; whether the prayers of their enemies may not prevail; whether other deities, whom they do not assiduously serve, may not injure them; though they multiply inventions to persuade themselves, and others, of the pre-eminence of their respective peculiar deities; and the followers of Vishnow and Eswara are, on this account, in mortal opposition to each other.

They invoke indeed particular deities for particular things, (with ceremonies of the most abominable kinds, in which the women are pre-eminent,) and those of the subordinate classes are perhaps not to be enumerated. But after all, they think it best, especially the lower castes, to endeavour to conciliate evil spirits likewise, to deprecate their malice, and implore their friendship. To one of them ‡ they sacrifice,

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* The "ignorant," from the whole scope of the work whence this is taken, appear to be all except a few of the most enlightened Brahmins.

† Bhagvad-Geeta, page 71.

‡ Called by Roger, page 245, Ganga-gramma.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

on the festival dedicated to his honour, goats and buffaloes, instead of a man, the sacrifice which it is said was formerly offered; at which time also, some of his deluded votaries were wont to throw themselves before his processional car, that by being crushed under it, they might receive a happy death. The practice still common, of swinging by hooks fixed in the muscles of the back, and attached to ropes, which with a lever raise the body to a considerable height, is performed in honour of this malevolent spirit. This is the same deity described by Sonerat* as a goddess, under the name of Mariatale, who, he says, was a most infamous woman, guilty of all sorts of cruelties; but her body after the head had been deservedly severed from it, being re-animated by an evil spirit, she is now, under this decapitated form, greatly feared and served by the lower Indians on the Coast of Coromandel, and by the Pariaus in particular, who put her, he adds, above God.

Another mode of honouring their deities, is common in those provinces where the Mahomedan invaders never fully settled themselves. Troops of prostitutes are attached to the pagodas, they are brought up as the servants of the idol, dance in its processions, and make part of the establishment of the place. The accession of such auxiliaries to a religious institution, and the belief of their being even in an enviable state as to another world, are justified by the legendary merit of one of their order, who is related to have been visited by Dewender, keeper of the celestial regions, in the form of a man, and to have shown great fidelity to him. Let this notorious fact declare, whether the impurity of their deities and temples, has any connection with immorality in practice.

The Hindoo mythology has not only the tendency of directly vitiating the heart, but gives such false notions of nature, as must envelop the mind in gross ignorance and error, and thus strengthen the dominion of superstition, and its attendant vices. Their legendary allegorical histories of the creation of good and evil spirits, and saints, with their wars and actions; of the elements, the seasons, and the planets, all of which are personified by them, have come at length literally to be received by the vulgar; who thus seriously believe that the sun and moon are animated beings, or Dewtahs, and that when they are eclipsed, two evil spirits, or dragons, have seized them. On such occasions therefore vast multitudes have been used to resort to the rivers for the purpose of ablution and prayer, to beat the water, and make hideous noises, in order to induce the dragons to relinquish their hold. Bernier witnessed a scene of this sort at Delhi, in the last century, of which he has given a striking description†. The people in our settlements do not seem now to be so loud on these occasions. The learned among the Brahmins know better: but if they have for more than two thousand years, persisted in keeping the vulgar under such absurd deception, they are very unworthy depositories of science. In the knowledge of the globe they seem to be themselves grossly defective, maintaining a scheme of geography, imaginary and ridiculous, the offspring of the same genius as the mythological legends. The extravagant errors of the Hindoos respecting visible nature, tend to render their minds less apt for the perception of moral truth.

Besides the consequences of idolatry, which are universal, the very appearance of the Hindoo idols in general, has a tendency to degrade the worshippers: they are hideously ugly, with many heads, arms, and weapons; with great teeth and eyes, and terrific countenances, of a black colour; many of them smeared with oil, and smelling strongly of it. They are shut up in narrow dark rooms, and the approach to them is through obscurity and silence. The scandalous obscenity of others has been before hinted. Figures of the monkey, the bull, and of various other animals, are often placed around, and worshipped as the attendants of the superior deity of the place.

Of the innumerable, strange, and antic ceremonies, gestures, and postures, practised by the Hindoos in their worship, no full description can be given. They are varied according to the rules of different sects, and the fancies of individuals. The account contained in the Ayeen Akberry‡, of the *Poojah*, a form in daily and ordinary use, will give some idea of them, and hardly fail to excite commiseration for the deplorable blindness of the people.

“ *Poojah* is divided into sixteen ceremonies. After the worshipper has performed his usual ablutions, with the *Sindehya* and *Howm*, he sits down, looking towards the east or the north, with his legs drawn up in front; then taking in his hand a
“ little

* Vol. I. page 246.

† Tome II. page 97.

‡ Vol. III. page, 226.

“ little water and rice, sprinkles the idol, thinking that he thereby begins the worship of God. Next is the *Kulsh Poojah*, or the worship of the conch-shell. Last is the *Gunta-Poojah*, which is plaistering the bell with sandal wood. When he has performed these Poojahs, he throws down a little rice, and wishes that God may be manifested; thus far includes the first of the sixteen ceremonies. 2. He places a table of metal, or any thing else, as a seat for the deity. 3. He throws water into a vessel, to wash his footsteps. In Hindostan it is the custom, that when a superior enters the house of an inferior, he washes his feet. 4. He sprinkles water thrice, to represent the idol rinsing his mouth. It is also the custom for an inferior to bring to a superior water to rinse his mouth before meals. 5. Sandal flowers, beetle, and rice, are offered to the idol. 6. The idol and his seat are carried to another spot. When he takes in his right hand a white conch-shell full of water, which he throws over the idol, and with his left rings the bell. 7. He dries the idol with a cloth, replaces it upon its seat, and dresses it. 8. He puts the zenar (a sacred thread) upon the idol. 9. He makes the kushck (lines with a composition of cow-dung, &c.) upon the idol, in twelve places. 10. He throws over the idol, flowers or green leaves. 11. He fumigates it with perfume. 12. He lights a lamp with ghee (clarified butter). 13. He places before the idol, trays of food, according to his ability, which are distributed amongst the bystanders, as the idol's leavings. The 14th is called *numskar*, which is worshipping God with heart and tongue; and stretching himself at full length, with his face towards the ground, (this prostration is called *dundowt*); then he lays himself in such manner that his eight members touch the ground, namely, the two knees, two hands, forehead, nose, and cheeks; and this they call *shastang*. *These kinds of prostrations are also performed to great men.* 15. He compasses the idol several times. 16. He stands like a slave with his hands uplifted, and asks permission to depart. There are particular prayers, and many different ways of performing these sixteen ceremonies; and others believe that only from the ninth to the thirteenth are indispensable duties. Excepting a *Sonny-assy* and a *Sooder*, all other Hindoos perform this Poojah thrice every day.”

FIFTHLY, The spirit of superstition extends among the Hindoos to every hour, and every business of life. The particulars recently stated, though striking, give no adequate idea of the universality of its operation; and to follow it through all its influences, would be an endless task. Some further illustrations may however suffice to confirm the existence of such a spirit, and to prove its powerful and incessant influence over the minds of this people. Affecting, in a variety of ways, their understanding and their conduct, it must also enter, in no inconsiderable degree, into the constitution of their moral and national character.

The Hindoos, it has been already observed, are afraid of evil spirits, such as are denominated among us, *dæmons* and *genii*. They believe the world to abound with them; every little district has its haunted places; and persons who pass them often, make some offering, or render homage to appease and conciliate the residing genius. Many are the devices in use amongst them to fortify themselves against the assaults of these malignant beings, which they apprehend on small occasions as well as on great; for when a Hindoo yawns, he performs a short exorcism, to prevent the *dæmon* from seizing that opportunity of entering into his body. Possessions are most firmly believed by them, and the appearance of them is not at all uncommon. The persons are evidently convulsed and agitated in an extraordinary manner; they declare that a spirit has seized them; and there is seldom reason to think them insincere in making such assertions, because the circumstance happens to servants, and others, who from caste, and the usages of the country, hardly ever meddle with the curious arts. The notion of apparitions, is also very familiar among the people. Their legends countenance it, and their imaginations, weak and inordinate, multiply relations of this kind. It is supposed also, that the spirits of the dead have access to the living, in various ways, and may do them good or evil. Witchcraft is universally believed, and practised among them. Every village has one or more female professors of this art, and wizards also abound: these are dreaded, accused, and resorted to, as was the case in Europe in the dark ages. But in Hindostan, this is still an active and flourishing profession. The several arts of divination, soothsaying, sorcery, necromancy, and above all, astrology, are well known and highly regarded. From the work of Abul Fazil, it would appear, that they are all explained and sanctioned in the *Shasters*. The *Vedes*, we know, enjoin the horoscope to be drawn at the birth of a child, and this is constantly

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

stantly practised. The Magistrate, among the Hindoos, was bound always to have skilful astrologers and soothsayers about him. The code imposes punishment upon *any one ignorant of astrology*, who shall presume to predict misfortune to the Magistrate. No affair of importance is at this day undertaken without consulting a soothsayer.

Incantations also, which form another very large branch in the occult arts of the Hindoos, are amply treated of in the Vedes, and in practice are universal. Their object is unlimited; to procure all good, and avert all evil.

With incantations, may be classed the endless variety of charms, spells, talismans, amulets, and other inventions of this nature, of which no individual, small or great, of all the millions of the Hindoo race, is destitute. The confidence reposed in these things is wonderful. It is a part of the duty enjoined in the Hindoo code to the sovereign, "that he keep magicians, men who can cure by spells," upon which far more reliance is placed than on medicine. While the writer of this sketch was in Hindostan, he saw in one morning, two fine young men, the pupils of a snake-charmer, lying dead, in consequence of their undoubting confidence, that the spell which he had taught them would render the poison of the serpent innoxious. Presuming upon this spell, first one and then the other provoked a most venomous snake to bite him, and in two hours they were both corpses, leaving destitute families. Unsuccessful instances of this sort do not open the eyes of the people. They are referred to irregularity in the application of the spell, and do not impeach the efficacy of the art.

As a further illustration of this vast system of imposition, the following transcripts are made from the Ayeeen Akberry*, the work it is to be remembered, of a man of the first eminence for talents, rank, and information, who was born and passed his life in Hindostan.

SUR,

"Is the art of predicting events, by observing in what manner the breath issues through the nostrils. The breath comes out of the nostrils after three ways. First, when it comes mostly out of the left nostril. This they attribute to the influence of the moon, and call *adda* and *chandernaree*. The second, when it issues most from the right nostril, which they attribute to the influence of the sun, and therefore call *soorejnaree* and *pingela*. The third is, when both nostrils breathe equally. The following is the order in which the breath ought to pass through the nose:—from perva to the third tith, chandernaree, and the same number of days soorejnaree, alternately throughout the month: others, make it weekly, thus, Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, soorejnaree; and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, chandernaree. Others maintain that it is regulated by the sun's course through the zodiac, Aries beginning with the soorejnaree, Taurus with chandernaree, and thus alternately through all the signs. All the learned of the Hindoos believe, that if a man breathes differently from one of these three ways, some misfortune will befall him; if the irregularity lasts two days, a quarrel will ensue; if it continues ten days, some misfortune will befall him; if fifteen days, he will have a severe fit of sickness; if for a month, his brother will die. Others speak thus of the irregularity of breathing; if for a day and night, soorejnaree is in excess, the person will die at the expiration of a year; if it lasts two days and nights, he will live two years; and so a year for every day; if the excess continues for a month, he will die at the end of the ensuing month. For the excess of chandernaree, they say, if it lasts a day and night, that person will have a fit of sickness at the expiration of a year; and according to the number of days he will be so many years sick."

The manner of predicting events by the knowledge of this art†.

"If any one comes to enquire whether a woman who is pregnant shall be delivered of a boy or girl, the person who is to answer, must examine the nostrils of the questioner; if he breathes more through one nostril than the other, and stands on that side, it shall foretel a son; but if he happen to place himself on the opposite side, it shall indicate that it will be a daughter; if he breathes equally through both nostrils, there will be twins. Some believe that if the questioner stands on the soorejnaree side, it will be a boy; and if on the chandernaree, a daughter; and that if the breathing be equal, it denotes an hermaphrodite."

If

* Vol. III. page 175.

† Ayeeen Akberry, Vol. III. page 176.

“ If an inquiry is made concerning a person who is sick ; if the questioner stands on the soorejnaree side, the sick person will die ; but if on the chandernaree side, he will recover.”

“ If it be inquired whether or not an enemy’s army will come ; if the questioner is chandernaree, and stands on that side, the army will come ; but if he is soorej-naree, and stands on that side, it will not come.”

“ If he enquires concerning peace and war ; chandernaree implies the first, and soorejnaree the last.”

AKUM*,

“ Teaches what incantations are advantageous, and what are hurtful ; what will improve the understanding, *increase rank and fortune*, cure diseases, *subdue enemies*, cement friendships, insure the conquest of countries, and advance the success of government.”

SHOOGUN †,

“ Is the art of discovering what is now happening, and predicting future events by *observing the motions* of birds. This is an art in which many Hindoos are skilled.”

“ The learned Hindoos discover hidden things by means of five things ; 1, *Astrology*,—2, *Sur*,—3, *Shoogun*,—4, *Keyweel*, which are omens learnt by throwing dice, —5, *Samding*, predicting from observing the form of the limbs, and their motion, and the lines and moles on the body.”

GARUD ‡,

“ Is the art of repeating certain *incantations* for recovering a person who has been stung by a scorpion, or snake, or any other venomous reptile. This is done by repeating his genealogy and praising his ancestors, which obliges the animal to present itself. The following is a wonderful fact. When they have caught an old snake of a particular species, they repeat certain incantations, and then make it bite a Brahmin ; when the poison takes effect, the Brahmin continues for some time in a state of stupefaction, when, upon any question being put to him, he gives answers which are invariably found to be true. The Hindoo philosophers believe that during the revolution of the Cal-jowg, nothing is truer than such answers. And these answers have been collected together into several volumes.”

INDERJAL §,

“ Includes the art of necromancy, talismans, and slight of hand, in which they are wonderful beyond description.”

But the excessive solicitude of the Hindoos about the future, is in nothing more conspicuous than in their regard to omens, signs, lucky, and unlucky days. They carry this attention to a length almost incredible. It interferes perpetually in all the affairs in which they are concerned, as Europeans who have to act with them have the mortification to find. Roger, a Dutch clergyman of great credit, frequently cited in this treatise, has given in his work, written in the earlier part of the last century, on the Coast of Coromandel, and since translated into French, an account of their proceedings in this respect, which so well suits the present manners of Bengal, that while it fully illustrates the subject under consideration, it evinces the sameness of character, prevalent among them in distant periods and places.

“ D’autant qu’il a esté dit dans l’onzieme chapitre, que les Brahmins, et autres nations payennes, prennent garde aux jours, quand ils ont dessein d’aller faire la demande d’un mariage, ou pour le confirmer, il ne sera pas pour ce sujet, hors de propos, de parler un peu comme on prend garde au signes et aux choix des jours.”

“ Ils n’entreprendront point une affaire qu’en un jour, qui, selon leur compte, est bon ; et s’il se presente quelque signe ce bon jour-là, qui selon leur opinion, est mauvais, ils ne la poursuivront pas, craignant que la fin n’en soit pas bonne.”

“ Quand

* Ayeen Akberry, Vol. III. page 177.

† Ibid. - - - III. - 178.

‡ Ibid. - - - III. - 178.

§ Ayeen Akberry, Vol. III. page 179.

|| Roger, Porte Ouverte, page 71.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

“ Quand ils ont le dessein d'entreprendre un voyage par terre, ils avanceront sou-
“ vent leur voyage, pour prendre l'occasion d'un jour et d'une bonne heure, quoique
“ ce seroit vers le soir, et qu'ils ne pourroient pas aller plus d'un quart d'heure loin
“ de la ville, cela n'estant pas capable de les en empêcher, estant assurez que
“ quand ils partent en une bonne heure tout leur voyage sera heureux. Ils diffèrent
“ souvent leur voyage quelques jours, pour avoir un bon jour et une bonne heure ;
“ et il arrive souvent, (comme j'ay dit,) qu'ils ont perdu, en attendant les bons
“ jours, la bonne occasion, et le temps propre, pour avancer leur voyage, et pour
“ avoir un heureux succez de leurs affaires. De façon qu'on peut dire, avec juste
“ raison, de ces payens-là, ce que *Senèque* disoit des sabats des Juifs ; “ que
“ plusieurs choses, qu'on devoit faire à l'instant, estoient souvent perdues, ou ne
“ se faisoient jamais, à cause qu'on différoit, et qu'on ne les faisoit pas en temps.”
“ Il s'en va de cette façon avec ces payens-cy ; car pendant qu'ils attendent assez
“ les bons jours, et les bonnes heures, ils les perdent souvent, et souffrent beaucoup
“ de dommage ; et ce que je n'ay pas vu seulement une fois, pendant que j'ay
“ fait là ma résidence, mais d'an en an, que par le retardement, ils ont laissé passer
“ le temps de *mousson*, et ont esté contraints de revenir, sans rien faire, apres estre
“ parvenus à la moitié du chemin de *Pegu*, *Jannasseri*, et *Achim**. C'est une
“ chose estonnante, qu'ils ne deviennent pas plus prudents pour l'avenir, par le
“ dommage, et la perte qu'ils souffrent continuellement ; qu'ils persistent et con-
“ tinuent tousjours dans leur ancienne erronée, et inutile pratique. Comme
“ cette opinion est profondément enracinée en eux, ils n'en peuvent pas estre
“ divertis.”

“ Mais † pour entendre ledit *panjangam* (almanach) il faut sçavoir, comme nous
“ avons dit au chapitre précédent, que les payens avoient trente heures au jour, et
“ trente heures à la nuit. Il est déclaré dans ce *panjangam*, touchant chaque jour
“ de la semaine, et touchant chaque heure qui se rencontre dans le jour, ce qu'on
“ peut faire en icelles avec bons succez, et ce qu'on doit laisser.”

“ 1. Que le dimanche commençant au lever du soleil, la première heure est
“ bonne pour toutes sortes d'affaires de discours, ou de conseil.”

“ 2. Si l'on entreprend quelque affaire, qui apporte ordinairement du profit, elle
“ succédera bien, et apportera du profit.”

“ 3. Si l'on entreprend quelque affaire pour en recevoir du profit, elle ne
“ succédera pas bien.”

“ 4. Si l'on espere recevoir quelque chose de bon, l'enemy jouira de ce
“ bien-là.”

“ 5. Il y aura du profit à faire merchandise.”

“ 6. Il fait bon célébrer une feste, ou entreprendre quelque chose concernant
“ joye ou doctrine.”

“ 7. Traité touchant femmes succédera selon le desir.”

“ 8. La marchandise ne donnera point de profit.”

“ 9. Comme en la sixième heure.”

“ 10. Ce qu'on entreprend ne succédera pas bien.”

“ 11. Il est mauvais de prendre médecine, ou de faire quelque chose pour le
“ contentement du corps.”

“ 12. Qui cherche victoire, il luy succédera bien.”

“ 13. Il fait bon d'acheter des vaches, des bestes, &c.”

“ 14. Il fait bon de prendre quelqu'un à son service.”

“ 15. Il est mauvais d'entre dans une maison neuve, ou de visiter quelqu'un dans
“ sa maison.”

“ 16. Il est bon de commencer quelques maisons, village, ou ville.”

“ 17. Il n'est pas bon d'entreprendre un voyage.”

“ 18. Il est bon de visiter les grands.”

“ 19. Il est bon de faire des images à l'honneur des pagoden.”

“ 20. Il est mauvais d'entreprendre quelque chose.”

“ 21. Celuy qui pense gagner quelque chose, sera trompé.”

“ 22. Celuy qui entreprend une bataille, la perdra.”

“ 23. Il

* The mariners concerned in these voyages were
probably Mahomedans, the owners of the vessels
may have been Hindoos, but both have this super-
stition.

† Roger, page 84.

- “ 23. Il est bon de rechercher l'amitié.”
 “ 24. Il fait bon se battre.”
 “ 25. Il fait bon prendre conseil de quelqu'un quelque part.”
 “ 26. La marchandise n'apportera pas de gain.”
 “ 27. Qui aura la connoissance d'une femme, aura un enfant.”
 “ 28. Tout ce qu'on entreprendra, réussira.”
 “ 29. Celui qui entreprendra quelque chose de plantage, aura bon succès.”
 “ 30. Tout ce qu'on souhaitera auparavant, ne succédera pas bien.”
 “ Il ira de mesme la nuit, d'heure à heure, jusqu'au soleil levant.”

The other days of the week, and the sixty parts into which each is divided, are detailed in the same strain; and thus every half hour is marked by something specific to be undertaken or to be avoided*. How much the affairs of life, and all rational considerations about them, must be interrupted; how much the poor people, who are enslaved to this superstition, must be harassed by it; may easily be conceived. They seek relief from every thing, and fear every thing except the Supreme Lord.

But this is not the only yoke imposed upon them. Their ceremonial defilements, pollutions, and uncleannesses, the ways in which caste may be stained or lost, the methods of purification, the regulations concerning food, the manner of dressing and eating it, the ceremonies at births, at different ages, at marriages and deaths, all these multiplied beyond enumeration, with a prodigious calendar of burthensome festivals and fasts, constitute a most grievous bondage.

A scrupulous Hindoo cannot go forth from his house without being accessible, on all sides, to dangers from omens and defilements. He must proceed every step with fear and circumspection, lest some calamity should come upon him. “Dust † shaken from flesh, from a broom, a garment, or from divers animals; the touch of a burnt net, a crow, a cock, a hen, a rat or mouse, an eunuch, a washerman, a hunter, a fisherman, a gamester, a distiller, an executioner, a tanner, a dealer in leather, an oilman, and of any sinner;” these are some of the manifold ways in which by contact, by accidents, or by the arts of others, personal pollutions may be contracted. The ceremonies which respect the article of food alone, might form a volume. Many kinds of provisions are totally forbidden; others become, in particular circumstances, unlawful; and those which are allowed, may be defiled by a thousand contingencies. The vessels used in preparing food, if touched by one of the lower caste, are defiled. The shadow of a chandal, (a person of the base caste before mentioned,) passing even over water, defiles it. All things usable, liquids, grain, metals, silks, cottons, vegetables, domestic utensils, the earth itself, are liable to pollution, and the remedies to be applied for their purification are prescribed ‡. “Sunshine, moon-shine, the light of a fire, air, water, earth, ashes, mustard-seed, wild grain, the shade of a tree, *the hind part of a cow's leg*, a plough, milk, milk curds, ghee or clarified butter, the dung and urine of a cow,” are a very few of the things which are esteemed to have a purifying virtue, and mostly in cases of personal defilement.

Besides the time employed in their daily ablutions and ceremonies, that which is lost from attending to the lucky and unlucky hours, and that which must be given to the removal of contracted defilements, there are many rigorous fasts § prescribed, and a still greater number of festivals ||. Of these last only, the whole number appointed for the *different castes* appears, from the Ayeen Akberry, to be about a hundred in the year, and they are in general carefully observed.

It is not however enough, that the Hindoos bear the accumulated evils, natural and fictitious, of their present state of existence. The Brahmins profess a science called *Kurrembeypak*, “by which,” says Abul Fazil, “can be discovered whatever was done by men in their former state of existence;” and it prescribes a particular expiation for each crime ¶. It is probable that there has always been more discretion than

* A few articles in the detail are curious enough to be noted,

“Celuy qui entreprendra quelque chose au desavantage de son prochain, cela lui réussira.

“Il fait bon, entreprendre une mauvaise affaire.

“Il est bon, d'entreprendre quelque chose, pour donner de la crainte à quelqu'un; celuy qui mange du poison, il en recevra les mesme avantages que de l'*Amortam*,” (supposed to be the same as

Amrita, the nectar of the gods.)

“ ||

“ Il fait bon brusler les malades, ou les couper.

“ Celuy qui cherche chose pour tromper, il ne le recontera pas.

“ Qui veut entreprendre quelque chose, ses ennemis mouront.

† Ayeen Akberry, page 242.

‡ Ibid. - - - 243.

§ Ibid. - - - 247.

|| Ibid. - - - 268.

¶ Ibid. - - - 167.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

than rigour, in the exercise of the authority derived from this source; but the invention itself is so singular, as to merit some further observation.

The art is subdivided into *four kinds*; and distinct examples of each are given in the Ayeen Akberry, (Vol. III. page 167)*.

From these examples, the following only shall be selected, as being short, and affording a sufficient explanation of the nature, and possible extension of this new species of taxation.

DISEASES which are Punishments for CRIMES in a FORMER STATE.

"Lameness is a punishment for having kicked a Brahmin.—*Cure*, Let him take one tolah of gold, in the form of a horse, and bestow it in charity; and give food to one hundred and eighty Brahmins."

"A fever is a punishment for killing an innocent Kheteree.—*Cure*, Repeating one hundred times the incantation of Mahadeo, feeding thirteen Brahmins, and sprinkling with water the image of Mahadeo one hundred times."

"A cough is a punishment for killing a Brahmin.—*Cure*, Making a lotus of four tolahs of gold, and after repeating certain incantations, performing with it the ceremony of the *Howm*, and giving it to a righteous Brahmin."

"A woman whose husband dies before her, in her former state was of a great family, which she left to live with a stranger, and when he died burned herself with him.—*Cure*, She must pass all her life in austerities, or put an end to her existence by burying herself in snow."

"A woman who has only daughters, is punished for having possessed a great deal of pride in her former existence, and not showing proper respect to her husband.—*Cure*, Besides ornamenting a white ox with gold, &c. she is to satisfy with food one hundred Brahmins: or she must make ten meshes of gold, in the form of a deity, and after performing certain incantations, give it in charity, and feed fifty Brahmins."

The review of the Hindoo religion shall be closed here. Whatever antiquity may be justly ascribed to that religion, whatever acknowledgements its mysterious writings may contain of one Supreme Being†, and of some of his perfections, whatever mixture

* The Institutes of Menu established the doctrine of sufferings for sins committed in a former state, and describe both the signs by which those sins may be discovered, and the expiations which must be made for them. Some passages from that work will further illustrate the doctrine.

"If a twice-born man, by the will of God in this world, or from his natural birth, have any corporeal mark of an expiable sin committed in this or a former state, he must hold no intercourse with the virtuous while his penance remains unperformed."

"Some evil minded persons, for sins committed in this life, and some for bad actions in a preceding state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies."

"A stealer of gold from a Brahmin, has whitelows on his nails; a drinker of spirits, black teeth; the slayer of a Brahmin, a marasmus; the violator of his guru's bed, a deformity in the generative organs; a malignant informer, fetid ulcers in his nostrils; a false detractor, stinking breath; a stealer of grain, the defect of some limb; a mixer of bad wares with good, some redundant member;

"A stealer of dressed grain, dyspepsia; a stealer of holy words, or an unauthorised reader of the scriptures, dumbness; a stealer of clothes, leprosy; a horse-stealer, lameness."

"Penance therefore, must invariably be performed for the sake of expiation; since they who have not expiated their sins, will again spring to birth with disgraceful marks."

Institutes of Menu, page 313.

† It is doubtless very pleasing to discover the recognition of this grand principle, the foundation of all true religion, even under an immense mass of falsehood and superstition; but some persons seem to have thought, that in ascertaining the existence of this principle in the writings of the Hindoos, or in the opinions of their learned men, they had substantially vindicated and established the religious character of that people; making little account of their idolatry, which is practised by the Brahmins, they represent to be no more than a symbolical worship of the divine attributes; and which as admitting among the vulgar, the idea of subaltern intelligences, they represent to arise from the veneration paid to the elements, which are thought to contain a portion of God, who according to an alledged tenet of the Hindoo faith, is held to be the soul of the world*. Not to dwell upon the falsity of this view of Hindoo idolatry, which has been already contradicted by quotations from the Bhagvad-Geeta, it may be sufficient to observe to any who lean to so latitudinarian an opinion, an opinion which falls below even the creed of deism, that the speculative admission of one or more important truths will not, in the least, prove the religious system, or the religious practice, of any person or community to be right. The picture of the ancient Heathens, given to us by unerring authority, is a striking, and affecting representation of the people of whom we now speak. "They held the truth in unrighteousness. . . . From the visible works of the Creator, they understood

mixture of moral principles may be found interspersed in its ordinances (for without some cement of this kind it would be impossible to constitute a religion for creatures, endowed with any share of reason and conscience) it plainly appears, that its general system is in theory most depraved; and that it is a system which, when reduced to practice, renders abortive the few moral principles originally admitted into it; and not only tolerates, but necessarily countenances, and encourages, the most extravagant and abandoned wickedness. The manners of some of the Brahmins who pass their time in going through the ceremonies of their religion, or an indolent application to their books, exempt from the concerns of the world, and therefore unblackened with the crimes so common among those of more active pursuits, form no exception to this remark; nor the rigorous austerities practised by the devotees of another class, who give themselves entirely up to a life of wandering mortification. Both these descriptions of men deny themselves in some things, but it is in order to be more abundantly gratified in others. The pride of their superior rank and qualifications, and above all, of their supposed sanctity, and the idolatrous reverence which they receive from the common people, render them insufferably arrogant; and there is the grossest deviation from rational and meritorious principles in the conduct of both:—in that of the Brahmin, who imposes upon the people a worship and ceremonies, which he knows to be groundless and pernicious; in that of the Jogee, who abandons his wife, children, and connections, to become useless and burthensome to others, and to himself, for the rest of his days.

The absolute dominion which this religion gives to the Brahmins, and a few of the second tribe, over the rest of the people, must also have forced itself upon the attention. No similar invention among men, seems to have been so long and so completely successful. This success may be accounted for, partly, from a favourable concurrence of various circumstances; but chiefly, from the character of the religion itself. Erected upon the darkest ignorance, and the boldest falshood, it has been the work of ages to strengthen these foundations, and to render the fabric impregnable. The understanding is chained and kept in perpetual imprisonment, like dreaded rivals for power in the East, who deprived of their eyes, and immured in dungeons, receive poisoned provisions from the gaoler's hands. Every avenue which might lead to emancipation, is strongly guarded. Fear is immeasurably excited, and incessantly wrought

“stood his eternal power and godhead
“But when they knew God they glorified him not
“as God, neither were thankful; but became vain
“in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was
“darkened. Professing themselves to be
“wise, they became fools And changed
“the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image
“made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and
“four-footed beasts, and creeping things
“Wherefore also God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lust of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves;
“ Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever, amen.
“ For this cause, God gave them up to vile affections And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; Being filled with all unrighteousness.” *Romans* i. 18. 24. 26. 28. 29.

With respect to the real tenets of the Hindoos on subjects of theology, they are to be taken from their ancient books, rather than from the oral declarations of the most learned Brahmins of modern times, who have discovered that the opinions of Christians, concerning the nature of God, are far more rational than those currently entertained among them, and that the gross idolatry of the Hindoos is condemned by the more intelligent natives of the western world. Bernier* seems to have found occasion for the same remark in his time, for after relating a conference between him and some learned pandits, in which the latter endeavoured

deavoured to refine away the grossness of their image-worship: “Voilà (says he) sans ajouter, ni diminuer, la solution qu'ils me donnerent, mais a vous dire le vrai, cela me sembloit un peu trop bien concerté, a la chretienne, aux prix de ce que j'en avoit appris de plusieurs autre pandits.”—It may be allowable to add here, that it is of importance in communicating, through the medium of European tongues, the writings of Eastern nations, not only to render their sense with rigid strictness and accuracy, but as much as possible, with the dress, the air, the manners of the original; for it is conceivable, that elegance of language, harmony of periods, grace of composition, and the illuminations of European learning, may in a version, unintentionally impart to doctrines, sentiments, or narrations, an elevation, a symmetry, or a polish, which, in their original garb, they do not possess. In this view, an author, to whom the world are under considerable obligations, may be quoted with applause.

“In executing this work,” (says Mr. Wilkins, of the translation of the *Heetopades*) I have scrupulously adhered to the text; and I have preferred drawing a picture, of which it may be said, *I can suppose it a strong likeness, although I am unacquainted with the original*, to a flattering portrait where characteristic features, because not altogether consonant to European taste, must have been sacrificed to the harmony of composition. I have ever attended to the form of my model, and have preserved what was originally in verse, distinct, by indenting every line but the first of each distich.”—Mr. Wilkins' Preface to the *Heetopades*, page 14.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

wrought upon; not a rational fear of falling into moral evil, and offending the righteous and holy Sovereign of the universe, but a fear of numberless fictitious dangers from every part of nature, from things real and imaginary, in every situation, and in every transaction. Fear is the grand instrument by which these poor people are held down, never daring to examine into the reality of what they are told is impending over them. False hope is likewise held out to them; and they are taught to seek deliverance, safety, and happiness, in a multitude of unmeaning, fantastic ceremonies, which constitute a grievous drudgery, engrossing their time, and confining their thoughts. In all these rites, and in whatever regards the civil and personal, as well as the religious concerns of the Hindoos, the Brahmins have made themselves indispensably necessary. They formed the religion, they are the sole exclusive depositaries of its ordinances, they are the expounders of them, they are, under a Hindoo sovereign, authorized to assist in the government of public affairs, and in effect to control it; they are the framers and administrators of the law, they have exorbitant personal privileges in all the ordinary affairs and transactions of life, they are the sole ministers, either officiating or directing, in all the vast train of ceremonies, observances, ablutions, defilements, purifications, penances, and works of supererogation, of which their religion consists; the endless questions arising about caste, are determined by them. In short, a Hindoo, from the hour of his birth, through the different stages of his existence, in infancy, in youth, in manhood, in old age, and in death, in all the relations, and in all the casualties of life, is subject to an accumulation of burthensome rites, with which the preservation of his caste, his credit, and place in society, are strictly connected: nay, for his conduct in former states of being, preceding his birth, these absolute lords of his faith, conscience, and conduct, bring him to account, nor do they resign their dominion over him when he is dead. The return he has for unbounded subjection, is an indulgence in perpetual deviations, even from those few principles of morality which his religion acknowledges. It is thus that abject slavery, and unparalleled depravity, have become distinguishing characteristics of the Hindoos.

Before we dismiss this branch of our subject, it may be proper to meet an enquiry which may have been rising in the mind of the reader while this account has proceeded. It may be said, If the representation here given be just, if such be the consequences of the complex system of Hindoo government, religion, and laws, how has Hindostan flourished under that system, as it is said to have done in ancient times? How has even the frame of society among the Hindoos been preserved from dissolution?

That country, certainly possessed of various advantages, derived them however from nature, not from its government. It enjoyed a most genial climate, a most fertile soil, a situation the most happy for security and for commerce. But its political institutions cramped its natural powers; in process of time they produced general corruption; the interest of the country, or of the state, came to be no concern with people, who, excluded even from thinking of public affairs, and unalterably fixed to one rank and occupation, had little to hope, or to fear, from a change: whence it was, as the ancients inform us, that the husbandman might be seen calmly tilling his field, while two armies were contending in his sight for dominion. Those institutions failed in effectual provision against foreign invasion, in the same degree that they produced internal degradation; and the people having at length filled up a high measure of immorality, the natural consequence of their principles, their northern neighbours, after many desolating inroads, and massacres, brought them under a foreign yoke.

But though the Hindoos lost the dominion of their own country, the influence of their religion, and their priests, remained. The ignorance and fear of the people, their terrible apprehension, especially of the loss or contamination of caste; the necessity thence resulting of adhering to the profession, and remaining in the country in which they were born; these causes, with the great extent of continent over which Hinduism had anciently spread, and the prodigious number of the people professing it, upheld its institutions (institutions which eventually sacrificed every thing else to perpetuate themselves) long after the transfer of sovereignty to foreigners of another faith. Thus the people were held together in the forms of the social state, by a chain, which the rude bigotry and ignorance of their conquerors only served to fasten more strongly; and this, in a word, with the coercive power exercised by the conquerors, explains

explains why they still continue united, beyond the period, when their corruptions might have dissolved the frame of society*.

CHAP. IV.

Inquiry into the Measures which might be adopted by Great Britain, for the Improvement of the Condition of her Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

WE now proceed to the main object of this work, for the sake of which all the preceding topics and discussions have been brought forward,—an inquiry into the means of remedying disorders, which have become thus inveterate in the state of society among our Asiatic subjects, which destroy their happiness, and obstruct every species of improvement among them.

That it is in the highest degree desirable, that a healing principle should be introduced, no man surely will deny. Supposing it to be in our power to convince them of the criminality of the annual sacrifice of so many human victims on the funeral pile; of the profession of robbery, comprehending murder; of the indulgence of one class of people in the whole catalogue of flagitious crimes, without any adequate punishment; of the forfeiture of the lives of others, according to their institutes, for the merest trifles; of the arbitrary imposition of burthensome rites, devoid of all moral worth; of the pursuit of revenge, by offerings to vindictive deities; of

CHAP. IV.

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

* The ancient splendor of India, its career in refinement, and the happiness resulting from its policy, have been viewed by the celebrated author of the *Historical Disquisition*, through a medium which hath magnified them to his apprehension greatly beyond their just dimensions, and guided his masterly hand in the delineation of a picture, far more beautiful than the original. In treating of the progress of society, one position seems of late to be generally assumed, that men at first set out from the savage state; a position which may sometimes at least be questionable, and which in respect to the original inhabitants of Hindostan, must be disputed. From this point however, Dr. Robertson conceives them to advance, through a long series of internal improvements, to the highest stages of refinement, unaided even by the accession of extraneous lights; whereas it appears more probable, that upon the first dispersion of mankind from the plains of Shinar, where the habits of civilized life must have prevailed, the most attractive climates would direct the lines of migration, and that early colonies proceeding to the eastward, through tracts of fertile country, would, without sinking into barbarism, soon spread into the luxuriant regions of India, where the rich abundance of the soil would speedily lead them to the arrangements of regular society. For countries extremely productive of the bounties of nature, seem to ripen the ideas of men, in some respects, with a quickness analogous to the rapidity of their vegetation; and where enjoyments are profusely offered, a certain degree of refinement will easily take place, and rights of property be understood, though the facility of acquisition will not be favourable to the spirit of improvement, and there may be vices in the political constitution which will absolutely limit its progress.

With respect to the Braminical system of religion, law, and science, from which the strongest arguments for a long progressive course of refinement are deduced, reason has of late been given us to believe, that the elements of them did not spring up in Hindostan, but were derived from a source nearer to the original seat of the post-diluvian

vian race. (See, in the *Asiatic Researches*, the papers of Sir William Jones, concerning the Hindoos.) But whatever the origin, or extent of knowledge among the Hindoos might be, it was, as we have seen, monopolized and concealed by the Brahmins. It spread little light among the great body of the people, and it is incorrect to refer to the whole nation, what only the priests possessed and guarded as a mystery. So with respect to the accumulations of wealth, which the nation enjoying abundant produce, and having few wants, might at length contain, it would centre with the Princes, Brahmins, and some of the chief persons of the other tribes. There might be numerous armies, splendid retinues and establishments, appertaining to the great, with a profusion of jewels and effeminate finery, in which these people delight; there would be many superb richly endowed pagodas, astonishing for their workmanship and cost, there would be great bodies of indolent well appointed priests, troops of buffoons, players, and dancers, the last belonging to the temples as well as the court; and all these appearances, with the general face of a country ever verdant and luxuriant, would strike the imagination of a stranger, especially if his business were with the metropolis, like that of Megasthenes, from whose superficial account of a country then little known, the opinions of the ancients seems to have been formed. But there is no reason to believe, that wealth was diffused freely through all the body politic; the head and arms might be enlarged, but the other parts would retain nearly their original size. There is no reason, in short, to believe, that the common people ever lived upon any thing but rice, or other inferior grain; ever wore any thing but a cincture, or at best a slight half covering of ordinary cotton cloth; or ever inhabited any better dwellings than low inconvenient huts, with matted or mud walls, and straw roofs. Such is the present style, and such in all probability it ever has been, not because the people preferred this, but because they had no choice.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

of the establishment of lying, false evidence, gaming, and other immoralities, by law; of the pardon of capital offences for money; of trying to purchase the expiation of wilful and habitual iniquity, by ceremonial observances; and of the worship of stocks, stones, impure and malevolent deities; no man living, surely, would affirm that we ought, that we are at liberty, to withhold from them this conviction.

Are we bound for ever to preserve all the enormities in the Hindoo system? Have we become the guardians of every monstrous principle and practice which it contains? Are we pledged to support, for all generations, by the authority of our government and the power of our arms, the miseries which ignorance and knavery have so long entailed upon a large portion of the human race? Is this the part which a free, a humane, and an enlightened nation, a nation itself professing principles diametrically opposite to those in question, has engaged to act towards its own subjects? It would be too absurd and extravagant to maintain, that any engagement of this kind exists; that Great Britain is under any obligation, direct or implied, to uphold errors and usages, gross and fundamental, subversive of the first principles of reason, morality, and religion.

If we had conquered such a kingdom as Mexico, where a number of human victims were regularly offered every year upon the altar of the Sun, should we have calmly acquiesced in this horrid mode of butchery? Yet for near thirty years we have, with perfect unconcern, seen rites, in reality more cruel and atrocious, practised in our Indian territories. If human life must be sacrificed to superstition, at least the more useless, worthless, or unconnected members of the society might be devoted. But in Hindostan, mothers of families are taken from the midst of their children, who have just lost their father also, and by a most diabolical complication of force and fraud, are driven into the flames.

Shall we be in all time to come, as we hitherto have been, passive spectators of this unnatural wickedness? It may indeed well appear surprising that in the long period during which we have held those territories, we have made no serious attempt to recal the Hindoos to the dictates of truth and morality. This is a mortifying proof how little it has been considered, that the ends of government, and the good of society, have an inseparable connection with right principles. We have been satisfied with the apparent submissiveness of these people, and have attended chiefly to the maintenance of our authority over the country, and the augmentation of our commerce and revenues; but have never, with a view to the promotion of their happiness, looked thoroughly into their internal state.

If then we ought to wish for the correction of those criminal habits and practices which prevail among them, it cannot reasonably be questioned, that we ought also to make allowable attempts for this end; and it remains therefore only to consider in what manner this design may be best pursued.

Shall we resort to the power we possess, to destroy their distinctions of castes, and to demolish their idols? Assuredly not. Force, instead of convincing them of their error, would fortify them in the persuasion of being right; and the use of it, even if it promised happier consequences, would still be altogether unjust.

To the use of reason and argument, however, in exposing their errors, there can be no objection. There is indeed the strongest obligation to make those errors manifest, since they generate and tend to perpetuate all the miseries which have been set forth, and which our duty, as rulers, instead of permitting us to view with silent indifference, calls upon us by every proper method to prevent.

The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction, that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.

There are two ways of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is, by the medium of our own. In general, when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other mean of communication.

cation intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice therefore of either mode, lies open to us; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to a preference. Upon this subject, it is not intended to pass an exclusive decision here; the points absolutely to be contended for are, that we ought to impart our superior lights, and that this is practicable; that it is practicable by two ways, can never be an argument why neither should be attempted. Indeed no good reason appears why either should be systematically interdicted, since particular cases may recommend, even that which is in general least eligible.

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could therefore be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings in the same character, still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage, does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing here, that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language. This proposition will bring at once to trial, both the principle of such communication, and that mode of conveyance which can alone be questioned; for the admission of the principle must at least include in it the admission of the narrowest means suited to the end, which we conceive to be the native languages. The principle, however, and the mode, are still distinct questions, and any opinion which may be entertained of the latter, cannot affect the former; but it is hoped, that what shall be offered here concerning them, will be found sufficient to justify both.

We proceed then to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer.

The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands.

To introduce the language of the conquerors, seems to be an obvious mean of assimilating the conquered people to them. The Mahomedans, from the beginning of their power, employed the Persian language in the affairs of government, and in the public departments. This practice aided them in maintaining their superiority, and enabled them, instead of depending blindly on native agents, to look into the conduct and details of public business, as well as to keep intelligible registers of the income and expenditure of the state. Natives readily learnt the language of government, finding that it was necessary in every concern of revenue and of justice; they next became teachers of it; and in all the provinces over which the Mogul Empire extended, it is still understood, and taught by numbers of Hindoos.

It would have been our interest to have followed their example; and had we done so on the assumption of the Dewannee, or some years afterwards, the English language would now have been spoken and studied by multitudes of Hindoos throughout our provinces. The details of the revenue would, from the beginning,

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

have been open to our inspection; and by facility of examination on our part, and difficulty of fabrication on that of the natives, manifold impositions of a gross nature, which have been practised upon us, would have been precluded. An easy channel of communication also, would always have been open between the rulers and the subjects; and numberless grievances would have been represented, redressed, or prevented, which the ignorance of the former in the country languages, and the hindrances experienced by the latter in making their approaches, have sometimes suffered to pass with impunity, to the encouragement of new abuses. We were long held in the dark, both in India and in Europe, by the use of a technical revenue language; and a man of considerable judgment, who was a member of the Bengal administration near twenty years since, publicly animadverted on the absurdity of our submitting to employ the unknown jargon of a conquered people. It is certain, that the Hindoos would easily have conformed to the use of English; and they would still be glad to possess the language of their masters, the language which always gives weight and consequence to the natives who have any acquaintance with it, and which would enable every native to make his own representations directly to the Governor-General himself, who, it may be presumed, will not commonly, henceforth, be chosen from the line of the Company's servants, and therefore may not speak the dialects of the country. Of what importance it might be to the public interest, that a man in that station should not be obliged to depend on a medium with which he is unacquainted, may readily be conceived.

It would be extremely easy for government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals and discretion; and men of this character could impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse: and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might at first make some use of the Bengaleze tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first, upon such a change: for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengaleze clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindostanny and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to government, or its officers, would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan rulers.

With our language, much of our useful literature might, and would, in time, be communicated. The art of Printing, would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, though their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindoos would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs; they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue, and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified; and above all, they would see a better system of principles and morals. New views of duty as rational creatures would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.

To this change, the true knowledge of nature would contribute; and some of our easy explanations of natural philosophy might undoubtedly, by proper means, be made intelligible to them. Except a few Brahmins, who consider the concealment of

of their learning as part of their religion*, the people are totally misled as to the system and phenomena of nature; and their errors in this branch of science, upon which divers important conclusions rest, may be more easily demonstrated to them, than the absurdity and falsehood of their mythological legends. From the demonstration of the true cause of eclipses, the story of *Ragoo*, and *Ketoo*, the dragons, who when the sun and the moon are obscured are supposed to be assaulting them, a story which has hitherto been an article of religious faith, productive of religious services among the Hindoos†, would fall to the ground; the removal of one pillar, would weaken the fabric of falsehood; the discovery of one palpable error, would open the mind to farther conviction; and the progressive discovery of truths, hitherto unknown, would dissipate as many superstitious chimeras, the parents of false fears, and false hopes. Every branch of natural philosophy might in time be introduced and diffused among the Hindoos. Their understandings would thence be strengthened, as well as their minds informed, and error be dispelled in proportion.

But perhaps no acquisition in natural philosophy would so effectually enlighten the mass of the people, as the introduction of the principles of mechanics, and their application to agriculture and the useful arts. Not that the Hindoos are wholly destitute of simple mechanical contrivances. Some manufactures, which depend upon patient attention and delicacy of hand, are carried to a considerable degree of perfection among them; but for a series of ages, perhaps for two thousand years, they do not appear to have made any considerable addition to the arts of life. Invention seems wholly torpid among them; in a few things, they have improved by their intercourse with Europeans, of whose immense superiority they are at length convinced; but this effect is partial, and not discernible in the bulk of the people. The scope for improvement, in this respect, is prodigious.

What great accessions of wealth would Bengal derive from a people intelligent in the principles of agriculture, skilled to make the most of soils and seasons, to improve the existing modes of culture, of pasturage, of rearing cattle, of defence against excesses of drought, and of rain; and thus to meliorate the quality of all the produce of the country. All these arts are still in infancy. The husbandman of Bengal just turns up the soil with a diminutive plough, drawn by a couple of miserable cattle; and if drought parches, or the rain inundate the crop, he has no resource; he thinks he is destined to this suffering, and is far more likely to die from want, than to relieve himself by any new or extraordinary effort. Horticulture is also in its first stage: the various fruits and esculent herbs, with which Hindostan abounds, are nearly in a state of nature; though they are planted in inclosed gardens, little skill is employed to reclaim them. In this respect likewise, we might communicate information of material use to the comfort of life, and to the prevention of famine. In silk, indigo, sugar, and in many other articles, what vast improvements might be effected by the introduction of machinery. The skilful application of fire, of water, and of steam, improvements which would thus immediately concern the interest of the common people, would awaken them from their torpor, and give activity to their minds. At present it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent: *custom* is the strongest law to them. *Following implicitly*, seems to be instinctive with them, in small things as well as great. The path which the first passenger has marked over the soft soil, is trodden so undeviatingly in all its curves, by every succeeding traveller, that when it is perfectly beaten, it has still only the width of a single track.

But undoubtedly the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive through the medium of our language, would be the knowledge of our religion, the principles of which are explained in a clear, easy way, in various tracts circulating among us, and are completely contained in the inestimable volume of Scripture. Thence they would be instructed in the nature and perfections of the one true God, and in the real history of man; his creation, lapsed state, and the means of his recovery, on all which points they hold false and extravagant opinions; they would see a pure, complete, and perfect system of morals and of duty, enforced by the most awful sanctions, and recommended by the most interesting motives; they would learn the accountableness of man, the final judgment he is to undergo, and the eternal state which is to follow. Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its

* Page 48.

† Page 66; and Bernier, Tome II. page 102.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain,

its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall. The reasonable service of the only, and the infinitely perfect God, would be established: love to him, peace and good-will towards men, would be felt as obligatory principles.

It is not asserted, that such effects would be immediate or universal; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos! Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniencies of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts, improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is in the nature of things to be found.

Desirable as it must be that such animating prospects were realized, and reasonable as the grounds on which they are held out are presumed to be, it is nevertheless probable, that various objections, more or less plausible, may be started against all that has been advanced. These objections, as far as they are foreseen, shall now be distinctly met; and it is hoped, that upon examination, none of them will be found to possess that substance and validity, which we are entitled to require in arguments opposed to a scheme resting on principles the most incontrovertible, and having for its end the most diffusive good.

FIRST. The plan here proposed, presenting so new an association of ideas, so strange a revolution, as the abject Bengaleze using the language and the light of Europe, may upon the very suggestion of it, be treated as in its nature *idle, visionary, and absurd*.

But this would be the decision of prejudice, rather than the conclusion of mature reflection and reason. If the character of the Hindoos proceeded only from a physical origin, there might be some foundation for thinking it unalterable; but nothing is more plain, than that it is formed chiefly by moral causes, adequate to the effect produced: if those causes therefore can be removed, their effect will cease, and new principles and motives will produce new conduct and a different character. It is unwarrantable to infer, that because the Hindoos, or to narrow the term, the Bengaleze, are at present low in their sentiments, conduct, and aims, they must always remain so. We cannot presume from the past state of any people, with respect to improvement in arts, that they would, under different circumstances, for ever continue the same. The history of many nations who have advanced from rudeness to refinement, contradicts such an hypothesis; according to which, the Britons ought still to be going naked, to be feeding on acorns, and sacrificing human victims in the Druidical groves. In fact, what is now offered, is nothing more than a proposal for the further civilization of a people, who had very early made a considerable progress in improvement; but who, by deliberate and successful plans of fraud and imposition, were rendered first stationary, then retrograde. These considerations alone, forbid us to assume, that if they were released from the darkness and stupefaction of ignorance and superstition, the human mind could not among them, regain some ordinary degree of elasticity; or that if light shone upon them, they would still be incapable of seeing or judging for themselves. Let it however be again observed, that the argument maintained here supposes only a *gradual* change. If we bring into *immediate* contrast, the *present state* of the Hindoos, and the *full, general, accomplishment* of such a change, tacitly sinking in our comparison, a long series of years, and of slow progressive transitions, we shall indeed form to ourselves a picture of egregious contrarieties, but it will not be a just representation. Nothing is contended for, which cannot be supported from the nature of man, and the experience of past ages.

SECOND. Nearly allied to the objection now considered, is another which some persons acquainted with the Hindoo character and habits, and possibly apologists for them, may derive from the *attachment of that people to their own modes and customs*. "If," may it be said, "the Bengaleze are not to be reckoned below the reach of in-struction,"

“struction, and incapable of new perceptions and views, still their attachment to long established opinions and usages, is so rooted, as to form an *insuperable obstacle* to such an innovation as is proposed; and therefore the scheme may at least be regarded as *impracticable*.”

CHAP. IV.
Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

Is this argument however, quite philosophical? Must it be granted, without fair trial, that there is any portion of the human race, upon which reason and science can have *no* influence, which is doomed by nature to perpetual ignorance and prejudice? It is true that the Hindoos have a strong predilection for their system; but still it must be remembered, that in the bulk of the people, this is a predilection consequent of a privation of light, and riveted by the errors which darkness generates, not an attachment which has resisted the light, or as have ever been tried by it. Many Europeans have implicitly adopted an overstrained notion of the immutability of Hindoo opinions in matters of religion, and of the obstinacy of the people in retaining their own practices, even in civil life. But if we look to facts, we shall find that a variety of sects have prevailed, and still prevail, among them. The rise, especially of the *Seeks*, a new religious order, numerous and powerful, who have abjured the Brahminical faith, is sufficient to evince that the Hindoos are capable of considerable fluctuations of opinion. Hitherto indeed they have more commonly fluctuated only from one delusion to another; though it must be allowed, that the system of the *Seeks*, if the accounts which have been received of it are accurate, is comparatively simple and rational; and we cannot without wonder behold a set of Hindoos casting off at once, in the heart of their country, the whole load of Brahminical incumbrances, and as it should seem, renouncing polytheism and the worship of images*. A sight far more pleasing has also been exhibited to us, in the conversion of Hindoos to the divine religion of the Gospel. These were not encouraged by an armed protection, or actuated by the prospect of conquest, which may have stimulated the followers of the *Seeks*; but in opposition to the allurements and terrors of the world, they yielded to conviction, and rendered homage to the truth. This important fact, which is perfectly established, it may suffice barely to state here, since there will be occasion, in speaking to a following objection, to which it more pointedly applies, to enlarge upon it. When we read of these things on the one hand, and on the other of the extremities which Hindoos have sometimes endured through the bigotry of their Mahomedan masters, or from the pressure of misfortune, rather than submit to apprehended contamination, what is the inference fairly deducible from these dissimilar views but this, that whether the dread either of dishonour in this life, or of degradation in the next transmigration; whether resentment, or the idea of acquiring distinguished merit, were the principle from which these people suffered, still what terror could not induce them, misguided as they were by false notions, to relinquish, they yielded voluntarily to reason and persuasion.

If we now turn to instances of a more familiar nature, in the affairs of common life, here too actual experience will inform us, that it is not insuperably difficult to induce the Indians to depart from old established practices, and to adopt new ones. One or two cases of pre-eminent magnitude and notoriety will suffice to confirm this position. Raw-silk, as is well known, has been for many years a great article of commerce in Bengal. The natives had their own methods of winding it, and much attachment to those methods, defective as they were. The India Company attempted to introduce the Italian mode of winding this article, a mode more complex, but far more perfect; they have completely succeeded, and that mode is now practised in all parts of the country. So again with respect to the culture and manufacture of indigo, which the skill and industry of Europeans have, within these last twelve years, introduced into Bengal, and have now rendered an immense article of commerce between that country and Europe: the natives, though possessed of the indigo plant, from which their dyers extracted a very inferior substance for domestic purposes, held the culture of it rather in disesteem, and had no idea of those modes, and that scale of manufacture, of which the Europeans gave them examples; but those examples they now begin to follow on their own account, and there is reason to believe the Hindoos will come in for a share of the produce of this article in the London markets. Be it acknowledged then, that they are now incurious, and without love of learning; yet make it their interest, and they will attend to new discoveries; make it easy for them also to know the English language, and they will acquire it; show them profitable improvements in agriculture and the arts, and they will imitate them; make

* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the *Seeks*, in the first volume of the Asiatic Transactions.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

make it in short their interest, and why may they not become *in time* students, and even teachers of natural philosophy?

Let not the idea be hastily treated as chimerical, if we add that the India Company possessing the revenues of a great country, might very beneficially for themselves and that country, set the example in introducing such improvements. It would be worthy of them to turn their attention to this fruitful subject, to employ skilful artists of various kinds in ascertaining what improvements are practicable, and in carrying plans for them into execution. Were such a design to be taken up, with due zeal, by the Company, and their governments abroad, the expense and labour would assuredly be repaid in the end, probably by specific returns, but certainly by the augmentation of the agriculture and commerce of the country, and the general effects upon society. In like manner, if *after the English language begun to be diffused*, seminaries, with suitable apparatus, were instituted, for gratuitous instruction in natural philosophy, and premiums assigned to those who should excel, young persons, both Hindoos and Mahomedans, would become students and candidates; and if those who were found competent, were at length to be taken as assistant teachers, with suitable salaries, such a measure would prove a new and powerful means of establishing this species of knowledge. If a kind, patient, and encouraging conduct, were observed towards the Hindoos; that contempt with which Europeans in general regard them, restrained; and their first inaptitude borne with; it cannot be irrational to expect, that in things which come home to their business and interest, which respect the truths of nature, and the improvements of art, such a conduct should be productive of success. Many of the Hindoos and Mahomedans are brought up to the ready practice of writing and accounts; and persons of this class might be more easily carried on further.

THIRD. It may be objected, with more plausibility, that the *Brahmins, by their determined opposition to innovations, which would so essentially affect their interests, would prevent the introduction or success of them.*

It is certainly natural to suppose, that they could not look with indifference upon any attempt *from which they might apprehend danger*, to that system whence they "have their wealth," their honour, and their influence. It shall be readily admitted therefore, that *upon any serious alarm* for the stability of these distinctions, such opposition as should be within the power of that order of men might be expected. But though it will be proper to consider the effect of that opposition, and the force of the objection grounded upon it, we must previously maintain that it can constitute no reason at all against endeavouring, by prudent and pacific means, to make the truth known; for to admit this, would be to make the resistance of those who profit by abuses, an argument for continuing to tolerate them, and upon the same principle, Christianity had never been propagated.

To objections of a prudential or political kind, it is one main design of this piece to oppose answers founded on considerations of a like nature; and we venture to believe, that if the cause here pleaded for, rested on this ground alone, it could have nothing to fear. But the employment of political arguments does not oblige us to decline the use of others justly applicable to the subject; and upon the present occasion, it would be strange to omit one of decisive weight, which flows from the very nature and principles of Christianity.

The divine authority of that religion, its unrivalled excellence, and incomparable fitness to promote the happiness of man, its whole tenor, and many particular injunctions and encouragements which it holds forth, impose upon those who profess subjection to it, the duty of contributing to diffuse, by all proper methods, the knowledge and influence of it in the world. No man who takes the Gospel as the standard of his reasoning, can for a moment dispute this position; to deny it, would be virtually to deny the authority of Christ, and therefore it will not be expected, that we should enter here into the proof of a position which rests upon the truth of Christianity itself. But affirming as we may with perfect right, the validity of this argument, it will apply to communities as well as individuals; the duty is incumbent upon this nation, and it is augmented two-fold by the addition of that which we owe to the misguided Pagans who are become our subjects.

Having asserted the regard due to this important argument, let us proceed, in the next place, to examine how far the present objection is warranted, in ascribing so great an efficacy to the opposition of the Brahmins; or in other words, to inquire into the

the extent and probable amount of their counter-action, *still supposing their resistance to be strongly excited*; for here it will be proper to remark, that in general where they see no indication of *persecution*, they are not likely to feel any alarm. As the more learned and ingenious of them lead a retired life, inattentive to novelties, so the rest, chiefly men busied in worldly concerns, possess the confidence which often belongs to deluded ignorance. They know that their system is held by numerous nations. They believe from their legends, that it always has been, and always will be so. They possess the same spirit as that Pagan votary of old, who felt himself quoting a fact of universal notoriety and authority, sufficient to appease a popular tumult, when he affirmed that the image of the great goddess Diana fell down from Jupiter. When therefore they see a few simple foreigners offering "certain strange things" to the ears of their people, they may be ready secretly, if not to use the language of the conceited Athenians, yet to say with a more ancient scoffer, "what do these feeble Jews?" Still less will the people be apprehensive about consequences. And whilst things continue in this state, it will be the business of Christian teachers to confine themselves chiefly to the positive declarations of the Gospel, giving no occasion for an imputation which indeed they should never wish justly to incur, that of being "blasphemers," or resorting to abusive language in speaking of the Hindoo gods, or the Hindoo absurdities. They have greater themes; "temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come;"—the noble topics brought forward by St. Paul to the superstitious Athenians. "God that made the world the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who is not worshipped with men's hands who giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things in whom we live, move, and have our being And that forasmuch as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men, every where to repent; because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead."

If by such doctrines as these, or the fruits of them, resentment and opposition should be provoked, let us now consider what the utmost activity of opposition so stimulated could effect. Usually true religion has been combated, and false religions have been upheld, either by fraud or force, or by both. What artifice, imposture, misrepresentation, and vicious indulgence have not been able to effect, persecution and the coercion of the secular power have been called in to accomplish. False religion shuns fair examination; before this test it cannot stand. Such is the force of truth, that on the first promulgation of Christianity, it prevailed against all the deceits, impositions, ignorance, prejudice, and prescriptive authority of the ancient superstition, aided by the utmost cruelties that tyrannic governments could inflict. Now in the present case, the Brahmins will not possess the instrument most effectual for the support of religious error and imposture, that is, the power of the sword. They may be able to strengthen indisposition to new opinions by their personal influence, by availing themselves of traditional respect and existing habits, by venting calumnies, by denouncing spiritual judgments, especially that most formidable of their punishments, loss of caste; and it shall be granted, that these expedients may be sufficient to narrow the avenues, and retard the progress of truth. Such obstructions are to be contended with only by patient perseverance, maintained on Christian principles. But with these expedients, the means of opposition end; and if all such means have not prevented many Hindoos, even of the superior orders, on the Coast of Coromandel, from embracing the doctrine preached by a few humble Europeans, without national or local consideration, why should it be thought that pious, discreet, intelligent teachers, should have no success in Bengal, where the full establishment of our authority must at least secure the national religion from open contempt or disrespect. In that country, the gross absurdities of Heathenism have never yet been clearly exposed, and their abettors would find themselves extremely at a loss to defend by argument, assumptions wholly destitute of evidence, internal and external. Indeed how is it possible to justify to the common sense and imperfect natural light of men, the monstrous actions ascribed to the deities of the Hindoos, the immoral tenets established by the Hindoo system, and the immoral practices which they are used to sanction? These things could not stand before the pure and heart-searching word of God, which recommended by the lives of those who declared it, could not fail to make a powerful impression; especially as the Hindoos, who easily suppose the authenticity

authenticity of other systems of religion, (thus with Pagan latitude concluding the certainty of that which they hold to be peculiarly assigned to them,) would not be inclined to controvert the truth of ours, and therefore would be reduced to the task of proving that their own is of divine authority. And the great difference between this kind of contest, and the religious controversies which have usually prevailed in Europe, ought to be considered. For here the dispute has commonly been, which of two contrary systems or tenets was the right one, and entitled to general acceptance. But the Hindoos do not wish for proselytes; they cannot receive any: on the other hand, Christian teachers neither able nor desirous to resort to any kind of compulsion, would be confined to a quiet exposition of the truths of their own system, and of the errors of Heathenism. From such a state of things no violent contention could easily arise. If finding excommunication insufficient to deter Hindoos from embracing Christianity, the Brahmins should attempt to follow with persecution those who had been converted, the calm interposition of the civil government to prevent such an infraction of justice and good order, would be sufficient. And if natives acknowledging from conscience the Christian revelation, at the hazard of sacrifices which the confession of it might require, were thereby rendered more honest, more faithful, and upright, would this be any injury to society? Need we ask whether it would make them better servants and agents, make them more useful and valuable in all the relations of life? Would not such persons be a real accession to European masters; and must it not be supposed, that men professing Christianity, whose interest would be promoted by employing such converts, would not reject them, upon a principle which even Paganism could not justify, that is, because they had honestly followed their convictions? In this way the great terror of excommunication would be obviated; for it is in the loss of employment, the want of subsistence, and protection, that its great evil consists. Let it not be said, that such views might tempt natives hypocritically to assume the profession of Christianity who would afterwards disgrace it. The truth is not to be kept back, nor a credible profession of it discouraged, because it may be thus abused; and those who should act so dishonestly, would generally soon find themselves despised by all parties.

Thus it is hoped a satisfactory answer has been offered to the objection now under consideration, even when admitted in its strongest form; that is, in supposing the great question respecting religion to be brought into early and direct controversy. Of such a collision of systems however, for some considerable time to come, the probability may, from the observations which have been advanced, be reasonably doubted; and if the more gradual process here assumed, a process by the concurring extension of the English language, should be followed, additional aids will, in the mean while, arise to the argument we maintain. That extension for instance, and the employment of the language in public business, cannot be disputed by the Brahmins; for how could they deny the same obedience to our government which they formerly yielded to the Mahomedan, and in a matter on which it is solely the province of government to decide? Brahmins themselves have spoken English for a century past; many of them now speak it; and no religious plea can therefore be henceforth advanced against the use of it. Improvements in manufactures and the arts, the Brahmins could not exclude; for in the adoption of some such improvements introduced by Europeans, they have also joined. The true system of natural philosophy, demonstrable as it is to the sight by machines, could be communicated to the Mahomedans, through whom it would have a wide diffusion, even if the Brahmins could prevent all Hindoos from attending to it, which is not to be imagined; nor could such an expedient occur to them until the progress of light had made an impression. That progress it is probable, would operate silently with persons who would not choose to encounter the painful feelings attendant on the dereliction of caste; and in this way, without any great external change which should excite alarm, a gradual enlargement of views and opinions, guided by that spirit of order and obedience which the Gospel eminently inculcates, and operating rather to the prevention of any vehement conflict of opinions, might take place, to the true happiness, as far as it went, of all parties.

FOURTH. It may possibly occur to some of the readers of this tract, that the *Portuguese of India, many of whom speak English, are nevertheless still a vicious and contemptible race.*—There are among them, it must be admitted, many who cannot be cleared from this imputation. These men, descendents of the Portuguese soldiers and free-booters of a rude age, and of the lowest Bengaleze women, born in the

the meanest stations, dispersed under governments foreign to them, adopted by no other class of society, commonly without education, retaining only the errors of the Roman Catholic persuasion, grow up in ignorance, immorality, and superstition, like the Heathen around them; and if they know the English language, it is but imperfectly and colloquially. They cannot be referred to as specimens of the effects of Christianity, any more than some of the Indians of America, for they understand and possess hardly any thing of it beyond the name. But there is another description of persons ranking under the general denomination of Portuguese, more respectable; persons of some education, who are clerks, traders, or merchants. These are often men of decent lives and tolerable information; they are, in some degree, an improving set of people, and have clearly profited from their acquaintance and intercourse with Europeans, particularly the English. Now the proposed plan of communicating instruction to the Hindoos, through the medium of our language, does not suppose that the vilest out-casts of society are first to be selected for the purpose, or that a new name merely is to be imparted, but that men of substance and consideration, men employed in the affairs of government, connected with the revenues and with the administration of justice, will procure for their children, if not for themselves, the knowledge of a tongue which will then be necessary in transacting business; and that the instruction to be conveyed by this, or any other vehicle, shall be important and practical.

FIFTH. Another objection may arise from *the result of the direct attempts which been made to enlighten the Hindoos*, by the preaching of the Christian religion: It has been said by some, that *the success of such attempts has been very small, and has been confined to the Parriars and others of the lowest castes*.—This statement is, in the first place, very erroneous; and in the next, to infer from it the impracticability of extending, by any efforts however strenuous, by any means however prudent, and under any circumstances however favourable, the influence of Christianity in Hindostan, would be altogether illogical and fallacious. Little stress shall be laid here upon the attempts of Roman Catholics; for it must be confessed, that though they made numerous converts, they too often only changed one set of ceremonies and images for another. Yet it must also be admitted, that the Romish establishments in Europe have shewn a zeal in this matter, much superior to that of any of the Protestant nations; and that Xavier, who traversed a great part of the coasts and islands of India, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and appears to have been a pious indefatigable man, planted the Gospel in various places, in a way that might have led to a large extension of it, if his labours and zeal had been well seconded. The efforts of the Dutch to establish Christianity in their Indian settlements, as being made under circumstances more similar to our own, may deserve greater attention. There was, in the earlier periods of that republic, a very laudable spirit in the government at home for the promotion of this object, and the number of native Christians in their colonies abroad was very considerable. Baldæus, the author of the History of Ceylon, a person of great credit, who was one of the Dutch ministers there in the last century, and wrote from his own knowledge, has stated that in the year 1663, the Christians in the province of Jaffnapatnam,* amounted (exclusive of slaves) to sixty-two thousand, many of whom must no doubt have been educated in the Romish churches, which the Portuguese had founded there; but it is extremely worthy

* The inhabitants of Jaffnapatnam are Malabars, known to have come originally from the continent, and are a distinct people from the Cingaleze, who possess the rest of the island, and follow the religion of *Bowde*, or *Bhoudda*, whom the Brahmins treat as a heretic; whilst some learned Europeans are inclined with great appearance of reason to believe, that his religion, which prevails over many countries of the East, is more ancient in India than the Brahminical system. He is mentioned by Jerome, Clemens Alexandrinus, and other authors of antiquity, and is now held to be the same as the *Sommonacodom* of Siam, the *Foe* of China, and the *Saca* of Japan. See in the first volume of the Asiatic Transactions a curious and learned paper, which has relation to this subject, by *William Chambers, Esq.*

A premature and lamented death has since deprived learning and society of this excellent man, who to an exquisite skill in several Oriental languages,

joined a very uncommon knowledge of Asiatic history and manners. But these qualities were in him only themes of inferior praise. He exhibited, during a long residence in India, in all his relations, employments, and intercourses, a consistent and distinguished example of the Christian character: and from him, inquisitive and ingenious natives, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, with whom it was his practice often to converse, received at once just views and favourable impressions of Christianity. If the occasion had permitted, it would only have been doing justice to his name to place it in a far more conspicuous station than the present note assigns to it; and for this particular reason, among many others, that he was always a strenuous advocate for the diffusion of the Gospel in the East. He had himself begun, with great care, a translation of the Gospels into Persian. 1797.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

worthy of remark, that this author declares the number of *children in the schools*, maintained by the Dutch government, to have risen at the time of his departure from the island, to *eighteen thousand*.

The learned John Leusden, Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, about the end of the last century, produced several letters from his correspondents, which gave the following further accounts of the state of Christianity in the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. "Mr. Herman Specht, minister of the Gospel at Columbo, writes, that in the province of Jaffnapatnam, without including Manaar, which appertains to it, there are, according to the last computation and the list sent thence to us, one hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred and fifty-six Christians, who have five pastors to take care of them." The same Mr. Specht, in another letter from Columbo, dated January 6th, 1688, says, "the number of converted Indians, who have embraced Christianity, is in the space of four years greatly encreased; for the province of Jaffnapatnam, subject only to the Dutch East India Company, hath two hundred and seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants; among whom there are Indians professing to be Christians, one hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty-four*." Another very respectable authority of the same period informs us, that "the Dutch East India Company maintain in the Indies, thirty or forty ministers for the conversion of poor Infidels, who are under their dominion, and are at the annual expense of £. 10,000. for this purpose, and have hereby converted *many hundred thousands of them to the true Christian faith*; and for the further propagating of it, have lately erected a college in the Island of Ceylon, in which one place only they have above eighty thousand converted Indians *upon the roll*, for whose use they print bibles, catechisms, and many other books †."

The Dutch Company however, it appears from recent information, never could get a sufficient number of ministers to undertake the work of propagating the Gospel in those countries, or even to serve the churches which had been founded in them; and in later times, the funds allotted for the support of those churches and of the clergy there, have been more and more curtailed; so that from want of labourers, of maintenance, and zeal, Christianity has greatly declined in most of the Dutch settlements, through the course of the last fifty years.

Nearer to our own days, the single Protestant mission which has been seriously prosecuted, that of the Danes at Tranquebar, under the patronage of the English Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, though extremely limited in its funds, and aided by little, if any, territorial or commercial influence, has produced solid and valuable effects, not among the lowest castes only, but among the Brahmins and Pandarims, persons of the highest order and greatest knowledge; and some of the converts have themselves become useful teachers to their countrymen. There has been, since the beginning of this century, a succession of zealous missionaries at Tranquebar, who by no other means than preaching the truth, and exposing the errors of Heathenism, have won multitudes over to the faith of Christ, and formed several respectable churches on the Malabar Coast ‡. The congregations of native Christians under this mission, have indeed been diminished by the wars and calamities, which within the last twenty years have ravaged the Carnatic; but upon the whole, the number of converts made by it, in spite of all the opposing terror of exclusion from their own tribes, has been very considerable; and it may be asserted, upon unquestionable

* Millar's Propagation of Christianity, Vol. II. page 318, in which is cited *Mastricht's Theologica Theo-practica*.—If it were asked, whether all these converts were sincere in their profession, it might be answered, that probably some were ignorant and some hypocritical; but so would the result be upon any large survey, even in Europe. Yet to have discarded the horrid idolatry and mythology of the Hindoos, and to come under the stated instructions of a pure and divine system, would be important changes.

† A proposal from the eminent Dean Prideaux to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tennison) for the propagation of the Gospel in the English settlements in the East Indies, contained in a letter to his grace, dated the 20th January 1694-5. In this letter the Dean greatly complains of the indisposition

disposition of the English East India Company to the good work which he recommends. The Company, then under the management of Sir Josiah Child, must have much declined from its earlier zeal for the honour of religion.

See the *Life of Dean Prideaux*.

‡ "The Danish mission of Tranquebar was very highly extolled by several people here, (Columbo in Ceylon) who at the same time assured me, that had the Catholics in their endeavours to propagate Christianity in India, conducted themselves with equal gentleness, moderation, and Christian charity, devoid of avarice, haughtiness, and violence, the major part of the numerous inhabitants of Asia would, at this present time, have been converts to this doctrine."—*Thunberg's Travels*, Vol. IV. Anno, 1778.

able authority, that many of them have been truly sincere and earnest, living and dying in a manner worthy of the Christian profession. It is evident then, that the light of Christianity has not been held out by this mission without effect. Such is the force of eminent goodness, that the name of *Swartz* in particular, a missionary still living, who has laboured with a spirit truly apostolical for more than thirty years in that country, exposed to its hottest sun, and furnished only with the scantiest necessities of life, is revered all over the peninsula of India, by Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Europeans. The Hindoo King of Tanjore, when dying, was solicitous to make him the guardian of his heir, and to put the whole management of affairs into his hands, a trust which he declined. The famous Hyder Ali, received him as an envoy on the part of the English, and offered to take his word as the guarantee of a proposed engagement, when, as we have been assured, he would trust no one else; and Colonel Fullarton, who was commander of an English army in that country, though severe in his strictures upon others, has declared publicly, that Mr. *Swartz* singly had retrieved the European character in India. This mission, supported by men of such a stamp, has still real success in educating the young, and converting the adult, not to a new name only, but to a better life and conversation. And if the number of missionaries there were greater, it cannot reasonably be doubted, that the success would be proportionably increased.

The history of the Romish missions proves, that it is practicable to induce multitudes of the professors of Hinduism, to embrace a new faith. The present low state of Christianity, both in those missions, and in the Dutch establishments, is clearly to be ascribed, not to the determined adherence of the Indians to their own tenets, but to the remissness, indifference, and at length almost total neglect of the Europeans, whose too general disregard of the spirit, and precepts of their own professed faith, is, it must be acknowledged, a hindrance of another kind, more lamentable and pernicious than all the rest put together; for had they generally lived conformably to their religion, Hindostan would at this time probably have been Christian.

The observation therefore of a late writer, that “notwithstanding the labours of missionaries for two hundred years, and the establishments of different Christian nations who support and protect them, out of perhaps one hundred millions of Hindoos, there are not twelve thousand Christians, and those chiefly Chandalas or outcasts*,” leads to a wrong conception of facts, and to conclusions totally unsupported. Though this number were correct, it ought by no means to be taken as the utmost possible product of united exertions for a long series of time; for nothing is plainer, than that these exertions, never great, never in any degree what they ought to have been, have gradually declined, except in the solitary instance of the small mission of Tranquebar, for more than a century past, and are in most places now entirely abandoned, not for want of success, but for want of the spirit that should animate such undertakings. Even if the success had never been greater than it is said to be at this day, and had been confined to the lower classes, who however have immortal souls, they who consider the value of Christianity, and the vast importance of the interests connected with it, as well as the opposition which the priests of other religions have uniformly made to it, would still think this success an object of very considerable magnitude. But we have seen what had been done in the times of Baldæus, and of Specht†, and we may judge how far it is reasonable to take the number of twelve thousand‡ in the year 1790, as the existing amount of Christians in Hindostan, when we may fairly state no less a number than one hundred and eighty thousand to have been existing in the year 1688, a full century earlier. Length of time however, can be no exact criterion in this case. Persecutions, wars, and famines, may reduce the number of Christians. A want of pastors may disperse them, and in a generation or two leave no vestige of flourishing churches. The diligence and earnestness employed in this work will in general be found the truest test, and wherever these have appeared, the effect has been proportionable. As to “the establishments of different Christian nations, who support and protect them,” where are they? Exclusive, first of wandering Romish missionaries, who to do them justice subsist on little, and submit to a painful course of life, and next of the Tranquebar

* Sketches concerning the Hindoos, quoted in Dr. Robertson's *Ancient India*, page 230.

† Page 165, 166.

‡ A letter recently received from a very respectable person on the Coast of Coromandel, states, that

that in consequence of the capture of Ceylon by the English, twenty thousand native Christians in the province of Jaffnapatnam were left without pastors, and thence were falling off to Paganism. 1797.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

quebar mission already mentioned, which consists not of above seven or eight ministers, on very narrow appointments, where are the establishments, where are the support and protection? Do the Dutch, possessing many large islands and settlements, now maintain even a sufficient number of clergy for their factories? Do the British, the lords of immense territories, and of twenty-four millions of Heathen subjects, maintain a single missionary? *Pudet hoc opprobrium!* This is a very serious subject, which would require and well deserves a distinct consideration*.

The conclusion therefore, which the writer recently quoted, would draw, that the peculiarly obstinate attachment of the Hindoos to their religion, has prevented, and by parity of reason will ever continue to prevent, their conversion to Christianity, is repugnant to the past experience of Europeans. Wherever an attempt has been seriously and prudently made, a certain degree of success has followed it; and if such attempts were more extended, the success would be correspondent.

Doubtless there is always difficulty in turning men from error to truth; and those who have been taught to place a high degree of merit in abstinence from certain meats and liquors, will be prejudiced, as has also been objected, against a religion which treats these things as indifferent. But prudence and discretion will do much. The Danish missionaries have never encouraged converts to shock their Heathen neighbours, nor to run themselves into unnecessary expense and danger in this respect; for in imitation of the conduct of the first teachers of Christianity towards the Jews, whilst they have explained to them the allowableness of using any kind of food without exception, they have also inculcated the expediency, in their circumstances, of forbearance. But it is idle to lay any great stress as some have done upon such an impediment, when in order to real conversion, much greater obstacles must be overcome. Undoubtedly the grand hindrance, on the part of the Hindoos, to the reception of the Christian faith, is not so much an attachment to their religion, as the dreadful forfeitures which follow the dereliction of it,—excommunication from society, family, wife, children, inheritance, employment, subsistence, every thing valuable in life, and every thing necessary to its support; yet these prodigious sacrifices many have made for conscience sake; and if converts could have protection from persecution, and the means of subsisting themselves by honest labour, which among so many European Christians as are in Bengal could not be wanting, their numbers would be far more considerable than they are at present. In remoter ages, we know from undoubted authority, that the diffusion of Christianity in India, was more general than it has been in modern times†; but the people were the same, their religion and prejudices the same as they are now; nothing was different, but the ardour for propagating the Gospel; and when this ardour revives, in places where the ascendancy of Europeans has prevailed over the Hindoo government, it may be expected that more homage will be paid to true religion, than it has yet received.

SIXTH. If after all that has been already said of the causes by which the Hindoo character is formed, any person should still be willing to believe, *that nothing more is necessary for the social peace, order, and happiness, of our Asiatic subjects, than to enact good laws, and duty to administer them*, such persons may be pleased to consider

* National support is here spoken of. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, before noticed, from their moderate funds, the subscription of individuals, have for a long series of years given an annual allowance to the Danish missionaries of Tranquebar, or more properly have upheld the valuable mission established there nearly since its commencement; and they wish to extend their labours both on the Coast and in Bengal; but their funds, enlarged as they have lately been, are not adequate to the scheme now proposed.

An evasive plea, with which some persons meet proposals of this kind, is hardly entitled to notice. "Let us, say they, begin at home;" as if they were hindered in any domestic plans of benevolence by such proposals; as if he who sincerely wishes the extension of religion at home, must not also wish it abroad; as if it were ability, and not will, for both, which is wanting; as if we ought to postpone the communication of light to other countries, whilst any individuals remain uninstructed, (though through the fault of ap-

pointed teachers,) among ourselves; as if the duties of sovereignty did not extend wherever we hold possessions; as if the communication of the Gospel to all our subjects, were not an indispensable duty, and the obligation to perform one duty, could justify the neglect of another both incumbent and practicable; as if in a word, a resident of this country, having a foreign estate peopled with Heathens, should not immediately attend to their religious instruction.

† A considerable church subsisted on the Coast of Malabar from a very early period, and when the Portuguese first visited India, the Christians on that coast were still very numerous and respectable. They were a simple people, and by a complication of artifice and force were brought into subjection to the Romish see, whence they were incorporated with the Portuguese and shared in their fate. See *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, par la Croze*, and the Portuguese writers cited by him.

pointed

consider a maxim which experience has established in the science of legislation, "that laws are of no avail without manners." Where the general spirit of a community runs counter to particular laws, those laws, instead of overcoming that disposition, more commonly lose their own efficacy, as may be seen in the case of duelling, and many other forbidden practices among ourselves. And it usually happens, that regulations which have the maintenance of good morals for their immediate object, fall sooner into neglect, and are infringed with more impunity, than those made to protect the property of individuals.

Our government in India is besides, in this respect, under some peculiar disadvantages. A handful of foreigners presides over a very numerous people; extremely corrupt, and fortified in their corruptions by their own institutions. Out of that mass, we must take the subordinate instruments of our administration in all departments; particularly in the courts of law, and in the police of very extensive provinces. The number of our courts, and of British judges or officers in them, from the heavy expense which they occasion, can hardly be made equal to what is required for the convenience of the people, of whom also, many reside at a distance from the seats of justice, where moreover the formalities of procedure, and the accumulation of suits, necessarily produce delays repugnant to the nature and circumstances of that people, who earnestly desire prompt decisions.

It may easily be seen, that these causes, especially the national characteristics attaching to the multitudes whom we are obliged to employ in all the inferior lines of administration, would, notwithstanding the many excellent things done to render the fountains and the channels of justice pure, hinder the perfect operation of our legal institutions, even if it were in the nature of such institutions to furnish internal principles of morals, as well as to punish the external violations of right. That it is not, authority and experience concur to assure us. It is the judgment of the great Lord Bacon, a man pre-eminent in jurisprudence as well as in philosophy, "that good government, and good laws, though they indeed nourish virtue when grown, do not much mend that seed." Corruption has destroyed many states, where legislation had attained to considerable perfection; and how plainly does it come within our own observation, that even in countries where the awful sanctions of true religion are added to the wisest laws, uprightly dispensed, all are found little enough to check the progress of depravity? The insufficiency of laws alone to this end, cannot then be better stated than in the words of another writer of superior order, which may close the discussion of a topic in itself so clear. "As for human laws, made to encourage and requite virtue, or to check and chastise vice, it is also manifest that they do extend to cases in comparison very few; and that even as to particulars, which they touch, they are so easily eluded or evaded, that without intrenching upon them, at least without incurring their edge, or coming within the verge of their correction, men may be very bad in themselves, extremely injurious to their neighbours, and hugely troublesome to the world; so that such laws hardly can make tolerable citizens, much less thoroughly good men, even in exterior demeanor and dealing. However no laws of men can touch internal acts of virtue or vice; they may sometimes bind our hands, or bridle our mouths, or shackle our feet, but they cannot stop our thoughts; they cannot still our passions, they cannot bend, or break our inclinations; these things are beyond the reach of their cognizance, of their command, of their compulsion, of their correction; they cannot therefore render men truly good, or hinder them from being bad*."

SEVENTH. There is another species of objection, which does not peculiarly apply to the plan now in question, but equally to all schemes which go upon a principle of proselyting men of one religion to another. The objection is to the principle itself. It supposes that if any religion be necessary, the religion in which a man happens to be born, will do at least as well for him as any other; that being sincere in his hereditary religion, he will be safe and happy in a future state; and that it is therefore wrong to disturb him about any new one. Now this objection plainly assumes, that all religions, however contrary to each other, are much the same as to their end and efficacy. It must suppose, that they are all indifferent or all acceptable to the Deity; and if the latter, that either they had their origin from him, or that human inventions of various and opposite systems of faith and practice, according to the different tastes, fancies, habits of men, and their degrees of knowledge, are at least approved of by him.

This

* Dr. Earrow, Vol. II. page 335.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

This is no other than the old Heathen opinion, revived and extended by modern infidels*. But some men who have fallen into it perhaps carelessly, as an easy way of solving points dubious or disquieting to their minds, have surely not reflected on the gross and impious absurdities with which it is pregnant. Allowing that it does not mean to discard morals, it proceeds upon a fatal sophism, too common, that they may equally subsist with any or with no religion, and that only the duties which our fellow creatures claim, are important, those owing to God, mere ceremonies; it implies, that an infinitely pure, wise and good Being, may be pleased with rites fantastic, cruel, and impure, which in their nature violate every idea, even of morals; or what is nearly as monstrous, that he places on the same level, doctrines and services essentially contrary to each other, and many of them utterly unsuitable to his own holy character. In either case, the greatest outrage will at once be offered to right reason and to the infinite perfections of the divine nature. But one inference will thus be reserved, which it is to be feared is too often the main drift of all the crude profane notions unhappily indulged upon a subject the most momentous,—that no religion has an exclusive claim to be preferred, or that in other words, there is no such thing as a divine revelation; for if a revelation were acknowledged, the consequence must of course be, that it is entitled to supreme regard.

But this is directly to attack the truth of Christianity, which claims God for its author, and, including as it does, the Jewish and patriarchal dispensation, to be the only religion that he hath revealed. This is not the place to vindicate the justice of the claim, nor is it necessary. The truth of Christianity has been a thousand times proved, against every species of attack which the abilities or the passions of men have been able to devise. It stands upon such various invincible evidence, external and internal, as belongs to no other object of human belief; evidence sufficient to satisfy the most secret doubts of every honest inquirer, and to astonish him with its clearness and power. All the assaults of ancient and modern enemies have only served to establish the authenticity of Christianity more firmly. It gains by being examined. It courts the light. The age in which it was introduced, and made its way in the world against all opposing powers, was an age of light. With the revived and increased light of modern times, it has received new lustre and confirmation. Those superior geniuses, who have extended the sphere of human knowledge, have been steady believers in Christianity. The discoveries of science invalidate none of the truths of revelation. The improvement of the mental faculties yields no illumination that can disparage the matter, or lessen the importance of those truths. But in proportion as the investigation of nature, and of the character and state of man, enlarges his views of the great Creator, and his acquaintance with himself, he sees more of the suitableness of the Christian scheme, to the perfections of the one, and the condition of the other. It is by a gross perversion of language, that *the light of this advanced period* is spoken of, as affording any ground for disregarding the doctrines or the precepts of the Gospel. Men have indeed, by too general an agreement, departed from them in practice, and thence the transition is easy to a denial of their authority, the source of all which is corruption, and the consequence, a return to the darkness of error; yet this common, profane relaxation, in opinions and in manners, is all that is often meant by such phrases as “the light of the eighteenth century;” and experience has shown, that wherever the Gospel has been obeyed, it has made communities and individuals better and more happy, as in proportion to the degree in which it has been rejected or slighted, vice and misery have prevailed. It is the only religion which ever has wrought any reformation among mankind; all other systems have made men easy in their immoralities. Christianity will allow no compromise with evil, and this is the true cause of the resistance made to it; men do not oppose it from the love of truth, or any honest intelligent conviction of its want of foundation, but because it holds out too strong a light, and too strict a rule. To argue therefore as if it were untrue, (which is indeed done when the sufficiency of any other is pleaded,) after every attempt to destroy its authority has ended in its stronger confirmation, is a high strain of unjustifiable assumption, and most indecorous in a country where this religion is the established faith,

* It is the creed of Voltaire, and many others styling themselves philosophers, who from pleading for toleration, moderation, indifference, in matters of religion, proceeded gradually, and by a thousand insidious arts, first to bring into contempt, and then to overturn the established faith

of that country, in which they were left at liberty to enjoy even their most extravagant dogmas; and to effect this purpose, razed its civil constitution, its monarchy, all its existing establishments, to the foundation, covering them with anarchy and blood.

faith, and a part of the law of the land. This single consideration however, our national acknowledgment and profession of its truths, imposes upon us, as has been already stated, the obligation of communicating, as far as we are able, the blessings of it to the Heathen world, and precludes therefore the use of any such objection as we are now combating, especially in all national or public discussions of this subject.

It may not be unnecessary however, to repeat here, that every kind and degree of compulsion is utterly excluded from this scheme, as subversive of the rights of private judgment and conscience, and totally contrary to the spirit and genius of Christianity. The abuses which have been committed in this way, whether under the name of that religion, or avowedly in opposition to it, have furnished the enemies of revelation with a set of common-place objections, which also require some notice, because they are applied, not merely against religious persecution, but against the principle of propagating the knowledge of the Gospel in Pagan countries. "The agitation of religious opinions," say those opposers, "and particularly of the doctrines of Christianity, has been the occasion of manifold contentions and immense bloodshed." That is so say, in effect, that because some wicked men have persecuted their fellow-creatures for preaching or embracing Christianity, and others, professing that religion, have been guilty of similar cruelties against those who could not hold every dogma which they sought to impose, nothing should be done that might possibly awaken this persecuting spirit; men ought not to be disturbed in their errors, however fatal; and the occasional or possible abuse of a thing, however excellent in itself, is sufficient to decide against the dissemination or maintenance of it. The mere statement of these objections is enough to expose their weakness: they alledge the conduct of the greatest enemies of religion, against religion itself. They go to supersede reverence to God, love to man, obedience to conscience, and all freedom of opinion.

But the very ground of these objections, surely never sincere, has now ceased. Toleration in matters of religion is well understood. Religion is not propagated by force; and all that is now proposed is, that a certain moderate number of individuals, armed with nothing but truth, reason, and argument, shall in a mild, pacific way, communicate the Christian system to those who have never hitherto had an opportunity of hearing it, and who, whether they listen to it or not, certainly have need of its benign and salutary influences.

It is not, let us again disavow the idea, the introduction of a new set of ceremonies, nor even of a new creed, that is the ultimate object here. Those who conceive religion to be conversant merely about forms and speculative notions, may well think that the world need not be much troubled concerning it. No, the ultimate object is moral improvement. The pre-eminent excellence of the morality which the Gospel teaches, and the superior efficacy of this divine system, taken in all its parts, in meliorating the condition of human society, cannot be denied by those who are unwilling to admit its higher claims; and on this ground only, the dissemination of it must be beneficial to mankind.

Do we then wish to correct, to raise, to sweeten the social state of our Indian subjects? Would we at little cost, impart to them a boon, far more valuable than all the advantages we have derived from them? The Gospel brings this within our power. Of the effects which it would produce in civil society, if men acted according to its principles, we may, in the words of a distinguished prelate*, say, that "in superiors it would be equity and moderation, courtesy and affability, benignity and condescension; in inferiors, sincerity and fidelity, respect and diligence. In princes, justice, gentleness, and solicitude for the welfare of their subjects; in subjects, loyalty, submission, obedience, quietness, peace, patience, and cheerfulness. In parents, tenderness, carefulness of their children's good education, comfortable subsistence, and eternal welfare; in children, duty, honour, gratitude. In all men, upon all occasions, a readiness to assist, to relieve, to comfort one another. Whatsoever, in a word, is pure, and lovely, and good."—Can we help exclaiming, with the celebrated author of *the spirit of laws*,—"How admirable the religion, which while it seems only to have in view the felicity of the other life, constitutes the happiness of this†!"

And

* Bishop Horne. Sixteen Sermons, page 101.
282.

† L'Esprit des Loix, Liv. XXIV. Chap. 3.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

And is this the religion which we hesitate to communicate,—to communicate to those whose welfare it is alike our duty and our interest to consult? Is it not enough that more than thirty years have already elapsed, more than twenty millions of our subjects have passed into eternity, without our making any attempt to instruct them?

EIGHTH and LAST. Another objection still remains to be stated, one of an opposite nature to some of those which have been discussed, and in appearance more formidable than any of them. Its constituent idea is, *the danger which might result from the adoption of the proposed plan*. Put in its strongest and amplest terms, it may be thus expressed: “if the English language, if English opinions, and improvements, are introduced in our Asiatic possessions, into Bengal for instance; if Christianity, especially, is established in that quarter; and if, together with these changes, many Englishmen colonize there, will not the people learn to desire English liberty and the English form of government, a share in the legislation of their own country, and commissions in the army maintained in that country? Will not the army thence become, in time, wholly provincial, officered by natives of India, without attachment to the sovereign state:—will not the people at length come to think it a hardship to be subject, and to pay tribute, to a foreign country: and finally, will they not cast off that subjection, and assert their independence?”

Before we proceed to offer a reply to this objection, it is fair to remark, that whoever seriously entertains it, cannot also entertain those which may be advanced against the practicability of the plan, or the possibility of its succeeding. And in like manner, he who thinks success hopeless, can feel no real alarm for the danger which another might conceive success to be capable of producing. Hence though every man is unquestionably entitled to follow the best decision of his own judgment, yet in this case, an opposition, increased in numbers by contradictory principles, would therefore be diminished in argumentative strength, since objections incompatible with each other could not both be valid.

It will be proper likewise, previously to separate and exclude from this complex objection, some parts of it, which can with no justice be reckoned among the imaginable consequences of any estimated improvement in the state of our Indian subjects. Such are the free colonization of Europeans in that country, and the gradual transfer of military appointments and military power into the hands of provincials. These are things which do not depend on the admission of any particular religion into our territories, or its exclusion; nor upon the will of the people inhabiting them; but upon the government of this country. They are wholly unnecessary; they would, in our humble apprehension, be most unwise; and that light which we now possess regarding our Eastern affairs, that sound policy in the management of them, of which late years have furnished so many proofs, forbid the admission of suppositions so superfluous and extravagant.

With respect to colonization, the nature of our connection with that country, renders the residence there of a certain number of Europeans, for the various lines of public service, necessary. The admission of a further number as merchants, navigators, artists, and professional men, is useful and important; but beyond such a fair proportion as may be requisite for these different lines of employment, and the prosecution of useful improvements and enterprizes, in which the energy and skill of Europeans are essential, their ingress into that country ought not to be permitted; for otherwise a new race might spring up, with larger pretensions, and more untractable than the Hindoos. Those also admitted should be laid under particular restrictions; the more considerable settlements should be confined to the sea coasts; and the laws against the entrance of unlicensed adventurers be strictly enforced; for these adventurers may be of nations hostile to our interests, they will be less known, less to be depended on by us, more liable to fail of success in their own views, and from necessity, be more likely to colonize. But in all the decent and liberal classes of Europeans, there is even an ardent desire to return at length to their native country; and hardly an instance can be found of any person, capable from his circumstances of following this course, who has deliberately chosen to make India his ultimate home. The state of native society there, may, no doubt, contribute to form this disposition; but the Indian climate is not congenial to the European constitution, and the strong endearing attachments of early days, with the rational judgment

Judgment of maturer years, powerfully impel the natives of this happy island to their original seat*.

The other idea, which makes our Indian power to depend at length on provincial officers and soldiers, proceeds upon the supposition of previous unrestrained colonization, which has just been shown to be needless and inadmissible, and upon other imagined changes, into the probability of which we need not now examine. For upon any hypothesis compatible with our retention of the country, it is not conceivable how we should ever be exposed to the danger here alleged. Is it not among the first prerogatives of government to select its military servants? What inducement could possibly arise to transfer the delicate and important trust of military command from the natives of this country to those less connected with it? Do we act thus with our American colonies, peopled by subjects of the British race? As we now ultimately depend not only on British officers, but on British troops, so, in the opinion of most competent judges, an opinion which appears to be indisputably solid and important, *ought we to do in all time to come*†.

CHAP. IV.

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

Among

* The following remarks, added as a postscript to the first copy of this tract, and intended to apply to the subject of the Company's charter, then about to be renewed, it may still not be improper to insert here.

"Lest the scope of these observations should be misunderstood, the writer begs leave to declare, that he is no advocate for any system of intercourse between this country and our Eastern territories, which shall give Europeans an unlimited freedom of entrance there; but would most earnestly deprecate all schemes, of which such unlimited freedom should be the professed basis, or the actual, though unavowed consequence. There is a question concerned here, of far greater importance than the merely commercial one of an open or a restricted trade to India; it is a question that involves in it the welfare, both of Great Britain and of our Asiatic possessions.

"If the subjects of this country are permitted, at their pleasure, to visit those possessions as they may our American colonies, though professedly but for the purposes of traffic, great numbers of them will settle; for mercantile transactions must entail residence, because it will be impossible for a government to say, that all such transactions shall be closed, and the parties be gone within a certain time, or to take cognizance in this manner of the conduct of every individual; and if such a measure were at first attempted, it would not continue any time. All the lines of trade and manufactures would soon be overstocked, and then men would seek to fasten themselves on the soil. Colonization would therefore very soon commence in India, especially in Bengal; those whom untrodden enterprizes in commerce would carry thither, would see a rich soil, apprehend great scope for exertions, and regard the natives as a subjected people, feeble, timid, and contemptible; all things would tempt them, and many, both agents and seamen, would remain. But the increase of Europeans there would not be regulated by the gradual progress of colonial industry. Multitudes of the needy and the idle, allured by the fame of that country, and eager to seize novel privileges, would flock thither at once. Britain would, in a short space, be thinned of inhabitants, and those eastern provinces filled with a new race of adventurers, many of them low and licentious. Being there, they must subsist; they would spread themselves throughout the country, would run into the inland trade, fix themselves wherever they could on the lands, domineer over the natives, harass, extrude, exasperate them, and at length provoke them to plots and insurrections; they would be bold and

assuming

"assuming towards our own government there; its present form calculated chiefly for the natives, would not be sufficiently coercive in such a new state of things, and hardly any government which we could maintain in that quarter, would controul swarms of Europeans, thus let loose, and animated by the spirit of adventure and acquisition. Nor would the emigrations be confined to our countrymen only. If we tolerated the practice of free colonization in India, people from all the nations in Europe, would resort thither, mix with other subjects, and aggravate the mischiefs of such an invading system. In a certain degree, we should have that lawless destructive scene acted over again, which the Spaniards exhibited when they first poured into America. It was thus that the Portuguese power in the East, declined. The intolerable licence of the roving adventurers of that nation, rendered them odious to the natives, and armed the coasts and islands of India against them, so that weakened before, they fell an easy prey to the Dutch. And thus too, we should ourselves be exposed, perhaps at no distant period, to the danger of general convulsion and revolt in those possessions, which prudently guarded and cultivated, may under the favour of Providence, to conciliate which should be our first care, be preserved for ages, to our great advantage, and the happiness of their native inhabitants.

"The question now therefore, with respect to these possessions, is not, whether all British subjects shall have a right to trade thither in their own persons, but whether the natives shall be protected from being over-run and oppressed by foreigners. A different cause recommends, that the intercourse with these provinces be still carried on by one national organ, like the India Company. At first, such a collective body was preferred, as a better defence against the arbitrary and rapacious temper of the native governments. Now that the countries are our own, such a limited channel is also preferable, to save this nation, and our Asiatic subjects, from the evils which might accrue from too great a transfusion of the people of Europe among the Hindoos."

† If, upon premises very opposite to those on which the objections we are now answering are grounded, a doubt should be started of the propriety of keeping any people perpetually under foreign rule, this would be to agitate a question involving the right of conquest, and the nature of government; but it might perhaps be sufficient to reply, that we can foresee no period in which we may not govern our Asiatic subjects, more happily for them than they can be governed by themselves

or

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

Among the articles unreasonably crowded into the objection now to be examined, are those which state the people as becoming, in consequence of some future supposed events and combinations, dissatisfied at the payment of a foreign tribute, and with subjection to a foreign country. Is it to be thought, that such ideas are then only to have existence, or that the people have in any past time been contented under the dominion of strangers? Surely not. The only point for consideration here is, their comparative acquiescence in this condition under their present circumstances, and under those which it is assumed may hereafter arise.

We shall now enter upon the consideration of the objection itself; and the first things which attract our attention here, are the *foundation* on which the whole of this objection rests, and the *principle* upon which it proceeds. The *foundation* is *pure hypothesis*, or conjecture; and hypothesis supported by no real experience of any case similar to the one assumed to happen, nor by any just analogy. Some general apprehension, prepossession, or unexamined suspicion, suggests the possibility of certain events; and to this suggestion, without any satisfaction concerning the premises on which it is advanced, or the conclusion deduced from it, without regard to all the other relations of the subject in question, we are required to give our assent. The *principle* of the objection, at least equally remarkable, is plainly no other than this, that to prevent the remotest chance of such consequences as the proposed improvements might produce, our Asiatic subjects must be for ever held in the same state of ignorance and error in which they now are. "Give them not," says the unstrained sense of this objection, "the light of true religion, teach them not a better system of morals, provide no stated means for their public or private instruction, impart not to them our knowledge of nature, be not liberal to them, even in communicating the principles of our arts; afford them, in a word, no benefit whatever of light and improvement, lest our interest should in some future period suffer; keep them blind and wretched for all generations, lest our authority should be shaken, or our supremacy over them incur the slightest possible risk." Surely those who may have inconsiderably lent themselves to this objection, will not, upon a clear deliberate view of its principle, seek to justify or to contend for it. A Christian nation cannot possibly maintain or countenance such a principle. To do so would be virtually to trample upon every sentiment which we profess in religion or in morals. It would be to make ourselves parties in all the impositions of the Brahminical system, and in effect to hold with its priests, the doctrine of Demetrius,* "by this craft, we have our wealth." To enlarge upon so very obvious an argument, must be unnecessary.

Besides the series of effects which the objection professedly supposes, certain other positions are tacitly comprehended in it, which next claim our notice. It implies, that the establishment of Christianity in a country may, on the whole, prove unfavourable, or less favourable than some other religious institution, to good government; that its efficacy may, on the whole, be inferior in securing the subordination, obedience, and attachment of the people, and the authority of the sovereign. Since reason, experience, and general consent, have fully decided against this position, it would be superfluous and unbecoming to enter into any refutation of it. It is certainly one of the grossest misconceptions of the nature and tendency of the religion of the Gospel, which is known to afford precepts, motives, and encouragements to lawful submission and good order, infinitely more powerful and efficacious than those of any other system. Its real genius is so contrary to licentiousness and anarchy, that as we have seen in a late memorable instance, their triumph can be raised only upon its extinction. If we would read the judgment of enlightened Europe upon this subject in a single sentence, the celebrated author already quoted, who spent a long life in profound and certainly unbigotted investigations into the nature of different systems of religion and law, may supply it. "True Christians," says he, "must be citizens thoroughly enlightened respecting their duties, with the greatest zeal for fulfilling them; the more they feel the obligations of religion, the more must they be sensible of what they owe to their country. The principles of Christianity well engraven on the heart, must be infinitely stronger than the false honour of monarchies, the humane virtues of republics, and the servile fear of despotic states†." the

or any other power; and doing this we should not expose them to needless danger from without and from within, by giving the military power into their hands.

* Acts, Chap. 19.—Page 159.

† L'Esprit des Loix, Liv. XXIV. Chap. 6.

The objection implies also, that rather than expose ourselves to the possibility of suffering future evils, which it is assumed Christianity might ultimately introduce, we should forego great advantages which are confessedly within our reach. The probability of effecting considerable improvements is not denied; it is, on the contrary, supposed; and this supposition constitutes the very ground of resistance. "Though the field be spacious, and much might be done, attempt not to benefit either your subjects or yourselves, lest success should, at some very distant day, be abused. Let us not do moral good, that political evil may not come." Such is the language of the objection; an acquiescence in the propriety of which, since the duty of aiming at those salutary meliorations has been sufficiently established, would imply this further notion: "that the way of duty is not, on the whole, the way of prosperity." It is enough to have pointed out these exceptionable positions.

But another still remains to be mentioned, which goes to the essence of the present subject. The objection silently assumes, "that in a system opposite to the one proposed in this essay, must consist our future safety and stability in India." The high importance of this proposition, not surely one of such intuitive evidence as to command instant assent, entitles it to particular consideration; but that consideration will be more conveniently bestowed, after we have viewed the direct matter of the objection, to which we now proceed.

It alleges then, the probability of the utmost possible success from the adoption of a system of improvement, and the greatest possible abuse of that success. We have no design to exaggerate the effects or events which are necessary to justify these large conjectures; but we apprehend, that upon any reasonable estimate of them, they will be found to form a long series of stages, not only in the advancing, but also in the descending scale of human society; for no partial change in the people, either with respect to opinions or to numbers, seems adequate to the production of them. Let us endeavour therefore, to trace the career which is thus imagined, and to expand to the view, the various gradations of that ample progression by which we are to be conducted through greatness to decline. First, the diffusion of a foreign language, of foreign opinions and arts, of a spirit and religion the most dissimilar to those of the natives, who are a people exceedingly numerous, and from remote antiquity peculiarly attached to their own customs and notions; next a large increase of agriculture, manufactures, commerce; with new wants, tastes, and luxuries; a great demand for English productions and fashions; and a gradual separation from neighbouring nations, in whom these changes, probably misrepresented to them, would beget disgust and aversion to the converted Hindoos. The objection must imply moreover, not only the rise of just notions of civil liberty, but that they have become deeply rooted in a country where despotism seems to have been in all ages, and to be still, the natural and only idea of government*; it must imply vigour and unanimity to assert this liberty; then (before it can be abused) the possession and enjoyment of it; after this, a progress to licentiousness; and lastly, the violent dissolution of their connection with their sole protector, in the midst of nations become hostile to them, without a rational prospect of improving their situation, if they threw themselves upon the support of other European or native powers, or of maintaining independence if they stood alone.

To what distant age, may we not now ask, does this immense process lead us? If we even contract it to any space which an objector could urge as at all commensurate to the assumed consequences, should we still, in reasoning upon such conjectural delineations, stand upon any solid foundation? Would we act in serious and great concerns, even of private, individual import, upon such precarious remote contingencies? Do they not set us afloat upon the ocean of possibilities, where the prospect, extended so far as to become wholly indistinct, confounds sea and sky, and, in interspersed clouds of many shapes, gives fancy easily to discover formidable promontories and rocks?

But if we look to known realities, to some of the many and great obstacles which will stand in the way of any such political revolution as is imagined, we shall be at a loss to give any sober satisfactory account of the manner in which they are to be removed. We insist not on the difficulty of disseminating, only by just and rational means, a new religion, opposed by inveterate habits and prejudices. The friends of that

* The government of the *Seeks*, though it have more of an aristocratic or republican form, seems no | no real exception to this observation, still less the aristocratic connection of the Mharatta chiefs.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

that scheme, indeed, dare not speak of success, with the confidence which the language of the objection seems to favour; yet they are not without hope; and they are animated by a conviction, that even a partial diffusion of Christianity, would improve the whole mass of society. But if we inquire, for instance, into the probable period of the general abolition of castes, which allowing it ever to happen, must be conceived, in the natural order of things, to precede some other supposed changes, what place shall we assign to it? Some point, we may venture to say, not within our ken; and beyond which, it seems vain to stretch our political solicitude in so changeable a world as this, wherein political prediction is so often baffled; perhaps indeed, because it is so seldom connected with present duty. Supposing, however, the tendency of events to be towards such an abolition, we may conclude, that the progress to it will be gradual. With the institution of castes, are blended not only religious doctrines and legal privileges, but the whole system of Hindoo manners. Deep rooted prejudices, combined with strong interests and immemorial habits, cannot reasonably be expected to give way to sudden impressions. The entire manners and usages of a people do not change at once. The institution therefore, will not be deprived of its power by any violent rupture or convulsion. And even after the doctrine of castes shall have lost its religious authority, and its tyrannical influence in society, (still arguing on the supposition that these things may happen,) the manners which it contributed to form, will, in a considerable degree, and for a certain time, remain. Among the Malabar converts to Christianity, distinctions of caste have not lost all their force; the habit of separation, the repulsive feelings, the secluding reserves, which spring from that source, though abated, still exist, in some degree perhaps analagous to the ceremonial prejudices of the first Christian Jews. As long as a principle of this nature remains in society, preventive as it will be of an intercommunion in marriages and professions, no formidable political association is likely to arise. Hence as the decline of the institution of castes will be slow and imperceptible, so the moment of its expiration will be unperceived; subsequent observation only will discover that it is past: therefore neither can this change be a signal for new events.

The grand danger with which the objection alarms us is, that the communication of the Gospel and of European light, may probably be introductive of a popular form of government and the assertion of independence. Upon what grounds is it inferred, that these effects must follow in any case, especially in the most unlikely case of the Hindoos? The establishment of Christianity in a country, does not necessarily bring after it a free political constitution. The early Christians made no attempts to change forms of government; the spirit of the Gospel does not encourage even any disposition which might lead to such attempts. Christianity has been long the religion of many parts of Europe, and of various protestant states, where the form of government is not popular. It is its peculiar excellence, and an argument of its intended universality, that it may subsist under different forms of government, and in all render men happy, and even societies flourishing; whereas the Mahomedan and Hindoo systems are built upon the foundation of political despotism, and adapted, in various instances, only to the climates that gave them birth. Christianity seeks moral good, and general happiness. It does not, in the pursuit of these objects, erect a peculiar political system; it views politics through the safe medium of morals, and subjects them to the laws of universal rectitude.

Nor are we to expect, that Christianity is entirely to supersede the effects of physical causes. The debilitating nature of the climate of our Eastern territories, and its unfavourable influence upon the human constitution, have been already mentioned*, and by others represented in strong colours: "Notwithstanding," says the celebrated historian of the British Transactions in Hindostan, "the general effeminacy of character which is visible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are still of weaker frame, and more enervated disposition, than those of any other province; bodily strength, courage, and fortitude, are unknown; even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a stupidity, which neither wishes, nor seems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity. All those of the better castes, who are not fixed to the loom, are bred to the details of traffic and money, in which their patience and perseverance are as great as their detestation of danger, and aversion

* Chap. III, pp. 39, &c.

"aversion to bodily fatigue*." From this striking description ought to be excepted the military tribes, to whom it will not properly apply; and the general features, we must take the liberty to say, are overcharged: but having made due allowances on these accounts, the picture will certainly possess no faint resemblance of the original.

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

Indolence, pusillanimity, insensibility, as they proceed not wholly from physical sources, would be at least partially corrected by moral improvement; but the influences of a tropical sun would still be oppressive. The slight structure of the human body, with its ordinary concomitants, still forming the taste to a vegetable diet, would ill second ardent designs, even if the mind were vigorous enough to conceive them. In the early formation of the relations and habits of domestic life, which modify, in no inconsiderable degree, the Hindoo character, there would be no material innovation. The nature of the country adds to the effects of the climate. It is unfavourable for long journies; and the Hindoos, in general a remotely inland people, have a strong aversion to the sea; even the air of it is offensive to them. They are thus deprived of all the advantages which the intercourses of navigation, and an acquaintance with the world at large, would procure to them. Nor is there the least probability, that they will ever become maritime; and as little likely are they to become in other respects, an enterprising people. More calculated for passive suffering than for arduous attempts, they little love such exertions as freedom demands, and wish rather to be protected, than to have the trouble of protecting themselves.

Where then is the rational ground for apprehending, that such a race will ever become turbulent for English liberty? A spirit of English liberty is not to be caught from a written description of it, by distant and feeble Asiatics especially. It was not originally conceived nor conveyed by a theoretical scheme. It has grown in the succession of ages from the active exertions of the human powers; and perhaps can be relished only by a people thus prepared. Example is more likely to inspire a taste for it than report; but the nations of Europe have seen that liberty and its great effects, without being led to the imitation of it; for the French revolution proceeds not upon its principles; it is an eruption of atheism and anarchy.

The English inhabiting our settlements in India, have no share in the British government there. Some are employed as servants of the Public, but no one possesses any legislative right. Why then should we give to the natives, even if they aspired to it, as it is unlikely that they will thus aspire, what we properly refuse to our own people? The British inhabitants would be extremely averse to such a participation. Our Government, as it is now constituted, interests Europeans in its support, without the danger which colonization might ultimately incur, their views of establishment and of final comfort centering in the mother country.

The conduct of the British American colonies has raised, in some minds, confused surmisings and apprehensions of the possibility of similar proceedings on the part of our Indian provinces. These alarms are easily caught by such persons, as shrink from the idea of whatever might have a remote tendency to advance our Asiatic subjects in the scale of human beings; conceiving, (with what political truth may perhaps hereafter appear,) that the more entirely they continue in their present ignorance, superstition, and degradation, the more secure is our dominion over them†. But never surely were apprehensions more destitute of solid foundation.

There

* Part II, page 5th, of the History of Military Transactions, &c. by Mr. Orme, an author well entitled to the high rank he holds in public estimation, by his generally just and comprehensive views of the subjects which he treats, the clearness, accuracy, vigour and dignity of his narration; but not appealed to in the former part of this Tract in the account there given of the state of society among the Hindoos, from an idea that he had not any large opportunities of intimately observing the conduct and manners of the middling and lower classes, who live remote from European intercourse.

† From the mischief which has recently been done in this country, by the dissemination of pernicious publications among the lower people, some persons seem inclined to think, that it would be better for the national security and tranquillity, if that

that class of the community received no education. As this opinion touches very nearly the main argument which is maintained in the present Tract, the writer, though conscious that neither his ability, nor the limited space of a note, can do justice to the subject, hopes he shall be pardoned in throwing out a few observations upon it.

Springing probably from much better motives than the old exploded maxim, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," it nevertheless seems to go upon a principle of a similar kind; it seems to imply, that "ignorance is the surest source of obedience." But it is presumed, that neither history nor reason will justify such a position, in any sound sense, or indeed in any sense at all, unless a government could be supposed to confine all the knowledge of a country to itself. Knowledge has been said, with apparent truth, to be a species

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

There is, and there ever must be, an essential dissimilarity between the two cases. The Americans were, in fact, Englishmen, (with some infusion of foreign Europeans, which may have contributed to alienate the colonies from this country,) they possessed all the energy of the European character, all the lights of Europe; they were born in a temperate climate, nursed in the largest principles of freedom; nay the seeds of republicanism were sown in the first formation of the leading colonies. They had already

species of power. The *knowing* have power over the *ignorant*; even the *pretence of knowledge*, where *ignorance only* is opposed to it, has a similar advantage; and *knowledge*, like other kinds of power, the more exclusively it is possessed, the more it may be made an instrument of abuse. In the dark ages, when the stock of learning and information was comparatively little, and that little was shared only among a few, the abuses of knowledge and of pretended knowledge, and the ill consequences of those abuses, were greater than they have been in more enlightened times. In our own country, what numerous and gross evils prevailed in society from these causes? Corrupt churchmen and ambitious nobles, (who had the credit of superior intelligence as well as the honour of superior rank,) led the common people within their respective spheres, as they pleased. The common people indeed, had then a spirit of implicit obedience, but it subjected them continually to the impositions of those who assumed the direction of them, and generally to the detriment of the nation at large. Hence the history of this island, prior to the Reformation, exhibits a frequent succession of internal convulsions. That grand event introduced new light; and it was diffused among the lower orders, whose instruction became thenceforth an object of particular care. The consequences were, greater internal order, peace, and stability; thence sprung enlarged industry, adventurous enterprizes, and all the long succession of prosperity which this country has enjoyed.

We have advanced to a high degree of improvement in sciences and arts, in all the conveniences and enjoyments of civil life. Vast commerce has brought vast wealth; and wealth has been followed by its too inseparable attendant, corruption of manners. Our old solid principles, which were the foundation of our greatness, have been gradually falling into disregard and neglect. They might have been well enough in our humbler beginnings, or in a less liberal age; but increased lights, greater elevation, and a fulness of all means of gratification, have seemed to many to plead first for relaxation, and then for the admissions of other principles allowing a suitable enlargement in indulgencies without fear. This spirit has spread through the whole mass of society. Writings and representations have helped the diffusion of it. Its effects have been visible on morals, and on the happiness of private life. Reverence for religion and for government has decayed. Both have been insidiously attacked from time to time; and at length, as the more mature produce of this spirit, some, disdaining the measured advances hitherto made in unprincipling men, and encouraged by the fatal consummation of a like career in a neighbouring country, have openly and furiously attempted the subversion of all legitimate authority, human and divine. The incendiary torch and the secret mine, have been industriously employed to destroy the venerable fabrics of our religion and our constitution. Seditious and atheistical writings, superlative in the impudence of their falsehood, have been particularly adapted to the vulgar taste; and obviously, because the ignorance of the vulgar exposes them to easier imposition, as the too general example which they had long seen around them, predisposed them to progressive boldness in licentiousness. Then it is, that some men

men seeing the foundations of our political existence thus attacked, begin to argue from the abuse of a thing against its use, and to think it would be better for the community, that the lower people should not be instructed even to read, as by such privation they would, it is conceived, be inaccessible to infection from the press.

But in fact, the evils of which we complain, originate in no small degree from the ignorance that has naturally followed the dereliction of right principles. The symptoms indicate a method of cure contrary to that which is proposed. The habit is diseased; the disorder, too deep to be reached externally, requires that the application be directed to its source. A return to ignorance may hasten the destruction of a society become corrupt through refinement, but can hardly contribute to restore it to soundness. At our advanced stage of improvement, it must be vain to imagine, that any retrograde movement we could effect in knowledge, would avail to secure the common mind from agitations and commotions. If any scheme of that kind even succeeded so far as to confine knowledge again among a smaller number, it could not reach to such characters as are now zealous to loosen and root out all received opinions in religion and government; but they would, on the contrary, be able to do more mischief than they effect now, because the more profound were the ignorance of the multitude, the more scope would there be, as in the dark ages, for the arts and activity of wicked men to work upon their credulity. Of this France has furnished a recent instance, too memorable to be ever forgotten. The want of knowledge and principle among the lower classes, left them a prey to Jacobinical impostures and delusions, by which they were hurried at once into the atrocities of anarchy and atheism.

It is not then by exposing our common people, unarmed and defenceless, to the daring blasphemies and sophistries of the preachers of impiety and sedition, that we can hope to keep them quiet. Our security lies, and lies only, in diffusing good instruction and right principles among them. In this too, the French revolutionists have afforded a lesson, which may suggest something useful to us. They endeavour that the minds of the people may not remain in that unfurnished state, of which they made advantage; but that the young especially, may be imbued with the tenets and prejudices favourable to their cause.

It is perhaps a mistake to suppose, that the common people among us, who have been most prone to tumult and disorder, are such as can read and write, or that the tendencies to commotion which have appeared, are to be ascribed to any degree of education possessed by that class. Besides that one reader in a circle or in a village would be sufficient to disseminate what was level to the vulgar understanding and acceptable to vulgar prejudices, and that the lower ranks are more affected by what they see or hear, than by what they read; those tendencies have chiefly manifested themselves in large towns, abounding with manufacturers, or idle vagabonds destitute of character or qualities sufficient to procure an honest livelihood, and it is therefore fair to presume, the least instructed part of the community. The manufacturers, generally put to work when yet children,

already a popular government. They were inured to arms, to hardships, and toils. The spirit of improvement animated them in a thousand different lines. They were expert seamen; their country abounded in excellent harbours; and in their geographical situation, they were (with the exception of one or two of our detached, more recently settled colonies) the sole civilized people in a great tract of continent, which seemed to offer to them the tempting prospect of becoming there the only political power. With all this, they were near enough to our insidious enemies to be constantly instigated to resistance by their arts, and effectually aided by their arms and resources. To what one of these many particulars, shall we discover a parallel among our Hindoo subjects? To none, as they now are; and in various important points, no resemblance is ever to be expected. The origin, the physical character

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dren, often receive no education. When grown up, they are, not unfrequently congregated in large numbers, sometimes without due attention to decorum; they encourage each other in vice; and the gains of their labour enable them to pass the time of relaxation, in which they commonly include what ought to be allowed to sacred purposes, in dissolute indulgence. Among people of this character, there is combustible matter already prepared for the designs of those who seek to kindle discontent and disturbance. But the writer of these observations had occasion, not long ago, to see a contrast to this description, in a populous country parish. In that district there were very few persons of sufficient age, who could not read. The people were in general sober, decent, regular in their attendance on public worship; and in the course of twenty preceding years, one instance of the commission of a capital crime among them had not occurred. The doctrines of Paine found little to work upon in such a community; the Bible was revered there, and every man kept steadily within his own place.

But we are not left in this case to smaller instances of individual observation. An experiment has been going on upon a large scale for a long series of years, in the sight of the whole nation, in the two countries of Ireland and Scotland. The common classes of the former country have unhappily been too generally kept in ignorance to the present day; and are not the consequences most obvious and most serious? How lamentably are the lower people there distinguished by vicious, turbulent, and lawless proceedings? In what division of the British dominions has there appeared so great a propensity to embrace democratic, disorganizing principles? And it is observable, that these principles, and the barbarities of which we hear so much, have prevailed chiefly in remoter, less enlightened parts of the kingdom, whilst the vicinities of Dublin, Cork and other considerable places more civilized by knowledge, have been more orderly and quiet. Scotland, on the contrary, has been remarkable for attention to the instruction of the lower classes of its inhabitants, and they have, in general, been distinguished for near two centuries past by a spirit of sobriety and order. In the more remote inaccessible parts of that country, whither, obstructed by particular causes, light penetrated more slowly, regularity and good order were also of later establishment; but the natives of those divisions, misguided into excess on some occasions now long past, have since been as eminent for a quiet and peaceable demeanour at home, as for standing numerous in the foremost ranks of those who have bled for the interests and the honour of this country in every quarter of the globe; and at the present critical juncture have come conspicuously forward, in many bands, for the support of our constitution and our religion, against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Indeed, if we were even to set aside the consideration of religion, and the good principles it inculcates, and to regard knowledge merely

as power, or as an instrument of civilization, we might safely rest the present question upon this ground. The diffusion of knowledge would, in the end, render a nation more disposed to check the admission of disorganizing principles. Doctrines it is admitted, while new, might make, as they often do, an irregular impression; but at length these irregularities would be corrected by good sense and reflection; and surely literature, even in its lowest stages, must be allowed to be more favourable to the production of good sense and reflection than ignorance.

But when we take into the question the influence of religion and all its salutary principles, certainly no one who considers their force and tendency can hesitate how to decide. Christianity was given to be a "*a light to the world*;" ignorance is declared in the inspired writings to be one of the leading causes of the ruin of the Jewish nation, and of the vices of the Heathens. The ancient Pharisees were condemned by the Author of our religion for taking away the key of knowledge, that is, the use of the Scriptures from the people; which also has been eminently the sin of the Romish Church. It is, on the contrary, a stated prayer of the Church of England, that the people may so read the word of God as duly to profit by it; and as that word "*thoroughly furnishes*" those who submit to it "*for all good works*," so where else shall we find such pointed authoritative precepts for the due regulation, order, and peace of society? "*Put the people in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates, not only for fear of human punishment, but for conscience sake; to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or to governors as sent by him, for so is the will of God. Prayers, are to be made for Kings and all in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Christians are commanded to study to be quiet and to mind their own business, to fear God and the King, and not to meddle with those who are given to change.*"

Those therefore, who would, by withholding the knowledge of letters from the vulgar, abridge the use of the Scriptures, would in fact aid the views of such as wish to overthrow our Christian faith and our civil establishment. If there be any who misuse the doctrines of the Gospel, by teaching a wild and shallow religion, which may indeed too easily connect with political error and disorder, the remedy must assuredly be, in this or in any similar case, not to leave the field entirely to mistaken guides, but more strenuously to oppose error by truth; and if the same zeal, the same personal interest, with which the emissaries of sedition have laboured, were universally employed on the other side, rationally and solidly to inculcate right principles and wholesome instructions, we might comfortably hope, that the attempts of domestic and foreign enemies to excite internal troubles among us would end in their disappointment and disgrace.

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Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

and condition, the intellectual, moral, and political state of the Hindoos, have already appeared, in the course of this essay, to be totally different. On their local circumstances only, it remains to say, in addition to what was before intimated, a few words. If they were ever "to exalt the spear of enmity" against their ancient masters, they would do so almost environed by Hindoos, whose faith they had renounced, and to whom their apostacy would have rendered them odious. Could they trust such neighbours as allies, or resist them as enemies? What their interest would obviously require them to avoid, surely we have no right to assume that they would be so unwise as to commit. And if they called in the assistance of an European power, would they thus obtain independence, or only change one master for another? On all the coast of Hindostan there are but three or four good ports, and these at great distances from each other; though the shore is in many places accessible to an invading force, and there are some tolerable harbours in the islands of the Bay of Bengal, of which an enemy could take great advantage. Now if the Hindoos could be renovated in every other particular, no assignable period can be imagined for their acquiring and practising the art of navigation; and therefore those of them now subject to Great Britain must, in their supposed new circumstances, not only continue to need the supply of many wants from that country, but always be exposed to the hostile approaches of the navies of Europe. By a people so circumstanced, it does not appear how independence is attainable. They must, in effect, be at the mercy of the strongest maritime power. Whilst therefore, we continue to be that power, it is rather to be expected that their own interest, and the preference which their imitation of our manners will have given us over other European nations, will jointly induce them to remain safe under our protection; as these motives, on their part, will strengthen us in India against European invaders, and so contribute to maintain our naval superiority at home; which superiority, in the present state of our Hindoo subjects, is still more necessary for the preservation of our Eastern possessions, than it would be on the supposed approximation of that people to the British character.

It may now be fair to enquire into the propriety with which that species of doubt or apprehension, which has just been considered, insinuates, as it does, some moral relation between the American revolution, and such principles as are proposed to be introduced among our Indian subjects. Is it to be supposed, that if the Americans, being in their physical character, their local and political circumstances, the same, had professed Mahomedanism, or any pagan religion, they would not have been at least, equally prone to a revolution? If we had maintained in America, the same kind of despotic government which has prevailed in the East, where the sovereign, when dispatching a viceroy to a distant province, could seldom know that he should not soon have to send an army to reduce him to obedience, will it be asserted that our authority would have been better or equally secured? But after all that is said of the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain, it is now a fact well known, that it did not spring from the general disposition, or the previous design of the people: in the possession of all the advantages, which have been enumerated, they had not become impatient for independence; and among the reasons to be assigned for the attachment which then still remained among them for this country, may certainly be reckoned their possession of the same language and religion.

If it be urged, that a comparison between the American colonists, and the natives of our Eastern territories, can be justly instituted only in considering the latter, not as they are at present, but as they would be after all the proposed improvements were diffused among them, it may be answered, that our previous statement of the effects of these improvements, affords matter for this comparison, so far as things contingent and unknown, can be compared with things established and known; and that it is fair, for a double reason, to state the present disparity between the two races of people, first to shew the immense career which the Hindoos have yet to run, even in the prosecution of such improvements as are attainable, and secondly to demonstrate, that in the character, situation, and circumstances of the Americans, at the æra of their revolution, there were radical important distinctions, which no improvement, on the part of the Hindoos, could annihilate; or in other words, that they could never be expected to arrive at the point at which the Americans then stood.

Indeed those who know the country of Hindostan will probably think that political liberty is the last thing likely to flourish there. Though that country has been, from
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causes of a different nature which will be hereafter noticed, always subject to revolutions and convulsions; a revolution, the idea and act of the popular mind, upon the principles, or rather from an abuse of the principles of civil liberty, would be as great a political phenomenon as the world has exhibited, and one of which Asia has given no example. To bring a timid submissive people, whom the Tartars called "work-shippers of power," up to the manliness of the European character, to elevate the feeblest of them, the Bengaleze, to so high a point of energy, that like the American descendants of the British themselves, they should plan the daring project of an independent empire, seems to be something beyond what has yet been seen, or is reasonably to be expected from the effects of institutions, civil or religious, upon nations.

Having thus considered the adverse consequences held forth by the objection, it may now be proper to notice more particularly, the favourable suppositions which it contains. The dangers it fears, are the dangers of prosperity. If then, this prosperity were realized, and the produce, the manufactures, and the riches of the country were greatly increased, as according to the objection, English manners, tastes and wants, must also have become common, would not exports thither, and the reciprocal commerce arising from the change (not to reckon the imposts which merchandize, now hardly taxed at all, would then easily bear) be proportionably augmented? For what series of years, and with what multiplying powers, may we then conceive this augmentation to be progressive? Large as the assertion may seem, perhaps the shortest term we could assign to it would produce an accumulation of commercial profits and advantages, more than tantamount to a very high valuation of the fee simple of our provinces, if we could suppose a sale of them to be now made. And it is fair also to admit, that if the country were finally lost, our commerce might still be necessary to it, and possibly even continue to increase. Such then would be the conclusion afforded by this formidable objection; if for the sake of argument, we were to allow the process described in it, to go on without resistance to its exceptionable parts. But we trust, we have already shewn, that it is not entitled to this concession, and that whilst it holds forth evils, only as distant and hypothetical, it is obliged, as the sole ground of its apprehension, to admit advantages to be certain and proximate.

It remains now to examine one important position, already mentioned to be tacitly contained in the objection, "that in a system, opposite to the one here proposed, must consist our future safety and stability in India." Unwilling as the writer is, to enter on so delicate a subject, and indeed inadequate to the due treatment of it, he feels himself called by his argument, to make some circumspect observations upon it. Certainly in a political view, the great question which this country has to determine respecting India is, "What are the best means of perpetuating our empire there*?" Not, what set of measures or line of policy may suit with the aspects of the day, or keep up the motion of the machine of government; but upon what general principles may we best hope to make our connection with that country permanent, and, as far as we can, indissoluble? Towards the determination of this question, perhaps it will be well to revert to the past history of our Indian provinces (or let us say to those of Bengal in particular, the chief seat of our dominion) and to the character of the natives of them. The English, it is true, were at first guided in their eastern administration, rather by nascent events, than by abstract principles or recorded experience; but however natural this may be, in the progress to establishment, a more extended survey of the course of past affairs in the acquired country, with their causes and consequences, may well befit the new possessors, when firmly settled in their power. It is not perhaps enough to exempt them from this review, that they follow a system of government widely different from the system of their predecessors, and are themselves a very different people. Among their Asiatic subjects, certain general properties which belong to human nature, and certain peculiar qualities resulting from a peculiar composition of society, may be expected to have a steady operation, where not controlled by stronger influences. If we look back then to the history of Bengal for five centuries,

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* Some will be ready to answer, "By securing to the people their religion and laws;" and in the just sense of the words, namely, that no violent change in either, contrary to the sense of the people, is to be enforced, we agree to the proposition.

sition. But what if the religion should be less favourable to our dominion than another system, and the people were induced voluntarily to make that other their religion; would not the change be for our interest?

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

we shall find, that except in the period when the Mogul empire was in its vigour, and the component parts of it thereby kept in peace with each other, that country has been the scene of frequent revolutions; and we cannot fail to discover, that as the despotism of eastern government may be reckoned the first and remote principle of such changes, so they have immediately proceeded from two causes, the lawless spirit of ambitious adventure common among all the military tribes of Hindostan, and the nature of the general mass of the people inhabiting that region.

The Persians and Tartars, who have poured into it from early ages, have generally been soldiers of fortune, who brought little with them but their swords. With these they have not unfrequently carved their way to dignity and empire. Power has been, and is their darling object; nothing was scrupled by them to obtain it; the history of Mahomedan rule in Hindostan is full of treasons, assassinations, fratricides, even parricide is not unknown to it. These northern adventurers by their spirit and pursuits, became in fact an accession, of more active and stronger qualities indeed, to the military division of the people of Hindostan. The Hindoos, though held to be less prone to the shedding of blood, have not however, carried their nicety far, when the prize of sovereignty or authority has been in question; but among them, sanguinary ambition has been usually confined to the Brahmins and the military caste; to the latter more.

The military class of the Hindoos, which in its institution has some of the features of a militia, forms in reality a great standing army of mercenaries, ready to be hired on all occasions, though usually not obliged to enter into actual service. Thus the sovereign of a country cannot always command their assistance, whilst the existence of such a body may often render a domestic competitor, or a foreign enemy, formidable to him. From this copious source, any man of enterprise, whatever were his views or pretensions, could always find partisans, if he had funds to entertain them; the treasure of the prince has been often used by his servants, to hire men to despoil him also of his throne. No character has been so bad, no cause so unjust, as not to find an army to support it if there were money to pay them. The members of the military caste, conceiving themselves destined by their creation to fight, often take up arms with the same indifference and indiscriminate as a labourer takes up a spade; insomuch that it has not been unusual to see a defeated army join the standard of the victor, upon the same principle which carries the labourer from one employer, with whom business runs low, to another whose service and means he deems more sure. The military Mahomedans (for many of the descendants of the Tartars who settled in Hindostan fell into the lines of civil life) are equally ready as the military Hindoos to engage themselves in commotions, quarrels, and any species of warfare, both having always, in times of confusion, an eye to plunder.

From this institution of a military class, the wisdom of which is surely impeached by the general effects it has produced, the military spirit came at length to reside almost wholly in one portion of the people. And hence may, in part at least, have followed the abjectness of the inferior tribes, composing the main body of the nation, and their want of public spirit. However much they may, on different accounts, have preferred a Hindoo to a Mahomedan government, no instance is recollected of their rising to support any native prince, or keep out any invader. The whole history of the Mahomedan empires in Hindostan, as well as the traces we have of the anterior government of the Hindoos, and what we see in modern days, all concur to prove the slavish disposition of that people, and their want of attachment to their rulers.

From these several causes, the despotic genius of Eastern government, the exclusive hereditary allotment of the military profession to one class, and the abject character of the people, have proceeded the great encouragement of individuals to the violent assumption of power, and the frequency of insurrections, convulsions, and revolutions in that country. And the same causes, though their operation may, by various circumstances, be occasionally suspended, will as long as they exist, have a tendency to produce the same effects. Hindostan has alternately been united under one great head, or partitioned into many states. New conquerors have, in different ages, appeared on that continent, who encreasing as they went on, have at length, by the vast number of their followers, overwhelmed every thing that opposed them. We now, indeed, see the empire of the Moguls prostrate, and may be apt to think, that arranged as the politics and powers of Hindostan are, the same order of things

things is not likely to return; but it was upon the subversion of the Patan empire that the Moguls rose; and may not a new adventurer, and a new horde from Tartary, establish yet another dynasty? It was perfectly in the option of Nadir Shaw, when he entered Delhi as a conqueror, in 1739, to have done this*. And if one of those scourges of mankind who have so frequently desolated India, should again arise, sending his fame, and the idea of his "happy destiny" before him, might not the multitudes collected in his progress, poured out at length into the remote quarter of Bengal, endanger our existence there? Whether we suppose him to advance in the first flush of conquest, or after he had given a central consolidation to his power, he would be backed by the resources of a vast inland region, by large armies of horse, and myriads of infantry. If we now figure to ourselves the progress of his operations, it will not bring them nearer; it will be in order that we may be better guarded against them. The Tartars, unaccustomed to cope with our steady military gallantry and skill, might be repeatedly repulsed. Still fresh swarms of assailants might be brought forward, and season after season, invasion be renewed. We could bring few cavalry into the field; the numerous squadrons of the enemy might waste and exhaust the country; the landholders, from whom the revenues are derived, would, as is usual in Hindostan, upon the appearance of commotion, withhold the payment of their rents; the produce of the districts which the enemy might occupy, they would immediately appropriate; and the credit of our government, as indeed we even now experience in times of exigency, would not procure us any adequate supplies. We should thus be straitened and embarrassed in our resources; suspicions of our stability might arise in the minds of our subjects, and among them would be a great number of the military caste, unemployed by us, and ready to make their own use of any promising occasion. Many of those subjects, won by the splendor of new power, and the proud display of an imperial standard, or desirous of securing an early interest, perhaps indulging new hopes from a revolution, would fall away from us: others would wish for a cessation of predatory vexations, at the expence of our expulsion. The Seapoys, whose attachment to us has appeared surprising, though the causes of it seem neither inexplicable nor immutable,† supplied tardily, and perhaps only partially with the pay, of which the regular advance had before so conciliated them to our service; and instead of being animated by the career of victory, cooped up in a dubious defensive warfare, might also be tempted to listen to the large offers of a dazzling leader, in whom their ready notions of fatalism might easily present to them a new *king of the world*. In such an arduous crisis, we trust that every thing to be expected from bravery, fortitude, and military science, would be performed on our part; but must not our lasting dependence be chiefly on British troops, on our maritime power, and on supplies by sea? With all these, it is very easy to see how oppressive, how threatening a long struggle, maintained under such circumstances, possibly by aids derived from the mother country, must be to us; how much also it must shake our interests and our stability in the rest of India. Now in any such state of things, in any case of the same nature, less extreme, what would be of more importance to us, what could so effectually fortify our cause, as to have the people of our territories sincerely attached to our government; to have established in their minds such an affectionate participation in our lot, such an union with our interests, as should counteract the defection, defalcations, and treachery, to be otherwise apprehended from the ordinary bent and practice of the Asiatic character? We should thus have the service of all the resources which our rich provinces contained, we should have the steady adherence and co-operation of the people, and in this way, might certainly confound and baffle even the powerful preparations of an imperial despot, to whose affairs long and spirited resistance might prove highly detrimental, by encouraging distant provinces which he had before over-run, to throw off the yoke. And how are our subjects to be formed to a disposition thus favourable to us, to be changed thus in their character, but by new principles, sentiments, and tastes, leading to new views, conduct, and manners; all which would, by one and the same effect, identify their cause with ours, and proportionably separate them from opposite interests? It is not, we may venture to affirm, from such a change, but in continuing as we are, that we stand most exposed to the dangers of political revolution. The objection which conceives remote evils to result from a plan of improvement, does not advert to others which may, in the mean time, arise from causes of a different kind. We join with it in the desire of securing in permanence, the fair possession this country

has

* If he had, we might probably have still been mere merchants in India.

† See note to page 31.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

has obtained (more, it may be concluded, by the overruling dispensation of Providence, than by any scheme of man,) but differ as to the means. To us it appears, that nothing promises so fair for the end proposed, as engaging the attachment and regard of the people, and removing those causes which have hitherto made them so acquiescent in every change. It was this passive temper, joined to the expectations which many might entertain from the deposition of the reigning Nabob, that contributed to our easy acquisition of the country; but the same temper would render our hold of it less sure in any arduous contest. At present, we are every way different from the people whom we hold in subjection; different in country, in language, in manners, in customs, in sentiments, and in religion; their interest also, for the reasons mentioned in the early part of this memoir, they must conceive to be different from ours. What then can be a healing principle with regard to all these points, but a principle of *assimilation*, a *common-bond*, which shall give to both parties the reality and the conviction of mutual benefit from the connection? Without an uniting principle, a conjoining tie of this nature, we can suppose the country to be, in fact, retained only by mere power; but in the same degree that an identity of sentiments and principles would be established, we should exhibit a sight new in the region of Hindostan, a people actively attached, cordially affected to their government, and thus augmenting its strength. In this laudable way, we should become more formidable to the other powers of that continent, we should be best secured against foreign enemies, insurrections, and the dangers of an hereditary military body; we should have more support from the mass of the people, and in a word, be most effectually guarded against a revolution.

It is remarkable, that the radical principle of the conclusion thus made, a conclusion to which an acquaintance with the Indian character, and the experience that progressive time has afforded of the effects of knowledge, particularly the divine knowledge of Christianity, may now easily lead an ordinary mind, directed, according to the judicious historian of *The ancient European Intercourse with India*, the policy of the Grecian conqueror of that country, in securing his Eastern acquisitions. However different, in other respects, the circumstances of that celebrated personage may be from ours, in this we agree with him, that we have an Asiatic empire to maintain. And Dr. Robertson, who in acknowledging the eccentricities of that extraordinary man, gives him also the credit of profound political views, observes, "he early perceived, *that to render his authority secure and permanent, it must be established in the affection of the nations he had subdued, and maintained by their arms*; and that in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and the vanquished must be abolished, and his European and Asiatic subjects be incorporated and become one people, *by obeying the same laws, and by adopting the same manners, institutions, and discipline.*" It is the leading idea only of this policy, that is meant to be applied here; and that leading idea is plainly the principle of *assimilation*. It would neither suit us, nor our subjects, to act upon it universally, as Alexander proposed. We ought not to wish, that the distinctions between the two races should be lost, or to aim at introducing into Asia laws framed for this country; but to attach our subjects by affection, by interest, by winning them to our religion and our sentiments,—this would be at once to add to their happiness, and to arrive at the same object which the great conqueror had in view, that of rendering our authority "permanent and secure."

This policy is recommended by some other considerations, which shall be briefly noticed. It is sufficiently understood, that since our first appearance on the theatre of Indian war and politics, the native powers have improved in military discipline, and that we now find it necessary to bring into the field, armies proportionably larger than those that served to achieve our early victories. Having so interesting an evidence of the capability of the natives to improve, there appears no good reason to conclude, that their advancement in military skill may not be further progressive. It is extremely probable, that the beneficial effects of our civil policy will also in time force themselves upon their attention, and from the cogent motive of self-interest, produce at least some imitations. All the advances they make in the arts of war or of peace, will serve to lessen that superiority in both, by which, under the disadvantages attaching to us as foreigners, and with forces comparatively small, we have acquired an ascendancy among the powers of Hindostan. The nearer we approach to an equality, the more these disadvantages will be felt. Our business seems to be therefore, by new resources in policy, still to preserve the relative rank in which we have hitherto stood; and what can more directly conduce to this end, than to infuse new principles

principles of attachment, of activity, and industry, among the people we govern, thus strengthening their character, and deriving additional support from them?

CHAP. IV.

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

The European nations have an undisputed possession of the Indian seas, and are now so much connected with the continent of India, that every material change which takes place in them, may be expected, in some shape or other, to extend its influence thither. It cannot be irrational, therefore, to suppose, that the astonishing events which have lately convulsed Europe, and are likely to produce consequences durable and momentous, may have their bearings upon our Asiatic interests. That exorbitant ambitious power which seeks our destruction, may aim, by different channels and instruments, to excite troubles and disorders in our possessions, or to embroil us with our Indian neighbours. The Cape of Good Hope, the head of a vast country, in a fine climate, and singular in the felicity of its position for a great emporium, whether it remain with us or fall under French influence, will probably, by a change already begun in its internal policy, swarm, at no distant period, with a numerous race, of European character and descent, planted at the entrance into the Indian seas, and within two months sail of the Indian coasts. Another great colony of the same race, in a climate equally favourable to the human constitution, is springing up on the eastern side of the Indian Ocean. The appearance of many adventurers of these descriptions on the shores of Hindostan, as one day they may be expected to appear, (a day perhaps nearer than it is possible to bring other apprehended improvements,) can hardly fail to have some effect upon the political affairs of that country, those of the native princes as well as our own. In all these, or any other supposable cases then, the more closely we bind the people under our rule to ourselves, the more firmly shall we be prepared, in that quarter, against adverse events and combinations.

It may be urged by some, in opposition to the systematical improvement here proposed, that the influence of the British government and character, especially where the intermixture of Europeans is large, will of itself gradually produce a change in the sentiments of our Eastern subjects. Let this position be, to a certain degree, admitted; it is one interesting enough to merit some attention. The English, in their obscure commercial state, were little known or regarded by the people whom they now govern. Their elevation to power, brought into public display all the particulars of their character, with their manners and customs. These, in various instances, at first shocked the prejudices of the Hindoos, who thought, with a kind of horror, of the new masters to whom they bowed. But by degrees they perceived, that usages the most repugnant to their ideas, were free of that turpitude which they had associated with them. They found these foreigners superior to them in general powers and knowledge, in personal honour and humanity; and at length saw the British government assume a character of equity and patriotism, unknown in their preceding administrations. These qualities, it shall be granted, have a tendency to conciliate in some measure, the natives *who are near enough to observe them*. Among those who live in our settlements, or are much connected with Europeans, long habits of intercourse have softened down repugnancies, or blunted the sensations which our manners at first inspired; and there is in such, an apparent, perhaps a real abatement of jealousy and solicitude respecting their own notions and punctilios. But in all these varying aspects of the European character, something essential to those disposed to fall into an imitation of it has been absent. Men that meet together in this country for the purposes of business, seldom enter into communication respecting the foundations of their faith and practice; any serious discussion of this nature, occurs still more rarely there. The indifference for religion, which Mr. Hume ascribes to the English in general of the present age,—(he calls it profound indifference,)—may there pass for liberal toleration, or complaisant forbearance towards inferiors of another faith. Discovering in their intercourses with us little of the nature of the religion we profess, they will not, of course be apt to refer the good qualities of which the English appear possessed, to that source; nor will they know, that the national standard of morals formed from it, has an influence, even upon the conduct of those who pay no particular regard to a religious system. If then any of the Hindoos should, in time, feel some tendency to imitate that freedom in manners, sentiments, and intercourses, that latitude as to religious opinions and observances, which they see in their European masters, what would be the consequence but evidently this, that they would be loosened from their own religious prejudices, not by the previous reception of another system in their stead, but by becoming indifferent to every system. For a transition from one error to another is, it must be acknowledged,

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

more readily made, than a transition from error to truth. Error is more easily imbibed, more hardly eradicated; truth more slowly received, more easily resigned. And in this way it is, that if we conceive the anarchial principles which have burst forth in Europe ever to spread to India, they will be most likely to have their entrance. Indeed so wonderfully contagious do they appear to be, so congenial to the worst qualities of human nature, that it may be difficult to point out a place where they can find nothing to fasten upon. Societies in which much corruption and much superstition prevail, seem in general more liable to them, than those in which true religion and morals are still strongly rooted. The French, it will readily be allowed, fell into them more readily than they would have embraced any scheme of personal reformation, or a more pure and strictly practical religious system. The abuses of civil and religious institutions lead to them, and furnish the most plausible pretences for them. False principles, and the fooleries of a false religion, even when used to support things good in themselves, as government and subordination, would ill stand before such arts and abilities as have lately assailed the truth. Truth only is invincible. To teach it therefore, is to take the surest means of excluding the infection of licentious disorganizing sophistries. A change from false religion to the true, is a movement from an exposed place to a strong fortress; and every advance made in the system of moral and religious instruction here recommended, so far from opening the way to those loose latitudinarian notions which tend to a rejection of all authority, would establish rights, human and divine, upon their proper basis, and bind the conscience to the observance of them.

To these considerations, which on the whole may certainly be deemed not unworthy of attention, two other reflections may serve to give additional weight. First,—It is to be feared, that the number of lower Europeans will go on to encrease in our territories; they mix most with the natives, and by them the worst parts of our manners will be exhibited. Secondly,—By the security which we have with great wisdom given to the land tenures of Bengal, the value of property there, and the consideration arising from the possession of it, will naturally be enhanced, so that in process of time, the owners of large estates, hitherto little productive to them, may become of consequence by their wealth and possessions. We know also, that encreasing prosperity tends to strengthen pride and disorderly propensities. Here again, therefore, we find motives for the introduction of our principles; for if some at least, both of the higher and lower orders, may be led, by European manners, to adopt new ideas of relaxation, at the same time that new powers are put into the hands of the former, we ought, in good policy and reason, to communicate to them a system which, divested of all burthensome unnecessary ceremonies, and all superstitious folly, is yet calculated to produce a purer and higher influence than their own, upon the general moral conduct, and all the relative duties of life. As then we have already been gradually led, by good sense and expediency, to introduce regulations derived from our national ideas and principles, into the government and management of our possessions, their advantage and our safety may dispose us also to wish, that our religion and moral principles might obtain a fair establishment there; for if we can suppose, that through the encreasing relations between Europe and India, the common lights and manners of Europeans adventuring thither should ever make a strong impression, unaccompanied by the knowledge of those principles, which do not propagate themselves spontaneously, and are not to be implanted without culture and care, that change might not be favourable to our interests; since the present circumstances of Europe seem emphatically to point out, that nothing but such principles can be depended upon, for keeping subjects in obedience and subordination*.

In

* These several objections, and the answers to them, excepting the sixth and seventh, were, as to their substance and scope, committed to writing in the latter end of the year 1792, though not then in any shape brought into notice. In April 1793, a discussion took place in a general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock, in which almost all the same objections were advanced, by persons with whom the writer never had any communication on such subjects. This was on occasion of two resolutions which the House of Commons, very honourably for itself, had voted in the view of introducing the purport of them into the Act of Parliament then about to be passed, for

renewing the charter of the East-India Company. The resolutions were these:

“RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this House, that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature, to promote, by *all just and prudent means*, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted, as may *gradually* tend to their advancement in *useful knowledge*, and to *their religious and moral improvement*.

“RESOLVED, That sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant communion in the service,

In coming, as we now do, to the close of the answer to the last and most material of the objections which are foreseen against the proposed scheme, that objection which questions the expediency of using the English language, it will be proper to call to recollection what was stated in the first opening of it,—that the *principle* of communicating our light and knowledge, and the *channel* or *mode* of communication, were two distinct things; that the admission of the former did not depend on the choice

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

“service, or under the protection of the East India Company in Asia, proper ministers being from time to time sent out from Great Britain for those purposes; and that a chaplain be maintained on board every ship of 500 tons burthen, and upwards, in the East-India Company’s employ; and that moreover, no such ministers or chaplains shall be sent out, or appointed, until they first shall have been approved of, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being.”

Several Proprietors of East India Stock made a violent attack upon these resolutions, and the following is an abstract of all the arguments or objections urged against them, as they are reported by Mr. Woodfall. It is with reluctance that any reference is made here to the opinions then given, because they stand connected with particular names; and it is far from being the wish of the writer, to introduce any thing that may seem to have even a remote tendency to personality; but as opinions delivered in a public assembly, and afterwards made more public by the press, are fairly open to animadversion, so justice to the present subject, renders some notice of those now in question, indispensable.

OBJECTIONS STATED GENERALLY. “That sending missionaries into our Eastern territories, is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project, that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator. That the principle is obnoxious, impolitic, unnecessary, full of mischief, dangerous, useless, unlimited.”

SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS, First Class. “The plan would be dangerous and impolitic; it would affect the peace and ultimate security of our possessions. It tends to endanger and injure our affairs there most fatally, it would either produce disturbances, or bring the Christian religion into contempt. Holding one faith or religion, is the most strong common cause with mankind, and the moment that took place in India there would be an end of British supremacy.”

“That the principle of proselyting was *impolitic*, and was, or ought to be exploded, in so enlightened a period as the eighteenth century.”

“That it would be a most serious and fatal disaster,

if natives of character*, even a hundred thousand of them, were converted to Christianity.”

“That the establishment of seminaries and colleges in America, was one of the most efficient causes of the loss of that country.”

“That suffering young clergymen, (who are usually of pleasurable habits,) to over-run the interior of India, would be dangerous, and prove ultimately destructive to the Company’s interest.”

Second Class. “The scheme would be unsuccessful. It is extravagant to hope for the conversion of the natives. They are invincibly attached to their own castes; their prejudices, manners, and habits, are all against a change.”

“It is vain to attempt to overcome prejudices fixed by the practice of ages, far exceeding the time in which Britons had any idea of religion at all. The attempt is, in these views, idle, absurd, and impracticable.”

“Only the dregs of the people can be converted; they will pretend conversion, and disgrace Christianity.”

“The higher, and more respectable natives, are people of the purest morality, and strictest virtue, (this was said only by one speaker, who knew little of India.)

“The services of religion are devoutly performed in the Company’s settlements and ships, either by clergymen or laymen, and their ecclesiastical establishments are sufficient.”

Third Class. “The scheme would be expensive. The expence would be enormous, intolerable; one, two, or three hundred thousand pounds.”

Fourth Class. “The scheme would be unlimited, in respect of the numbers and qualifications of the missionaries.”

All these objections will be found already answered in the text. A few brief remarks upon them may however be proper, and will be sufficient here.

1st. The objections urged in general terms, are merely declamatory. They are accompanied by no reasonings or elucidations. But the principle which they censure as the most wild, extravagant, unjustifiable, mischievous, dangerous, useless, impolitic, that ever was suggested by the most visionary

* It will be remembered, that these are chiefly *Idolaters*, something of whose character and worship we have already seen. With whatever indifference idolatry may be viewed, and however venial it may be accounted in these times, even by persons born in Christian countries, it is a crime against which the displeasure of the holy and true God, the sovereign and unerring judge of the qualities of actions, is expressed, with peculiar indignation, contempt, and abhorrence, throughout that revelation which he hath vouchsafed to us; and it is therein shewn to have often brought on, by its nature and effects, the misery and ruin of individuals and of nations.

Even the wiser men of ancient Pagan Europe, between the superstition of which, and the idolatry of the Hindoos, an identity has been proved, (by Sir William Jones, in the *Asiatic Transactions*, Vol. I.) saw and complained of the evils of their popular system of religion. Cicero brings in an Epicurean philosopher, arraigning that system in severe terms: “The most absurd things, observes he, are said by the poets, things which are noxious even by the agreeable style in which they are conveyed; for they have introduced gods mad with anger, inflamed with lust, and have presented to our view their wars, battles, fightings, wounds; their hatred, differences, strivings; their births,

deaths, complaints, lamentations; their lusts, exceeding in every kind of intemperance; their adulteries, fetters; their lying with mankind, and mortals begotten of immortal gods.” (*De Nat. Deor*, Lib. I. §. 16.) And again, in the person of a Stoic, he thus reprobates the same system: “The introduction of feigned gods, has begotten false opinions, and turbulent errors and superstitions, no better than old wives’ fables; for the figures of the gods, their ages, dress, and ornaments, are set forth; their alliances, marriages, affinities; and all are reduced to the similitude of human imbecility: They are brought in as men disturbed by passion; we hear of their lusts, sickness, anger; yea as fables tell us, the gods have not wanted wars and battles. . . . These things are said and believed most sottishly, and are full of extreme vanity and futility.” (*Ibid*. Lib. II. §. 28.)

To these base gods, however, temples were erected, and divine honours paid. They had their costly trains of priests, services, sacrifices, festivals, and games. Some of their rites were atrociously cruel, others infamous for debauchery, prostitution, and the most unbridled excesses. Hence corruption was diffused among the people, the moral system, even of the philosophers, was very defective, and their allowed practices, in some respects abominable.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

choice which might be made of the latter, and was alone absolutely contended for. The channel of the English language, however, has been preferred, in the present plan, as being deemed the most ample and effectual; and though new, also safe and highly advantageous. Against this channel, however, the writer thinks it possible, that reluctancies may remain when arguments are obviated. Strongly as he is himself persuaded, that great and peculiar advantages would flow from it, he nevertheless

would

sionary speculator, is the principle of the Gospel itself.

The Gospel was propagated by missionaries; missionaries planted it in the different countries of Europe. Almost all those countries have, in imitation of the same practice, sent missionaries into infidel parts; and how is it possible for men to communicate it otherwise? In this kingdom, two societies are established by royal charter, for propagating the Gospel in Heathen lands; and there is a third society of long standing, employed in the same object, which enrolls among its members, many of the most eminent persons of the nation. So much for the antiquity, authority and general acknowledgment of *this principle*, which is treated as if nothing like it had ever been heard of before.

2^d. It is obvious, that the first and second classes of specific objections, militate against each other. Since the scheme proposes only a pacific exposition of Christian truths, it cannot be both dangerous and unsuccessful. The danger is avowedly founded mainly, if not wholly, on the supposition of success. If success therefore is not to be hoped for, where is the danger? And again, if the scheme really threatens so much danger, what becomes of the argument against success?

These contradictory objections cannot both be just. The same speaker however, who is reported to have "*thanked God*" that the conversion of the natives would be a matter of *impracticability*, strenuously opposed the scheme on this ground, that the moment they and we came to hold one faith there would be an end of our supremacy in the East: but if he thought it *impracticable* to convert them to our faith, with what reason could he urge the *danger* which would follow from such conversion as a serious and alarming objection? When the *cause* does not *exist*, neither can that, which can only flow from it as its *effect*.

3^d. The *principle of not communicating to the Hindoos the Christian religion, lest this should in the end, destroy our government over them*, is however here fairly acknowledged and argued upon. The establishment of seminaries and colleges in our American colonies, is in the same spirit adverted to in a way of warning; as if Christianity had produced the revolution there, when in fact they were men of infidel opinions, who planned both the American and French revolutions.

The reason assigned in justification of this precautionary principle also deserves attention; "be-
"cause holding one religion is the most strong
"common cause with mankind." If the proposal had been, that the English should become converts to Hindooism, this argument might have been well placed; but applied to the present scheme, it can only operate in favour of it.

4th. It is curious to find it alleged, among the arguments against the proposed clauses, that some of the Hindoos were too good, and others too bad to be converted.

This was advanced by only one gentleman, little acquainted with India, whose speech happening by a common newspaper to reach the Reverend Mr. Swartz, already noticed as long a missionary of distinguished reputation in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, produced from him a vindication of the conduct and effects of the mission in which he is concerned; a vindication framed indeed in modest and simple terms, suitable to the character

of the writer, but highly honourable to the cause of missions, and though he intended it not, to his own. This piece, too good to be concealed, has been printed in the Transactions of the English Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and a copy of it is given in the Appendix.

The assertion of the same speaker, that the higher natives of India are people of the purest morality and strictest virtue, is altogether new, and in palpable opposition to testimony and experience. Upon the gospel scheme, no man is too good or too bad for the benefits it proposes; and there is a very large class between the best and the worst, of whom the speaker took no notice. His other assertion, that the ceremonies of religion, or the service of the Common-prayer Book, were with great decency and devotion regularly performed by laymen on board the Company's ships, and on land, in places where there happened to be no clergyman, is a topic for ridicule, if the subject were not of so serious a kind; the reverse of this assertion being so notorious. And is there no use for a minister of religion, but to perform a ceremony, or to read a form of prayer once a week?

5th. The objections urged on the ground of the *unlimited* expence of the scheme, the *unlimited* numbers of the clergy that would be sent, their *improper* character, and their *roving through the country*, all go upon assumptions not only unwarranted, but contradicted by the tenor of the clauses themselves, and in opposition to the dictates of common sense. The Directors of the Company were themselves to be entrusted with the execution of the scheme; they were to judge of the number of missionaries sufficient, they were to regulate the expence. Was it conceivable, that they would have gone, in either article, to a length burthensome or dangerous to the Company? Was it conceivable that they would have suffered missionaries to ramble, at their pleasure, through the country, if the missionaries sent should have been men so disposed? but can it be imagined, that the friends of the scheme, and the respectable authorities whose testimonials were to render the missionaries receivable by the Company, (not to force them into their employ,) would have had so little regard to the success of their own object, as to select persons the least likely to promote it? In fact, the danger was of another kind; so much was left in the discretion of the Directors that if they should have had the disposition, they might also have possessed the power, very materially to thwart the prosecution of the scheme. And as to the real number and expence of missionaries at first, the former, if proper persons should have been found, would perhaps have been thirty; and the annual charge of their establishment, including dwellings, probably about four-
teen thousand pounds.

6th. Upon the whole of this discussion, it appears to have been undertaken with a vehement determination against the principle of introducing Christianity among our Asiatic subjects; but without much previous consideration, or a large acquaintance with its bearings and relations, still less with a dispassionate temper of mind; for arguments subversive of each other, assertions palpably erroneous, assumptions clearly unwarrantable, were pressed into the opposition; the question was argued chiefly upon a partial view of supposed political expediency, and the supreme importance

would do injustice to the cause for which he pleads, if he were to suspend its success entirely upon the adoption of this mode. The channel of the country languages, though less spacious, less clear, less calculated to transmit the general light of our opinions, our arts, and sciences, less free also for the conveyance of the light of religion itself, is nevertheless so far capable of rendering this last and most important service, in which are essentially involved all the other proposed meliorations, that if the question were between making no attempt, or making it in this way, undoubtedly there could be no hesitation. This mode ought, by no means to be declined or neglected, if there were no other. Through the medium of the country languages, though more contracted, more dim, and distant, still something may be done, and that in a concern which is of the last importance to present and to future happiness. But in choosing this method, more instruments ought necessarily to be employed; and then the meliorations which are so much wanted, may in time be partly effected; and the apprehensions which some may entertain from the diffusion of the English language, will have no place. But still it must be maintained, that for every great purpose of the proposed scheme, the introduction and use of that language would be most effectual; and the exclusion of it, the loss of unspeakable benefits, and a just subject of extreme regret.

Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

THUS, we trust, it has been evinced, that although many excellent improvements have of late years been made in the government of our Indian territories, the moral character and condition of the natives of them is extremely depraved, and that the state of society among that people is, in consequence, wretched. These evils have been shewn to lie beyond the reach of our regulations, merely political, however good; they have been traced to their civil and religious institutions; they have been proved to inhere in the general spirit and many positive enactments of their laws, and more powerfully still in the false, corrupt, impure, extravagant, and ridiculous principles and tenets of their religion. Upon any of these points, it is conceived, that persons who either form their opinion, from actual observation, or from the current of testimony, will not greatly differ; shades of distinction there may be between them, but no substantial, radical contrariety. A remedy has been proposed for these evils;—the introduction of our light and knowledge among that benighted people, especially the pure, salutary, wise principles of our divine religion. That remedy has appeared to be in its nature suitable and adequate; the practicability also of applying it has been sufficiently established; our obligation to impart it has been argued, we would hope convincingly, from the past effects of our administration in those countries, from the more imperious consideration of the duties we owe to the people of them as our subjects, and from our own evident interest, as involved and consulted in their welfare. Our obligation has been likewise urged from another argument, the authority and command of that true religion which we have ourselves the happiness to enjoy and profess*. As the leading subject of this essay has been intentionally treated chiefly upon political grounds, the argument now mentioned has not been insisted upon at great length; but all its just rights are claimed for it, and it is transcendent and conclusive.

Nothing it would seem besides these intrinsic properties of the proposed measure, and these powerful extraneous motives, can be necessary to recommend the adoption of it. Yet since some persons have appeared to think, that the improvements which they allow to be likely from the prosecution of the suggested scheme might, by producing a course of encreasing prosperity, at length open the way to consequences unfavourable to the stability of our Indian possessions, these conceived consequences have

importance, authority, and command, of Christianity, were left out of sight.

It ought to be remarked, upon the second of the two resolutions passed in the House of Commons, that the maintenance of a chaplain on board every ship of considerable size, employed in the long navigation to and from India, was the early spontaneous practice of the Company, and enjoined to them in the charters of King William and Queen

Anne,

Anne, the clauses of which, respecting this point, the said resolution did no more than revive.

* To disallow either the fitness of our religion as a remedy, or our obligation to promote the knowledge of it, would be to differ from the reasoning of this essay in first principles; and such a difference, if any mind were influenced by it to resist the projected communication, ought in candour to be avowed.

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

have also been largely examined; and if the whole of the reasoning used by the writer has not been erroneous, they have been found to resolve themselves at last into mere apprehensions, conjectures, and general surmises, which the causes assigned for them seem so little to warrant, that in proportion to the degree in which those causes may actually exist, effects propitious to the permanence, as well as prosperity of our Eastern dominion, effects more propitious than our present system can generate, may rather be expected from them; as indeed it would not be less a phenomenon in the political than in the natural world, that from a root the most excellent, the worst fruit should be produced. The principle also upon which such consequences are objected, and the improvement of our Heathen subjects opposed, the principle of keeping them for ever in darkness and error, lest our interest should suffer by a change, has been shown to be utterly inadmissible in a moral view, as it is likewise contrary to all just policy.

In reasoning about things future and contingent, the writer would wish to stand remote from whatever should have the appearance of dogmatical decision, which indeed is not the right of even superior penetration, and to speak with that diffidence of himself, and deference for others, which so well become him; he would wish to speak for no cause further than the truth will bear him out; but the views he entertains of the present subject afford him no other conclusions than those he has advanced, and in them he thinks he is well supported. That a great remedy is wanted; that we have an excellent one in our hands; that it is our duty, on general and special grounds, to apply it; all these, are in his apprehension, positions nearly self-evident: from these alone a strong presumption, he conceives, arises, that it must be our interest to make the application; and if cogent specific reasons are further adduced to prove, that our interest would, in fact, thus be promoted, opposition to this scheme ought, in his opinion, to be justified by arguments very clear and very powerful; and such, he must honestly say, he has not been able to discover.

This subject has not hitherto received a formal consideration; but the objection which would resist all improvement, lest future inconvenience should arise from it, necessarily brings on this decisive question, whether we shall, in all time to come, passively leave our subjects in the darkness, error, and moral turpitude in which they now grovel, or shall communicate to them the light of truth, and the means of melioration, and of happiness personal and social? The question may more properly be,—whether we should *keep* our subjects in their present state? For if improvement ought not to be communicated to them, we should not be merely passive, but be careful to exclude it; as on the other hand if it ought to be communicated, or if it is possible that any rays of light may fortuitously break in upon them, we should not leave the task to others, or to chance, but be ourselves the dispensers of the new principles they receive, and regulate the administration of them. This question then is to determine the grand moral and political principle, by which we shall henceforth, and in all future generations, govern and deal with our Asiatic subjects: Whether we shall make it our study to impart to them knowledge, light, and happiness; or under the notion of holding them more quietly in subjection, shall seek to keep them ignorant, corrupt, and mutually injurious, as they are now? The question is not, whether we shall resort to any persecution, to any compulsion, to any sinister means:—No; the idea has been frequently disclaimed; it is an odious idea, abhorrent from the spirit of true religion; but whether, knowing as we do the falsehood and impurity of idolatrous polytheistic superstitions, knowing the cruelties, the immoralities, the degrading extravagancies and impositions of the Hindoo system, we shall silently and calmly leave them in all the fulness of their operation, without telling our subjects, who ought to be our children, that they are wrong, that they are deluded, and hence plunged into many miseries? Whether, instead of rationally, mildly explaining to them the divine principles of moral and religious truth, which have raised us in the scale of being, and are the foundation of all real goodness and happiness, we shall wink at the stupidity which we deem profitable to us; and as governors, be in effect the conservators of that system which deceives the people? Whether, in a word, we shall do all this merely from fear, lest in emerging from ignorance and error, they should be less easy to rule, and our dominion over them be exposed to any risk.

The wisdom, as well as the fairness of such a proceeding, must also be determined: whether on the whole it would be the best policy for our own interest, even if we look only to the natural operation of things: and here at least we should be careful

careful and clear; for if we mistake our interest, we lose our all, the very thing to which we sacrifice other considerations: especially it should be pondered, whether believing the moral government of the world, we can expect the approbation and continued support of the supreme Ruler of it, by willingly acquiescing in so much error, so much moral and political evil, when so many just means for the alleviation of them are in our power.

CHAP. IV.
Inquiry into Measures for improving the Condition of our Asiatic Subjects; and Answers to Objections.

These are the inquiries which this subject presents; the inquiries which fidelity to it, and to all the interests involved in it, would not permit the writer to suppress when he originally considered it; and the same motives, to which he may add, the duty of the station wherein he has since had the honour to be placed, forbid him to keep them back now: But does he in stating them, mean to point them offensively to any individual or body of men? No,—far from it; they were, at first, penned as they are now delivered, in good will and with a general aim: in this great question he strives rather to abstract his mind from personal recollections; and if it glances involuntarily at the idea of any one who he fears may not accord with his sentiments, if he should especially dread to find among such any whom he particularly respects and loves, it is a painful wound to his feelings. He cannot wish to offend or to dispute,—he has no objects to serve by such means; and is sufficiently aware of the situation in which a work of this nature may place him, both in Europe and in India; never to have brought it forward but from some serious sense of duty. This question is a general one; if it seem to carry in it any retrospective censure, that censure applies to the country and to the age. Circumstances have now called for a more particular consideration of it, and of the result of that consideration he entertains encouraging hopes. He will not allow himself to believe, that when so many noble and beneficial ends may be served by our possession of an empire in the East, we shall content ourselves with the meanest and the least, and for the sake of this, frustrate all the rest. He trusts we shall dare to do justice, liberal justice, and be persuaded, that this principle will carry us to greater heights of prosperity, than the precautions of a selfish policy. Future events are inscrutable to the keenest speculation, but the path of duty is open, the time present is ours. By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion, in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies; we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of those territories to this country; but at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty to them, and a lasting service to mankind.

In considering the affairs of the world as under the controul of the supreme Disposer, and those distant territories, as by strange events, providentially put into our hands, is it not reasonable, is it not necessary, to conclude that they were given to us, not merely that we might draw an annual profit from them, but that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice, and misery, the light and the benign influences of truth, the blessings of well-regulated society, the improvements and the comforts of active industry? And that in prudently and sincerely endeavouring to answer these ends, we may not only humbly hope for some measure of the same success which has usually attended serious and rational attempts for the propagation of that pure and sublime religion which comes from God, but best secure the protection of his providential government, of which we now see such awful marks in the events of the world.

In every progressive step of this work, we shall also serve the original design with which we visited India, that design still so important to this country,—the extension of our commerce. Why is it that so few of our manufactures and commodities are vended there? Not merely because the taste of the people is not generally formed to the use of them, but because they have not the means of purchasing them. The proposed improvements would introduce both. As it is, our woollens, our manufactures in iron, copper, and steel, our clocks, watches, and toys of different kinds, our glass-ware, and various other articles are admired there, and would sell in great quantities if the people were rich enough to buy them. Let invention be once awakened among them, let them be roused to improvements at home, let them be led by industry to multiply, as they may exceedingly, the exchangeable productions of their country, let them acquire a relish for the ingenious exertions of the human mind in Europe, for the beauties and refinements, endlessly diversified, of European art and science, and we shall hence obtain for ourselves the supply of four and twenty millions of distant subjects. How greatly will our country be thus aided in rising still superior to all her difficulties; and how stable, as well as unrivalled, may we hope our commerce will be, when

Mr. Grant's State
of Society among
the Asiatic Subjects
of Great Britain.

when we thus rear it on right principles, and make it the means of their extension? It might be too sanguine to form into a wish, an idea most pleasing and desirable in itself, that our religion and our knowledge might be diffused over other dark portions of the globe, where nature has been more kind than human institutions.—This is the noblest species of conquest; and wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow.

To rest in the present state of things, or to determine that the situation of our Asiatic subjects, and our connection with them, are such as they ought to be for all time to come, seems too daring a conclusion: and if a change, a great change be necessary, no reason can be assigned for its commencement at any future period, which will not equally, nay, more strongly recommend its commencement now. To say, that things may be left to their own course, or that our European settlements may prove a sufficient nursery of moral and religious instruction for the natives, will be, in effect, to declare, that there shall be no alteration, at least no effectual and safe one.

The Mahomedans, living for centuries intermixed in great numbers with the Hindoos, produced no radical change in their character; not merely because they rendered themselves disagreeable to their subjects, but because they left those subjects, during that whole period, as uninstructed in essential points as they found them. We are called rather to imitate the Roman conquerors, who civilized and improved the nations whom they subdued; and we are called to this, not only by the obvious wisdom which directed their policy, but by local circumstances, as well as by sounder principles and higher motives than they possessed.

The examples also of modern European nations pass in review before us. We are the fourth of those who have possessed an Indian empire. That of the Portuguese, though acquired by romantic bravery, was unsystematic and rapacious; the short one of the French was the meteor of a vain ambition; the Dutch acted upon the principles of a selfish commercial policy; and these, under which they apparently flourished for a time, have been the cause of their decline and fall. None of these nations sought to establish themselves in the affections of their acquired subjects, or to assimilate them to their manners; and those subjects, far from supporting them, rejoiced in their defeat: some attempts they made to instruct the natives, which had their use; but sordid views overwhelmed their effects. It remains for us to shew how we shall be distinguished from these nations in the history of mankind; whether conquest shall have been in our hands the means, not merely of displaying a government unequalled in India for administrative justice, kindness, and moderation, not merely of encreasing the security of the subject and prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness, of meliorating the moral state of men, and of extending a superior light, further than the Roman eagle ever flew.

If the novelty, the impracticability, the danger of the proposed scheme, be urged against it, these objections cannot all be consistent; and the last, which is the only one that could have weight, presupposes success. In success would lie our safety, not our danger. Our danger must lie in pursuing, from ungenerous ends, a course contracted and illiberal; but in following an opposite course, in communicating light, knowledge, and improvement, we shall obey the dictates of duty, of philanthropy, and of policy; we shall take the most rational means to remove inherent, great disorders, to attach the Hindoo people to ourselves, to ensure the safety of our possessions, to enhance continually their value to us, to raise a fair and durable monument to the glory of this country, and to encrease the happiness of the human race.

APPENDIX.

Extract from the Transactions of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the year 1795.

“ **A** N O T H E R letter has been received from Mr. Swartz, dated at Tanjore, February 13th, 1794, which being of a particularly interesting nature, the Society judge fit to produce at length. As moreover the Society, after forty years experience, have had constant reason to approve of Mr. Swartz’s integrity and veracity as a correspondent, his zeal as a promoter of Christian knowledge, and his labours as a missionary, they take this opportunity of acknowledging his faithful services, and recommending his letter to the consideration of the Public, as containing a just statement of facts relating to the mission, believing that Mr. Swartz is incapable of departing from the truth, in the minutest particular.”

Appendix.

To the Reverend Dr. GASKIN, Secretary to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Tanjore, February 13, 1794.

AS His Majesty’s seventy-fourth regiment is partly stationed at Tanjore, and partly at Vallam, six English miles distant from Tanjore, we commonly go once in a week to Vallam, to perform divine service to four companies of that regiment.

When I lately went to that place, the 210th number of a newspaper, called the Courier, Friday evening, May 24th, 1793, was communicated to me.

In that paper I found a paragraph, delivered by Mr. Montgomerie Campbell (who came out to India with Sir Archibald Campbell, in the station of a private secretary) wherein my name was mentioned in the following manner:

“ Mr. Montgomerie Campbell gave his decided vote against the clause, and reprobated the idea of converting the Gentoos. It is true, missionaries have made proselytes of the Parriars; but they were the lowest order of people, and had even degraded the religion they professed to embrace.

“ Mr. Swartz, whose character was held so deservedly high, could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An instance occurred to his recollection, perfectly in point;—he had been preaching for many hours to this caste of proselytes, on the heinousness of theft, and in the heat of his discourse, taken off his stock, when that and his gold buckle were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. In such a description of natives, did the doctrine of the missionaries operate. Men of high caste would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors.”

As this paragraph is found in a public paper, I thought it would not displease the Honourable Society to make a few observations on it; not to boast (which I detest) but to declare the plain truth, and to defend my brethren and myself.

About seventeen years ago, when I resided at *Tiruchinapally*, I visited the congregation at Tanjore. In my road, I arrived very early at a village which is inhabited by *Collaries*, a set of people who are infamous for stealing; even the name of a Collary (or better, *Kallen*) signifieth a thief.

These *Collaries* make nightly excursions, in order to rob. They drive away bullocks and sheep, and whatever they can find; for which outrage, they annually pay fifteen hundred chakr, or seven hundred and fifty pagodas, to the Rajah.

Of this caste of people, many live in the Tanjore country, still more in Tondiman’s country, and likewise in the Nabob’s country.

When I arrived at one of those villages, called *Pudaloor*, I took off my stock, putting it upon a sand-bank. Advancing a little to look out for the man who carried my linen clothes, I was regardless of the stock, at which time, some thievish boys took it away. Not one grown person was present. When the inhabitants heard of the theft, they desired me to confine all those boys, and to punish them as severely as I pleased.

But I refused to do that, not thinking that the trifle which I had lost was worth so much trouble.

That such boys, whose fathers are professed thieves, should commit a theft, can be no matter of wonder.

All the inhabitants of that village were Heathens; not one Christian family was found therein.

Many of our gentlemen, travelling through that village, have been robbed.

Appendix.

The trifle of a buckle I did therefore not lose *by a Christian*, as Mr. Montgomerie Campbell will have it, but by Heathen boys.

Neither did I preach at that time: Mr. Montgomerie Campbell says that I preached two hours: I did not so much as converse with any man.

This poor story totally misrepresented, is alleged by Mr. Montgomerie Campbell to prove the profligacy of Christians, whom he called, with a sneer, virtuous and enlightened people.

If Mr. Montgomerie Campbell has no better proof, his conclusion is built upon a bad foundation, and I shall not admire his logic: truth is against him.

Neither is it true, that the best part of those people who have been instructed, are *Parriars*. Had Mr. Montgomerie Campbell visited, even once, our church, he would have observed that *more than two thirds were of the higher caste*; and so is it at Tranquebar and Nepery.

Our intention is not to boast; but this I may safely say, that many of those people who have been instructed, have left this world with comfort, and with a well-grounded hope of everlasting life.

That some of those who have been instructed and baptized, have abused the benefit of instruction, is certain. But all sincere servants of God, nay even the Apostles, have experienced this grief.

It is asserted, that a missionary is a disgrace to any country. Lord Macartney, and the late General Coote, would have entertained a very different opinion. They, and many other gentlemen, know and acknowledge, that the missionaries have been beneficial to government, and a comfort to the country.

This I am able to prove, in the strongest manner. Many gentlemen who live now in England, and in this country, would corroborate my assertion.

That the Reverend Mr. Gerické has been of eminent service to Cuddalore, every gentleman, who was at Cuddalore at the time when the war broke out, knows. He was the instrument, in the hands of Providence, by which Cuddalore was saved from plunder and bloodshed.

He saved many gentlemen from becoming prisoners to Hyder, which Lord Macartney kindly acknowledged.

When Nagapatnam, that rich and popular city, fell into the deepest poverty, by the unavoidable consequences of war, Mr. Gerické behaved like a father to the distressed people of that city. He forgot that he had a family to provide for. Many impoverished families were supported by him; so that when I, a few months ago, preached and administered the sacrament in that place, I saw many who owed their, and their childrens' lives, to his disinterested care. Surely this, my friend, could not be called a disgrace to that place. When the Honourable Society ordered him to attend the congregation at Madras, all lamented his departure. And at Madras, he is esteemed by the governor, and many other gentlemen, to this day.

It is a most disagreeable task to speak of oneself. However, I hope that the Honourable Society will not look upon some observations which I am to make, as a vain and sinful boasting, but rather as a necessary self-defence. Neither the missionaries, nor many of the Christians, have hurt the welfare of the country.

In the time of war, the fort of Tanjore was in a distressed condition. A powerful enemy was near; the people in the Fort, numerous; and not provision even for the garrison. There was grain enough in the country, but we had no bullocks to bring it into the Fort. When the country people formerly brought paddy (rice in the husk) into the Fort, the rapacious dubashes deprived them of their due pay. Hence all confidence was lost; so that the inhabitants drove away their cattle, refusing to assist the Fort. The late Rajah ordered, nay intreated the people, by his managers, to come and help us; but all was in vain.

At last the Rajah said to one of our principal gentlemen: "We all, you and I, have lost our credit; let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Swartz." Accordingly he sent me a blank paper, empowering me to make a proper agreement with the people. Here was no time for hesitation. The seapoys fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger; our streets were lined with dead corpses every morning; our condition was deplorable. I sent, therefore, letters, every where round about, promising to pay any one, with my own hands; and to pay them for any bullock which might be taken by the enemy. In one or two days, I got above a thousand bullocks, and sent one of our catechists, and other Christians, into the country. They went at the risk of their lives, made all possible haste, and brought into the Fort, in a very short time, eighty thousand kalams (of rice.) By this means, the Fort was saved. When all was over, I paid the people (even with some money which belonged to others) made them a small present, and sent them home.

The next year, when Colonel Braithwaite, with his whole detachment, was taken prisoner, Major Alcock commanded this Fort, and behaved very kindly to the poor starving people. We were then, the second time, in the same miserable condition. The enemy always invaded the country when the harvest was nigh at hand. I was again desired to try my former expedient, and succeeded. The people knew that they were not to be deprived of their pay, they therefore came with their cattle. But now the danger was greater, as the enemy was very near. The Christians conducted the inhabitants to proper places, surely with no small danger of losing their lives. Accordingly they wept, and went, and supplied the Fort with grain. When the inhabitants were paid, I strictly enquired whether any of the Christians had taken from them a present. They all said, No, no; as we were so regularly paid, we offered to your catechist a cloth of small value, but he absolutely refused it.

But

But Mr. Montgomerie Campbell says, that the Christians are profligate to a proverb.

If Mr. Montgomerie Campbell was near me, I would explain to him who are the profligate people who drain the country. When a dubash, in the space of ten or fifteen years, scrapes together two, three, or four lacks of pagodas, is not this extortion a high degree of profligacy?

Nay, government was obliged to send an order, that three of those Gentoo dubashes should quit the Tanjore country. The enormous crimes committed by them, filled the country with complaints; but I have no mind to enumerate them.

It is asserted, that the inhabitants of the country would suffer by missionaries.

If the missionaries are sincere Christians, it is impossible that the inhabitants should suffer any damage by them. If they are not what they profess to be, they ought to be dismissed.

When Sir Archibald Campbell was governor, and Mr. Montgomerie Campbell his private secretary, the inhabitants of the Tanjore country were so miserably oppressed by the manager and the Madras dubashes, that they quitted the country: of course, all cultivation ceased. In the month of June, the cultivation should commence; but nothing was done, even at the beginning of September. Every one dreaded the calamity of a famine. I entreated the Rajah to remove that shameful oppression, and to recal the inhabitants. He sent them word, that justice should be done to them; but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired *me* to write to them, and to assure them, that he, at my intercession, would show kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned; and first of all, the Kallar (or as they are commonly called, Collaries) believed my word, so that seven thousand men came back on one day. The other inhabitants followed their example. When I exhorted them to exert themselves to the utmost, because the time for cultivation was almost lost, they replied in the following manner: "As you have showed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it; we intend to work night and day, to show our regard for you."

Sir Archibald Campbell was happy when he heard it; and we had the satisfaction of having a better crop than the preceding year.

As there was hardly any administration of justice, I begged and entreated the Rajah to establish justice in his country. "Well," said he, "let me know wherein my people are oppressed." I did so. He immediately consented to my proposal, and told his manager, that he should feel his indignation, if the oppression did not cease immediately. But as he soon died, he did not see the execution.

When the present Rajah began his reign, I put Sir Archibald Campbell in mind of that necessary point. He desired me to make a plan for a court of justice, which I did; but it was soon neglected by the servants of the Rajah, who commonly sold justice to the best bidder.

When the Honourable Company took possession of the country, during the war, the plan for introducing justice was re-assumed; by which many people were made happy. But when the country was restored to the Rajah, the former irregularities took place.

During the assumption, government desired *me* to assist the gentlemen collectors. The district towards the west of Tanjore had been very much neglected, so that the water-courses had not been cleansed for the last fifteen years. I proposed that the collector should advance five hundred pagodas to cleanse those water-courses. The gentlemen consented if I would inspect the business. The work was begun and finished, being inspected by Christians. All that part of the country rejoiced in getting one hundred thousand collums (of rice) more than before. The inhabitants confessed, that instead of one collum, they now reaped four.

No inhabitant has suffered by Christians; none has complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest inhabitants said to me; "Sir, if you send a person to us, send us one who has learned all your ten commandments;" for he, and many hundred inhabitants, had been present when I explained the Christian doctrine to Heathens and Christians.

The inhabitants dread the conduct of a Madras dubash. These people lend money to the Rajah, at an exorbitant interest, and then are permitted to collect their money and interest, in an appointed district. It is needless to mention the consequences.

When the Collaries committed great outrages in their plundering expeditions, Seapoys were sent out to adjust matters; but it had no effect. Government desired *me* to inquire into that thievish business. I therefore sent letters to the head Collaries; they appeared; we found out, in some degree, how much the Tanjore, and Tondaman's, and the Nabob's Collaries had stolen; and we insisted upon restoration, which was done accordingly. At last, all gave it in writing, that they would steal no more. This promise they kept very well for eight months, and then they began their old work; however, not as before. Had that inspection over their conduct been continued, they might have been made useful people. I insisted upon (their) cultivating their fields, which they really did. But if the demands become exorbitant, they have no resource they think, but that of plundering.

At last some of those thievish Collaries desired to be instructed. I said, "I am obliged to instruct you; but I am afraid that you will become very bad Christians." Their promises were fair. I instructed them; and when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them. Having baptized them, I exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that, I visited them; and having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed, with pleasure, that their fields were excellently cultivated. "Now," said I, "one thing remains to be done. You must pay your tribute readily, and not wait 'till it is exacted by military force," which otherwise is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute exactly.

The

Appendix.

The only complaint against those Christian Collarists was, that they refused to go upon plundering expeditions, as they had done before.

Now I am well aware, that some will accuse me of having boasted. I confess the charge willingly, but lay all the blame upon those who have constrained me to commit that folly.

I might have enlarged my account; but fearing that some characters would have suffered by it, I stop here.

One thing, however, I affirm, before God and man, that if Christianity, in its plain and undisguised form, was properly promoted, the country would not suffer, but be benefited by it.

If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should, if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but to reject them entirely, is not right, and discourageth.

The glorious God, and our blessed Redeemer, has commanded his Apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations.

The knowledge of God, and his divine perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused; but there is no other method of reclaiming mankind, than by instructing them well. To hope that the Heathens will live a good life, without the knowledge of God, is a chimera.

The praise bestowed on the Heathens of this country, by many of our historians, is refuted by a close (I might almost say, superficial) inspection of their lives. Many historical works are more like a romance than history. Many gentlemen here are astonished, how some historians have prostituted their talents by writing fables.

I am now at the brink of eternity; but to this moment I declare, that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years in the service of my Divine Master. Who knows but God may remove some of the great obstacles to the propagation of the Gospel? Should a reformation take place amongst the Europeans, it would no doubt be the greatest blessing to the country.

These observations I beg leave to lay before the Honourable Society, with my humble thanks for all their benefits bestowed on this work, and sincere wishes that their pious and generous endeavours to disseminate the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, may be beneficial to many thousands.

I am sincerely,

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother, and humble Servant,

C. F. SWARTZ.

No. 4.

Copy of Two LETTERS;—viz. one to the Honourable Court of Directors of The *East India* Company, dated 22 April 1813; and one to *James Cobb*, Esq. Assistant Secretary to The *East India* Company, dated 23 April 1813;—from JOHN BEBB, Esq.—respecting the *Eleventh* Proposition, submitted on the 22 March 1813, to Parliament. Now the 12th Proposition.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
17 June 1813.

RELATING TO EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

LETTER I.—To The East India Company - - - - - p. 3

References A—B—C—D—E—F—G;—being Extracts from Proceedings at
several Meetings of Persons in favour of a Church Establishment in India - 8

LETTER II.—To James Cobb, Esq. Deputy Secretary - - - - - 16

Enclosures, No. 1. Advertisements, marked H—I—K—L. - - - - - 17

No. 2. Extract from the Appendix to Dr. Kerr's Letter of
23 July 1807 - - - - - 19

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed.
17 June 1813.

LETTER I.

TO THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

1. **P**REVENTED for a length of time beyond my expectation, from attending in my place in the Court Room, I cannot longer forbear addressing you upon a subject of great delicacy and importance, viz. the proposition submitted on the 22d ultimo, by His Majesty's Ministers to Parliament, as follows:

"That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance."

2. I mean to consider the question purely in a political light, as it may, in my view of the subject, affect the British dominion in India. I disclaim entering into any theological controversy, that I may, as far as I can, guard myself from misrepresentation or improper motives being attributed to me; I hope I may be excused the egotism of saying, that I am a member of the Church of England, and that the Church is the only place of public worship I attend.

3. Among the causes which may produce or accelerate the downfall of the British authority in India, may be reckoned a spirit of proselytism, manifesting itself in endeavours to convert the natives of India subject to the Company's authority. The numerous publications and advertisements which, within these few years have issued from the press, will show the natives of India that this spirit exists in this country; that it pervades the minds of great numbers of men of various associations; and advertisements of a recent date will evince that, at this particular juncture, this spirit is eminently fervid. The recent advertisements I particularly allude to, are those of the undermentioned meetings:—

One at the New London Tavern, on the 2d March 1813; Samuel Mills, Esquire, Chairman.

One at the City of London Tavern, on the 29th March 1813; Right Honourable Lord Gambier in the Chair.

One at the King's Head Tavern, on the 2d April 1813; W. Smith, Esquire, M. P. in the Chair.

One at the New London Tavern, on the 6th April 1813; Joseph Gutteridge, Esquire, in the Chair.

One at the same place, on the 13th April 1813; Right Honourable Lord Gambier, in the Chair.

4. While these advertisements speak of *prudent*, *quiet*, and *safe* means of attaining the ends proposed, the authors of them by the very publishing them, have done acts imprudent, tending to promote disorder, and highly dangerous. In the blindness of zeal, they have furnished both the European and Indian enemies of the British empire, with a most formidable engine to promote alarm, discontent, and insurrection among the natives of India. To prevent the idea of my treating the advertisements with unmerited animadversion, I transmit copies of them.

5. For some years past a violent irritation has prevailed in the minds of the natives of India, from apprehension of their religious opinions being molested. They conceived the English were desirous of converting them to Christianity, and alarm was widely excited.

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company.
(Church Establish-
ment in India.)

3. June
12th Resolution.

See Enclosures
No. 1 & 2, and
No. 3, being an
extract from the
Advertisement of
the 13 April 1813,
with Remarks upon
the 7th Resolution.

6. It

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company:
(Church Establish-
ment in India.)

6. It has been evinced by the complaints* of missionaries, of persecutions in the Tinnevelly country; most dreadfully by the native Indian soldiery in the Company's service, massacring the European officers and soldiers at Vellore in 1806†; by the agitations existing at the same time in the native soldiery at Hydrabad; by the military orders of the government of Fort St. George in December 1806; and by the ferment in the populace of Calcutta, which required the very judicious interference of government‡. I do not allude to instances, information of which rests upon private authority or general report, I refer to those only which are established upon official communication, and they are of great weight and moment.

7. So long ago as the year 1650, an incident occurred which had nearly endangered the permanency of the Portuguese establishment at St. Thomé, near Fort St. George. A Portuguese padre had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo religious ceremonies to pass his church. In this dispute, the English most wisely avoided interfering; and, after relating the transaction, gave an opinion to the Court of Directors of the small hopes and great danger of attempting to convert the people of India. I transcribe their own energetic words.

"By this you may judge of the lyon by his paw, and plainly discern what small hopes, and how much danger we have of converting these people, y^e are not like y^e naked and brut Americans, but a most subtile and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitions, y^e, even among their owne differing casts, is grounded an irreconcilable hatred, which often produced very bloodie effects."

See Letter, Agent
& Co. of Fort St.
George to the
Court, dated 18 Jan.
1650, and Agent
at Masulipatam, to
the Court, 28 Feb.
1650-51.

8. Should the legislature adopt the proposition of administration, predisposed to alarm, as the minds of the people of India already are, by the recent events to which I have alluded, and by the various publications and advertisements in this country which will reach India, they may, on the arrival of the dignified clergy, infer, that the constituted authorities in England, and the governments in India, intend converting them to Christianity, and be filled with terror. Even names often have a great effect among the multitude. The bishop, on his arrival in India, will probably be called *Lord Padre Saheb*, perhaps *Lord Padre Burra Saheb*, and the archdeacons, *Lord Padre Chutta Saheb*. These appellations, and the very appearance of the dignified divines will excite curiosity, and curiosity produce enquiry. For what purpose are these great padres || come? may be asked among each other: the answer will be obvious, alarm be excited, and the recent irritations be renewed and widely spread. The principal Mahomedans, or their adherents, many of them as enthusiastic as any of our own zealots for the propagation of their faith, will, as they did at Vellore, eagerly seize the opportunity, and unite with and inflame the Hindoos against the Christians. Should the Brahmin and other religious men conceive their religion to be in danger, the alarm will soon catch the native soldiery. When their minds, and those of the great mass of people, are filled with apprehension, there is no saying how slight an incident may occasion an explosion. Massacres similar to that at Vellore may take place in various places. The cry of *Sauf Curra Teringee*, i. e. in the English idiom, *Down with the Europeans*, resound from Hurdwa to Cape Comorin, and your power be annihilated with wonderful rapidity. We may have to deplore our own rashness, and posterity be astonished at our folly.

9. The

* See Letter from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, dated 23 January 1805, par. 16. The representations of the Tinnevelly people have never reached the Court. It is not therefore known who were the aggressors. It is, however, remarkable, that many of the soldiers of the battalion which took the lead in the massacre of Vellore, were natives of Tinnevelly.

	Killed.	Wounded.
† King's Officers	3	3
Company's D ^o	9	0
Non-commissioned D ^o , Fifers, Drummers, and Privates	85	97
Paymaster, Deputy Commissary, and Conductor of Ordnance	3	0
	100	100

of whom 15 died of their wounds.

‡ Letter of the Governor General in Council, dated 2d November 1807.

§ Probably alluding to the frays which frequently occur between the Hindoos and Mahomedans. A dreadful affray of this nature occurred at Benares, in 1809.

|| The people of India call all the Christian Clergy by the name of *Padre*.

9. The only reason I have heard assigned for the alleged expediency of the measure, is, that people in India may have the benefit of confirmation. Let us examine the number and situation of the persons to be so benefited.

10. The officers and men of his Majesty's regiments form the most numerous body of British-born subjects in India; they serve for a time in India, and then return to England. They all go out at an age when either they have received the benefit of confirmation, or it must be presumed, from causes of which each individual must judge for himself, do not mean to receive it.

11. The other British-born subjects may be classed together, as differing from the former, in the circumstance of their not returning to Europe in large bodies in the ordinary routine of service. They consist of the Company's civil and military servants, including non-commissioned officers and soldiers; their medical servants, and those of their marine of every rank; the judges, officers, barristers and attornies of His Majesty's Courts of Justice, the free merchants, free mariners, artificers, tradesmen, indigo-planters, and ladies, and Englishwomen of humble station, permitted to go to India. All of this description, with scarcely an exception, go abroad at an age when they have had the benefit of confirmation, or as before presumed, do not mean to receive it.

12. The children of British-born fathers and mothers are all, whose parents can bear the expense, sent to this country at a tender age, for education; the children of those who are poor, are very few, and are generally taken care of by private benevolence. The children of Europeans by Indian women, whether legitimate or illegitimate, receive religious and moral instruction and education, according to their condition; those of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers, in that benevolent institution, the lower Military Orphan School; those of officers in the upper school; there are schools for educating the children of those who can bear the expense, and free and charity schools educate and support the children of distressed persons.

13. The whole number of individuals of the above descriptions do not justify incurring the heavy expense of the proposed establishment.

14. The Christians of those parts of the island of Ceylon which are under his Majesty's government, may be divided into two classes, viz. Roman Catholics, and Protestants of the Dutch Church. The Dutch Church is not episcopal, and there were, under the Dutch government, establishments for the education and religious instruction of the children of their faith. But should His Majesty's ministers deem a bishop to be necessary for that island, they should devise the means of bearing the expense, without charging it upon the revenue of the Company's territories.

15. I put altogether out of the question the case of the foreign settlements in India, conquered during the present war, until their fate shall be determined by treaties of peace. The only wise system is to maintain the existing establishments according to their several usages, as far as may be consistent with our own safety.

16. Is more meant than meets the ear? or have Administration been induced to propose a measure of the bearings and consequences of which they are not fully aware? Is it intended that the bishop should ordain priests in India from among the persons who, contrary to law, have resorted to India under the name of missionaries, or from persons of the half cast or pure Indian blood? Among persons of this description will be found men, who elate with their new dignity, ardent to please their patron by zeal, and trusting to the support of high authority at the presidency, will, whether stationary or itinerant, increase the alarms of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, will involve themselves in religious affrays, and tend to produce the most dangerous consequences. I ask, from what fund are such ministers to be paid?

17. Great pains have been taken, in various publications, to misrepresent the character of the natives of India, to place them in a degraded and barbarous light, and to keep their good qualities and real state of civilization out of sight. When minds take a certain bias, they pervert, bend and twist every thing to their particular object; defects in the moral character of the people of India, arising from political, have been attributed to religious causes. The character of the Hindoo will not suffer by a comparison with that of the Christian of Ceylon, or of the territories in India, once belonging to, or still under the dominion of the Portuguese. Throw the vice of drunkenness into the scale, and the latter will be found most degraded. The Copt, the Christian of modern Egypt, is represented in a moral light as extremely similar to the Bengallee. The Greek of the Turkish Empire is described as low,

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company:
(Church Establish-
ment in India.)

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company:
(Church Establish-
ment in India)

See Inclosure,
No. 4.

Quarterly Review,
No. 1, page 210.

In 1799.

crafty, subtle, insidious, and fawning. Concealment and artifice are the usual resources of weakness against tyrannic oppression and grinding exaction; whatever be the religion of the individual, similar causes produce similar effects.

18. For a just account of the state of civilization of the Hindoos, I refer to Colonel Munro's evidence to the Committee of the whole House of Commons.

19. Much pains have also been bestowed to delude the people of this country on the score of safety; the disposition of the Indian is described to be so timid, that he may be outraged with impunity. A periodical publication of some celebrity distinctly says, "Whatever be the difficulty of converting the Hindoos, there is no danger in making the attempt. A new religion may not immediately be dipt or sprinkled into them, but an old one could be washed out." Then follows a suggestion so shocking to any humane mind, and so horrible to a Hindoo, that I will not give it circulation by quoting it; but will observe, that if any Englishman could be found so frantic and wicked as to attempt any thing of the kind, the speedy destruction of himself and all his countrymen in India, would be the probable consequence. I allude to the passage in question, merely to shew the arts that have been practised to mislead the people of this country; arts which I have no doubt have led many well meaning but ill informed men, to wish the attempting doing that, in which they have been induced to suppose there is no danger.

20. I was a spectator, many years since, of a religious tumult suddenly produced in Calcutta by the ignorance and indiscretion of the then Judges of the Supreme Court. A Mahomedan procession, at the festival of the Mohurrun, was passing the Court House while the Judges were upon the bench; they were disturbed by the vociferation of the zealots invoking their saints, Hossein and Hussein. The Judges, unthinkingly, desired the Deputy Sheriff to quiet the noise; he went into the street for the purpose, and in his efforts to procure silence, rashly struck or touched the tomb which was carried in the procession; the fury of the attendants immediately rose, the Deputy Sheriff narrowly escaped from them; they maltreated every European and Hindoo who came near them, drove in the centries of the Court House, and kept the Judges blockaded, so that no person could go in or out of the Court House, until a guard of Hindoo sepoys was sent to their relief. In this case, the Government, and the bulk of the population of the town, were of one mind; but it affords an instance how soon mischief may arise. If Mahomedans and Hindoos unite, as they did at Vellore and Hydrabad, dread another tragedy more fatal and more extensive.

21. The examples of other nations may guide and warn us. The Romans, on the acquisition of their vast dominions, molested not the religions of the countries they conquered; the latter Emperors pursued a different system of policy, and accelerated the fall of the empire. Whoever has been at Goa, or travelled in the countries formerly subject to the Portuguese in India, must have perceived the magnificent churches and religious buildings and establishments that once existed, and of which there are still remains; vast sums must have been expended on these objects. Had the Portuguese governments respected the religions or superstitions of the natives, and kept their own edifices and establishments on a moderate scale, they might not have lost the affections of the natives; such heavy burdens need not have been laid upon the country, and yet larger sums have been allotted to the means of defence.

22. The late Tippoo Sultan was a zealous advocate for proselytism to the religion of Mahomet. By his efforts in this cause he excited the resentment of the Malabars, especially of those of the Coorg country. They cheerfully assisted the Company's Bombay army in its march up the Ghauts, and furnished necessities for the siege of Seringapatam, without the aid of which, that fortress might not have fallen so soon as it did, or Tippoo* have lost his life in it. I more particularly refer to these events, because allusions have been made to the success which is alleged to have attended his efforts to convert Hindoos, while the consequence, loss of empire and life, is not mentioned.

* He was preparing to quit the place on the night of the day on which it was taken.

23. From the long experience of their predecessors, as well as of their own, the conduct of the Company's governments in India, with the exception of that of Fort St. George, about six or seven years ago, has hitherto with respect to the religious opinions of the natives, been highly judicious, prudent and wise. The same remark may be made with respect to Englishmen, generally, I may say almost universally, both clergy and laity, excepting instances of individuals of late years. Why depart from the recorded sound policy of above a century and a half? Why not take warning by.

by recent events produced by the deviation from that policy? Why run the slightest hazard of exciting apprehensions which involve a question of the existence of your power, and may defeat even the very objects, assumed or concealed, which are to be promoted? If our own history, and those of the other powers I have alluded to, are not a sufficient guide, read the History of Japan.

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company:
(Church Establish-
ment in India.)

24. It is difficult to legislate for countries situated at a great distance; we need not look, even in our own times, so far as India, to see that Parliament may commit great errors. When the Stamp Act passed, respecting the British colonies in America, did the administration or legislature of the time, admit that it would lead to the successful revolt of almost all of them, and that in little more than forty years the people of those countries, would, as an independent nation, make war upon us? Those persons who forewarned the danger were treated with contempt and scorn. The American colonists were not then three-millions in number. The Company's authority extends over 50 or 60 millions of people, and we are sporting with their tenderest feelings, while the main strength of our army consists of the very natives of that country, outnumbering the European troops as five to one; and we have felt, that when their fears on the grounds of religion are excited, they will turn their arms against us.

25. I cannot avoid taking another view of the question, that is upon the ground of expense. In 1809, when the Court determined to increase the number of chaplains in India, they were so sensible of the additional inconvenient burthen the measure would bring upon their finances, that with a view of lightning the charge upon the Company, they recommended "the imposition of a per centage upon the salaries of all Europeans in the several branches of the Company's service, civil and military, and in some other mode extending the same principle to all other European inhabitants living under the Company's protection." Our finances are still greatly embarrassed; we are obliged to resort to Parliament for assistance, we are pressed by heavy debts in India and at home, we are endeavouring to contract our civil and military charges; surely this is not a time to incur a new train of expense. If the Court were sensible in 1809 of the weight of the then increased charge of a clerical establishment, to be consistent, they should point out to Administration and to Parliament the much heavier and more distressing charge the adoption of the proposed measure will occasion. The people of India cannot be taxed like the people of England; they have already complained grievously upon this head. The salaries paid to a bishop and three archdeacons must be considerable, but this will be only a commencement of expense. Other charges must necessarily be incurred, and how shall they be limited? Men of high dignity, of learning and piety, probably of impressive eloquence, of engaging manners and conversation, will always command respect and attention; with minds on the stretch towards their particular objects, they will seize every favourable opportunity of attaining them; the civil government may readily yield, or find it difficult to resist projects urged with zeal and plausibility, and a train of expense be created which cannot be calculated. Let Goa be a beacon to us.

See Letter 26th
April 1809, to the
several Govern-
ments in India,
par^s 14, 15, 16,
(passed in Court on
the 12th April) and
my Dissent of the
25th April 1809.

26. If, however, Parliament should be earnestly desirous of placing the Church Establishment in India under the superintendence of a bishop and archdeacons, let the measure be delayed until times more suited to it than the present; until a perseverance in our former line of conduct shall have restored the confidence of the natives of India, and have caused the recent irritations to be completely forgotten, until the fervour which has possessed the minds of many men in this country be moderated, until the finances of India be better able to bear the expense than they now are, and until the descendents of the English in India be considerably increased in number.

27. I have passed near thirty years of my life in the civil service of the honourable Company, and for nearly twenty-eight years of that time have resided in India. My opinions are formed from observation and experience. Should what I have felt it my duty to state to the Court be favourably received, I respectfully submit, that it be referred to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers. I also respectfully suggest to you, that counsel be instructed to examine evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, and at the bar of the House of Lords, as to the probable effect the passing into a law the 11th Proposition may have upon the minds of the people of India, combining therewith the ideas they may imbibe from a knowledge or suspicion of the object of the various publications and advertisements to which I have alluded. There are many honourable men in the kingdom, competent to give information

LETTER I.
From Mr. Bebb to
the East India
Company:
(Church Establish-
ment in India.)

See Advertisements
in No. 2, marked
F. G.

information upon the subject, men who cannot have any personal interest in it, and whose general conduct and character will guard them from the suspicion of having imbibed any bias on the subject.

28. In my discussions I have found it impossible to avoid noticing the views of associations and individuals. Their actions will make deep impressions upon the multitude in the Company's territories in India. The public prints will show them that petitions are presented to Parliament for the express purpose of converting them. If the 11th Proposition pass into a law, they will see Parliament do, what it never did before, send ministers among them, and those of high rank and dignity. The conclusion in their minds will be plain. They are not the ignorant uncivilized beings so industriously represented, they are not stocks or stones, but as the Company's servants described them above 160 years ago, a "subtile and politique" people, zealous in their religions.

29. My opinions upon this important question are respectfully submitted to the Court, in a conscientious discharge of the duty required by my oath as a Director; and I earnestly hope they may tend to arrest the progress of the dangers I fear.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,

Gloucester Place,
22d April 1813.

Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) JOHN BEBB.

A.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

References in
Mr. Bebb's Letter.

AT a Special Meeting of the Committee of the Protestant Society, for the protection of Religious Liberty, convened at the New London Tavern, to consider the propriety of renewing their exertions to diminish the difficulties which have impeded the freedom of Christian Missionaries in India, on March 2, 1813:

SAMUEL MILLS, Esq. Chairman;

The Committee having referred to the proceeding adopted by them in March and April 1812, and to their correspondence with the late Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, upon the same subject;

Resolved, 1. That this Committee, including Members of the National Church, and representing many hundred congregations of Protestant Dissenters in England and Wales, of all denominations, must primarily exert their vigilance and energy for the protection of religious freedom within the United Kingdom; but that principle and sympathy must equally impel to approve, to desire, and, if possible, to obtain the enjoyment of that liberty in every part of the British empire throughout the world.

2. That, as Men, as Britons, and as Christians, this Committee continue to regard with anguish, the moral depression and religious ignorance of very many millions of immortal beings who people the plains of India, subject to British power. That their "hearts are pained" at the fearful penances, licentious rites, female degradation, human sacrifices, and horrible infanticide, which there prevail. And that, convinced by history, observation, and experience, that Christianity would afford inestimable benefits, and that their diffusion is practicable, wise, and imperative, they cannot but persevere eminently to desire its speedy and universal promulgation throughout the regions of the East.

3. That motives urgent and irresistible must, therefore, induce this Committee still to deplore, and to condemn every obstacle which has been interposed to prevent the dispersion of gloom, so lasting and so profound, by the irradiating beams of Christian truth.

4. That they esteem the power possessed and exercised by the East India Company, to prohibit Christian Missionaries from residing within the vast dominions under their controul, as the greatest impediment which has recently existed, to the progress

progress of Christianity in India, and as inconsistent with the religious freedom which this Committee must invariably defend.

References in
Mr. Bebb's Letter.

5. That although this Committee would deprecate and abhor any intolerant interference, either with Mahomedans or Hindoos, and do not advocate any ecclesiastical establishment, they must continue strenuously to contend, that, on the renewal of the Charter to the East India Company, their former powers of exclusion should not be renewed; but that Christians of every sect should be permitted, unlicensed, to explain and peaceably to promulgate throughout India, the holy religion which they profess, and should enjoy the equal protection of the State.

6. That to effectuate a result which they deem interesting and most desirable, this Committee will renew their application to His Majesty's government, and intreat their interposition and assistance; will, if necessary, express their wishes by Petitions to both Houses of Parliament; and will, by the public avowal of their sentiments, endeavour to excite the attention of the benevolent and the pious, to an object deserving of their best consideration and ardent support.

7. That this Committee cannot but communicate the pleasure with which they perceived, that, stimulated by their former efforts, various other associations displayed, during the last Session of Parliament, considerable solicitude and zeal for the establishment of these invaluable rights, and cannot but invite their renovated exertions and continued aid.

8. That these Resolutions be transmitted to the President of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and to the Chairman of the East India Company, for the information of the Directors; and be advertised, signed by the Secretaries, in the public papers, and in those periodical publications, which most extensively circulate.

(Signed)

Tho. Pellatt,
John Wilks.

} Secretaries.

B.

AT a very numerous Meeting of Persons friendly to the Religious Instruction, Moral Improvement, and Civilization of the Inhabitants of our Indian Empire, held at the City of London Tavern, on Monday the 29th instant;

The Right Honourable Lord GAMBIER, in the Chair;

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That there are more than Fifty Millions of Inhabitants subject to the British Empire in India, under the influence of inhuman and degrading superstitions, which form an effectual bar to their progress in civilization.

2. That it appears to this Meeting, that the only remedy which can be successfully applied to this enormous evil, is to diffuse through this portion of our fellow subjects the blessings of Christian knowledge, and of moral, social and domestic improvement.

3. That this Meeting does therefore most cordially concur in the Resolutions expressed by the Honourable House of Commons in the year 1793:—

“That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature, to promote by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.”

4. That this Meeting coinciding as it does, in these just and humane sentiments, persuaded as well of the political wisdom, as of the religious duty of giving them effect, and lamenting, that so little should have hitherto been done to that end, feels it to be a sacred obligation to exert itself to the utmost of its power, in order to procure such provisions in the new Charter to be granted to the East India Company, as may afford an opening for the gradual communication, by safe and prudent means, of our superior religious light and social improvements, and more especially such as shall afford sufficient opportunities to those benevolent persons who shall be desirous of

References in
Mr. Bebb's Letter.

going to India for these purposes; and also such provisions as shall prevent the obstruction of their endeavours for promoting their object in that country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner.

5. That although this Meeting has reason to hope, that His Majesty's Government is favourably disposed to the principles asserted in the preceding Resolutions, yet as the terms of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, are now the subject of discussions in Parliament, and all the conflicting interests and opinions involved in those discussions, are supported by petitions from all parts of the kingdom, it is the sense of this Meeting, that Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, from persons anxious to obtain, and willing to promote, the religious, moral, and civil improvement of the inhabitants of India, will be seasonable and proper.

6. That a Petition to Parliament, founded on the Resolutions which have been passed, be adopted by this Meeting, and that it be left for signature at the bar of this House, and also at the bars of the Crown and Anchor, the Freemasons Tavern, and the St. Alban's Tavern.

7. That the following Gentlemen be a Committee, with power to add to their number, for carrying into execution the objects of this Meeting; and that the Committee be open to all Members of both Houses of Parliament, who are friendly to those objects, and to all Clergymen, and other Ministers.

(Signed)

W^m Alers, Esq.

Tho^s Allan, Esq.

William Allan, Esq.

Tho^s G. Babington, Esq.

Joseph Bunnell, Esq.

W^m Burls, Esq.

David Cook, Esq.

Tho^s F. Forster, Esq.

J. W. Freshfield, Esq.

Joseph Gutteridge, Esq.

L. Hoslope, Esq.

W. H. Hoare, Esq.

Z. Macaulay, Esq.

Robert Marsden, Esq.

Samuel Mills, Esq.

John Miller, Esq.

J. A. Oldham, Esq.

Tho^s Pellatt, Esq.

Joseph Reyner, Esq.

William Samler, Esq.

H. P. Sperling, Esq.

Richard Staintorth, Esq.

Robert Steven, Esq.

John Thornton, Esq.

E. N. Thornton, Esq.

W. B. Trevelyian, Esq.

John Weyland, jun. Esq.

Samuel Woods, Esq.

8. That the Right Honourable Lord Gambier be requested to present the said Petition to the House of Lords; and Sir Thomas Baring, Bart. M. P. that to the House of Commons.

9. That the Committee be authorized to advertise, at their discretion, the proceedings of this Meeting; and to adopt such other means of giving effect to its objects, as to them shall seem expedient.

10. That a subscription be now entered into, in order to defray the expense of carrying into effect the objects of this Meeting.

11. That the cordial Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Right Honourable Lord Gambier, for his able conduct in the chair.

The following is a copy of the Petition which the Meeting resolved to adopt:

That your Petitioners are deeply impressed with the moral degradation of the immense population of the British dominions in India, and lament that so little has hitherto been done to remove it, although the Honourable the House of Commons was pleased in 1793, to resolve;

"That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement."

That your Petitioners most cordially concur in the just and humane sentiments contained in the above Resolutions.

Your Petitioners, therefore, implore your Lordships, that such provisions may be inserted in the new Charter to be granted to the East India Company,

pany, as shall afford sufficient facilities to those benevolent persons, who shall be desirous of going to India for the purpose of communicating to its population the blessings of useful knowledge, and moral and religious improvement; and also such provisions as shall prevent the obstruction of their endeavours for promoting their object in that country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Subscriptions are received by the members of the Committee; by Messrs. Down and Co. Bartholomew-lane; Messrs. Hoare, Fleet-street; Messrs. Ransom and Co. Pall-Mall; Mr. Hatchard, 190, Piccadilly; and Messrs. Z. Macaulay and Babington, 26, Birchin-lane.

C.

AT a General Meeting of the Deputies appointed for supporting the Civil Rights of Protestant Dissenters, held at the King's Head Tavern, in the Poultry, on Friday, the 2d day of April, 1813;

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq. M. P. in the Chair;

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That this Deputation most cordially concurs in the Resolution expressed by the Honourable House of Commons, in the year 1793;

“That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.”

That this Deputation coinciding (as it does) in these just and humane sentiments, and persuaded as well of the political wisdom as of the religious duty, of giving them effect, is desirous of exerting itself to the utmost of its power, in order to procure such provisions in the new Charter to be granted to the East India Company, as may afford an opening for the gradual communication, by safe and prudent means, of our superior religious light and social improvements; and more especially such as shall afford sufficient opportunities to those benevolent persons who shall be desirous of going to India for these purposes; and also such provisions as shall prevent the obstruction of their endeavours for promoting their object in that country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner.

That Petitions, founded on these Resolutions, be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

That the Right Honourable Lord Holland be requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords; and William Smith, Esq. M. P., the Chairman of this Deputation, that to the House of Commons.

That the Thanks of this Deputation be given to the Committee, for their attention to the subject brought before this Meeting; and that they be requested to continue their exertions in the further prosecution of so important an object.

That the Thanks of this Deputation be given to the Chairman, for his uniform attention to the interests of religious liberty, and for his conduct in the Chair this day.

D.

AT a Meeting of the Supporters and Friends of the Baptist Mission in India, resident in and near the Metropolis, held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, on Tuesday the 6th April 1813;

JOSEPH GUTTERIDGE, Esq. in the Chair;

It was resolved, unanimously:

1. That there are more than Fifty Millions of the Inhabitants of India, subjects of the British Empire, under the influence of the most deplorable superstitions.

References in Mr.
Bebb's Letter.

2. That the Baptist Missionary Society, from a deep conviction of the invaluable blessing of Christian knowledge, has for a period of nearly twenty years been endeavouring to promote this desirable object among the inhabitants of India, and principally by the translation and circulation of the sacred Scriptures in the various languages of the East, and the formation of extensive schools for instruction in the Holy Scriptures, both in the English and native languages; in the prosecution of this work, they have, by a divine blessing, met with considerable success. And that this Meeting entertains an ardent wish, that the Legislature of their country may encourage their endeavours to pursue this important design, by which the happiness and eternal welfare of so large a number of their fellow subjects, sunk in heathenism and idolatry, may be effectually promoted.

3. That this Meeting most cordially concurs in the Resolution expressed by the Honourable House of Commons in the year 1793;

“ That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.”

4. That Petitions to Parliament, founded on the above Resolutions, be adopted by this Meeting, and that they be left for signature at the bar of this House, till Tuesday the 13th instant.

5. That the following Gentlemen be a Committee, with power to add to their number, for carrying into execution the objects of this Meeting; and that the Committee be open to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who are friendly to those objects, and to all Clergymen and other Ministers, viz.

(Signed)

B. Shaw, Esq. M. P.	W ^m B. Gurney, Esq.
Mr. Chapman Barber.	Mr. Sam ^l Jackson.
B. B. Beddome.	Mr. Peter Lindeman.
Joseph Benwell, Esq.	George Meyer, Esq.
Rob ^t Bowyer, Esq.	Mr. Sam ^l Medley.
Mr. W ^m Burls.	William Napier.
W ^m Cornwall.	James Norton.
Benjamin Chandler.	George Phillips.
John Dyer, Esq.	J. B. Pewtress.
W ^m Freme, Esq.	James Pritt.
Joseph Gutteridge, Esq.	Edw ^d Smith.
Dr. Olinthus Gregory.	Mr. Tho ^s Smith.
John Gurney, Esq.	Henry Weymouth, Esq.

6. That the most noble the Marquis Wellesley be requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords; and that William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. be requested to present the Petition to the House of Commons.

7. That the Committee be authorized to advertise, at their discretion, the proceedings of this Meeting, and to adopt such other means of giving effect to its objects as to them shall seem expedient.

8. That the cordial Thanks of this Meeting are due and are hereby presented to the Rev. Dr. Ryland, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Sutcliff, Mr. Hogg, and others, the original promoters and subsequent supporters in this country, of the Baptist Mission in India.

9. That a subscription be now entered into, in order to defray the expenses of carrying into effect the objects of this Meeting.

10. That the cordial Thanks of this Meeting be presented to Joseph Gutteridge, Esq. for his able conduct in the chair.

N. B. The Committee will meet to attend to the business of this Meeting, at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, every evening, at six o'clock precisely. Subscriptions will be received by the Members of the Committee, here and at the banking-house of Sir J. Perring, Bart., Shaw, Barber, & Co. Cornhill.

E.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

AT a Special General Meeting of this Society, held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, on Tuesday the 13th April, instant;

References in Mr.
Bebb's Letter.

Right Honourable Lord GAMBIER, President, in the Chair;

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That this Society, persuaded of the indispensable obligation which lies on its members as Christians, to extend the inestimable benefits of their religion among ignorant and heathen nations; and lamenting that greater efforts for the accomplishment of this object have not been made, in modern times, by members of the Established Church, has been formed about twelve years, for the purpose of introducing the Gospel into various countries in Africa and the East.

2. That it now employs on the western coast of Africa various Missionaries, who as the members trust and believe, are successfully labouring to dispel the ignorance and superstition prevailing in those parts, and to introduce the light of Christianity, by the preaching of the Gospel, and also by the institution of schools, and by the circulation of religious tracts; to which will soon be added, some parts of Scripture, which have been translated into the languages of that coast.

3. That this Society, believing the nations of India, both Mahomedan and Hindoo, to be in a state of mental and moral degradation, which may reasonably excite the warmest zeal for the introduction of the Gospel among them; and esteeming their condition as fellow subjects of the British Crown to be an additional motive to this important work, has considered it to be one great purpose of its institution, to provide Missionaries and other means of instruction for our Indian settlements and the adjacent countries; and that it has already, in some degree, directed its attention to this general object, by contributing to the translation of the Scriptures into some of the languages of India, by promoting their circulation in that country, and by giving education in England to persons likely to undertake the employment of Missionaries; but that it has been discouraged by an apprehension of difficulties arising on the part of the East India Company, by whom, as it conceives, the territories within the limits of their charter, have been rendered less accessible to Christian Missionaries than almost any other region of the earth.

4. That this Society is persuaded, that the apprehension of danger arising from every attempt to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel in India, is not founded in any facts which have occurred; and it is deeply convinced, that there is no true prudence or political expediency in any system which tends to perpetuate the idolatry and other corruptions of our Indian fellow subjects; and that to suppose their present prejudices in favour of these evils to be an insuperable obstacle to the introduction of the Gospel among them, is a sentiment inconsistent with the known experience of the world, and utterly unworthy of a generous and Christian nation; it being well known that in various instances, and at different times, vast numbers of Hindoos have renounced their native superstitions, and have adopted new modes of faith.

5. That large bodies of Syrian Christians have existed for many centuries on the coast of Malabar, a considerable portion of whom profess our own faith; and that the declension of Christian knowledge in those churches, as well as the state of numerous other native Christians, and also the circumstances of many of our own countrymen, and of their descendants by native women, together with the condition of at least fifty millions of British subjects in that quarter of the globe, involved in gross and inhuman superstitions, are subjects which have attracted the serious attention of this Society, and which it cannot contemplate without the most earnest desire, that no unavoidable impediments to the instruction of the inhabitants of India to Christian truth, may be suffered to remain.

6. That this Society is duly sensible of the great advantages which the natives of India have derived from their subjection to the East India Company, through the upright administration of law, the communication of important civil rights and privileges, and various new securities which have been given for the protection of their

References in Mr.
Bebb's Letter.

persons and property; and has also heard with satisfaction, of the suppression of a few of the inhuman parts of their superstition; but it laments that the moral and religious degradation of the inhabitants of India, has not excited the same degree of attention that has been employed in improving their civil and political state, and it observes with deep regret, that the number of clergymen sent to that country, appears wholly inadequate to the spiritual care of the European inhabitants; that very few churches or other decent places of worship have been provided; that by no means sufficient attention has been given to the establishment of schools for the children of the lower orders, and especially for the descendants of Europeans by native women; that the number of Missionaries allowed to instruct the natives has been extremely limited; and that even the murderous and most offensive enormities of the Hindoo idolatry, appear to have been too partially restrained.

7. That this Society has learnt with pain, that Christianity is liable to discouragement, in consequence of native converts thereto having been generally excluded from those official situations in India, which are freely bestowed on Hindoos and Mahomedans; although an opposite course of policy has been pursued by the King's government in Ceylon, without any interruption of the public tranquillity.

8. That this Society is far from wishing the authority of Government to be employed in imposing Christianity on the Mahomedans and Hindoos, and would deprecate any departure from the principles of toleration towards the professors of those religions, but earnestly desires to promote the peaceable diffusion of moral and religious light, by all prudent and quiet means; and is of opinion, that manifest and flagrant crimes, from whatever cause they may proceed, ought by all proper methods, to be suppressed in every state.

9. That this Society has observed with much concern, that in the propositions lately submitted to Parliament, by His Majesty's Ministers, no adequate provision is made for supporting true religion in the East Indies, and for facilitating its further diffusion in the vast and populous regions comprehended within the limits of the charter of the East India Company.

10. That this Society, on the several grounds which have been stated, earnestly hopes that at this important era, when a new charter is about to be granted to the East India Company, which may affect the highest religious interests of many thousands of their countrymen, and of many millions of their fellow subjects, care will be taken to prevent future obstructions to the introduction of Christian light into our Indian territories, and to afford facility to Christian Missionaries and schoolmasters, who may be disposed to go out to India with a view to that important object, as well as to assure to them protection during their residence in that country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner; and that such other steps may be taken, as may secure to our own countrymen in India, a larger portion than they have hitherto enjoyed, of those religious advantages which are possessed in the parent country.

11. That Petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, conformable to the principles of the foregoing Resolutions, be prepared forthwith, for the signatures of the Members of the Society.

12. That the said Petitions lie for the signatures of the members, at the house of the Secretary, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, 22, Doughty-street; at the Deputy Secretary's, Mr. Thomas Smith, 19, Little Moor Fields; and at Mr. L. B. Seeley's, 169, Fleet-street.

13. That the respectful Thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Right Honourable the President, for his great attention to the interests of the Society, and to the business of this day.

(Signed) *Josiah Pratt*, B. D. Secretary.

F.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

PETITIONS to both Houses of Parliament lie for signature at Mr. Hatchard's, 190, Piccadilly; Mr. Seeley's, 169, Fleet-street; at the Bars of the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, and Freemasons Tavern, in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and at the Committee Room, City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street.

G.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

PETITIONS to both Houses of Parliament, on the subject of introducing Christianity into India, agreed on at a Special General Meeting of this Society, held at the New London Tavern, on Tuesday the 13th instant, the Right Honourable Lord Gambier, President, in the Chair, lie for Signatures by Members of the Society, at the houses of the Secretary, the Reverend Josiah Pratt, 22, Doughty-street; at the Deputy Secretary's, Mr. Tho^s Smith, 19, Little Moorfields; and Mr. J. B. Seeley's, 169, Fleet-street; at one of which places the Members are requested, as soon as possible, to affix their Signatures.

(Signed) Josiah Pratt, B. D. Sec^y.

EXTRACT from the Resolutions, unanimously adopted by the

"CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, at a Special General Meeting of the Society, held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, on Tuesday the 13th of April instant."

7th Resolution. "That this Society has learnt, with pain, that Christianity is liable to discouragement, in consequence of native converts thereto having been generally excluded from those official situations in India, which are freely bestowed on Hindoos and Mahomedans; although an opposite course of policy has been pursued by the King's government in Ceylon, without any interruption of the public tranquillity."

REMARKS on the above RESOLUTION.

Here is a transition from spiritual to *temporal* objects.—The ignorance of the Church Missionary Society of India may furnish an apology for them in many respects; but it will not excuse the injustice of this proposition, to say nothing of the impolicy of it. It, however, does not originate with the Society, but in the publication of a divine, who was a chaplain at Fort William. Such preference and persecution are near kindred, and both are allies of the Reverend Doctor's recommendation, "that we should use every means of coercing this contemptuous spirit of our native (*i. e.* Indian) subjects." I pass over his lamentations of there being no tythes in India.

I bar the *Test Act* being quoted as a precedent; there is no analogy between the state of this country and that of the Company's territories in India. What was wise in our ancestors, would be madness in our Indian governments.

The state of the provinces of Ceylon, subject to the King's government, is widely different from that of the countries under the Company's governments on the continent of India; the population of the former is extremely thin in proportion to the extent of territory and fertility of the soil; they have not yet recovered the devastations of the Portuguese in converting the natives, though above 150 years have elapsed since the Portuguese were completely driven from Ceylon.

EXTRACT from the Evidence of Colonel Thomas Munro, delivered before a Committee of the whole House of Commons, on the 12th of April 1813.

See Minutes of Evidence, N^o 9, page 131.

"With regard to civilization, I do not understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindoos. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans; but if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the nations of Europe."

LETTER II.

To JAMES COBB, Esq. Deputy Secretary.

SIR,

1 marked H, advertising a Pamphlet.

1 marked I, advertising another Pamphlet.

1 marked K, from a Meeting at Warminster, dated the 15th Instant, with Petitions to Parliament.

1 marked L, from a Meeting of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, in Redcross Street, on 20th Instant.

I beg of you to submit to the Honourable Court the enclosed Advertisements from a public print of this morning, and to state my request that this letter may be considered as a supplement to my address of yesterday to the Court.

These advertisements, on reaching India, will tend to increase the alarm of the natives, as stated in my letter of yesterday. It is to be regretted, that men whose good meaning is not to be questioned, and that ministers, who it must be presumed are men of learning, and ought to be men of reflection and prudence, should thus furnish means to increase the irritation of the public mind in India, and supply our enemies with weapons to effect our overthrow.

It may be said the natives of India will not understand the publications and advertisements; but this is an unfounded notion, many of them read English, and fully comprehend what they read. Even some of our enthusiasts in India may in exultation communicate the publications and advertisements, to shew how their cause is supported in England, and our enemies freely supply translations to inflame discontent against us.

Administration have wisely resolved not to countenance some of the wild requests made by various persons; but this will not be obvious to the natives, while if the 11th Proposition become law, they will infer that the bulk of the people and high authorities in this country, and the governments abroad, have one common object respecting them—their conversion.

See Correspondence, 11 Aug. 1807.

Ramiseram is in N. Lat. about 9. 30. Benares in N. Lat. 25. 20.

I cannot forbear on this occasion referring to Dr. Kerr's letter to the Government of Fort St. George, written within thirteen months after the massacre at Vellore, and giving an extract of his suggestions. The native writers in the Public Offices at Madras would see this, and spread the knowledge of it to their countrymen. I have heard it alledged, that the natives of the Carnatic are ignorant of what passes in Hindostan, and vice versa; but it is well known that Hindoos travel from far to every place of reputed sanctity. In 1797, at the celebrated Pagoda of Ramiseram, I conversed with a pilgrim, who told me had come from Benares. Men of this description range from the Northern mountains to the extremity of the peninsula, from the Attoch to Arracan. Many affluent Mahomedans and their dependents, resort from various parts of India to the nearest sea ports, to embark on their pilgrimage to Mecca; they associate there, and on their return home impart the ideas and notions they have collected. These channels, independent of any other, afford ample means widely to spread alarms in matters so important both to Hindoos and Mussulmans.

As the junction of springs and brooks form large rivers, so may the circumstances I have noted, and others of which I am imperfectly informed or wholly ignorant, form an irresistible torrent, which may speedily overwhelm our power in India. May past experience, prudence and wisdom, guide our steps.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Gloucester Place, }
23d April 1813. }

(Signed)

John Bebb.

Enclosures.

No. 1.—Advertisements marked H, I, K, L.

2.—Extract from the Appendix to Dr. Kerr's Letter of 23d July 1807.

H.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.—Price 1s. 6d.

AN Address to the Public, on an important Subject connected with the Renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. By Rev. Robt. Hall, A. M.

Published by Josiah Conder, Bucklersbury.

Enclosure,
Appendix, No. 1.

I.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA,

In one Volume, 8vo. price 5s. 6d. sewed.

AN Essay on the Duty, Means and Consequences of introducing the Christian Religion among the native Inhabitants of the British Dominions in the East. By J. W. Cunningham, A. M. Vicar of Harrow on the Hill, &c.

Printed for J. Hatchard, 190, Piccadilly.

K.

AT a General Meeting of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, holden in the Library, in Redcross Street, on Tuesday, April 20th, 1813;

Resolved,

1. That any public measure connected with the rights of conscience, the unrestricted liberty of worship, and the extension of the Christian religion, is a proper object of attention to this body.

2. That the vast extent of territory and power which the British nation has acquired in the East Indies, bears an important relation to all those great principles.

3. That it appears by satisfactory evidence, that the natives of this country resident in India, are in many stations unprovided with the means of Christian worship and instruction; that in other situations where the defect is not total, the modes of worship which this body prefers, are exercised only by permission; and that such permission is granted as a matter of connivance, and is held on an arbitrary and precarious tenure.

4. That it is equally established by evidence, that the greater part of the native population of the territory now under His Majesty's dominion, consists of heathens enslaved by immoral and cruel superstitions, which are degrading to the individual and social character of man, and destructive of human happiness, to a degree scarcely paralleled in the history of mankind.

5. That in the conscientious persuasion of this body, the Christian religion in its pure profession and practice, would be an effectual remedy for those moral disorders.

6. That it is the duty of all Christians to employ all proper means of proposing the claims and evidences of Christianity to their fellow-men universally, disavowing the employment of coercion, artifice, or any other means of persuasion, except those of argument and blameless lives.

7. That the members of this body recognize as brethren, those laborious and learned ministers of different denominations, who have gone to India with the benevolent purpose of gratuitously instructing those who are willing to learn the principles of Christian knowledge.

8. That the members of this body do respectfully and firmly assert for themselves, for their brethren, and for their children who may enter the Christian ministry, a natural and unalienable right to preach, teach, and worship, in whatever place opportunity may be afforded, so long as they conduct themselves as upright and peaceable members of civil society.

9. That the power possessed by the Honourable East India Company, of prohibiting the residence of Christian teachers in the Indian territory, is unjust on the principles

Enclosure,
Appendix, No. 1.

principles of religious liberty, and that the exercise of such power must, in every case, be a violation deeply to be lamented, of the high command of Heaven.

10. That as measures for the future government of India are now under the consideration of the Legislature, Petitions be presented from this body to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the enactment of such laws as shall protect Christian Ministers and Missionaries of all denominations in the exercise of their functions, so long as they approve themselves to be loyal subjects of the British Crown.

L.

EAST INDIA CHARTER.

AT a respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Warminster and its Vicinity, convened by public Notice, on Thursday, the 15th April 1813;

W. M. EVERETT, Esq. in the Chair;

Resolved unanimously,

1. THAT the depraved state of the millions of our fellow-subjects in India is truly lamentable, and calls for the sympathetic aid of those who possess the blessings of Christianity.

2. That the removal of every obstruction to their mental and moral culture is urged, not only on the principle of religion, but also of sound policy.

3. That as the object of this Meeting is alike the cause of religion and patriotism, every constitutional means should be exerted for its accomplishment.

4. That at this particular season, (the Charter being about to be renewed,) it appears highly desirable that our steps should be prompt, prudent, and firm, lest future years should elapse, and the East India Company possess the same power of exclusion which they have had, and have exercised in years that are past.

5. That this Meeting cannot but express its gratitude to the Sitting Committee of Churchmen and others, at the City of London Tavern, "to the Committee of the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty," and to the Directors of "the Missionary Society," for the measures which they have adopted to disseminate information upon this important subject.

6. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the various Deputies who have waited upon his Majesty's Ministers, for the frank, yet firm and constitutional manner, in which they have advocated this momentous subject.

7. That the following Petition be sent to both Houses of Parliament.

To the _____ in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Warminster and its Vicinity; Sheweth;

That your Petitioners cannot but deplore the degraded state of the millions of British subjects in our Indian territory.

That while they admire the Resolution passed by the Honourable the House of Commons, in the year 1693, viz. "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement," they humbly and earnestly implore the insertion of some clause in the projected renewal of the East India Company's Charter, which may remove existing obstructions, and secure future protection to benevolent and pious persons of every denomination, who may wish to promulgate throughout India the holy religion they profess, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a loyal and peaceable manner.

That your Petitioners rely with confidence upon the justice, wisdom, and liberality of your _____ in regarding the prayer of this Petition.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c. &c.

8. That the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne be requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords, and honour it also with his vote and interest.

9. That

9. That a similar Petition be transmitted to Richard Long, and Paul Methuen, Esquires, our County Members, with a request, that they would present it to the Honourable the House of Commons, and honour it also with their votes and interest.

Enclosure,
Appendix, No. 1.

10. That the Petition and Resolutions be inserted in the Salisbury, Bath, and two of the London Papers.

11. That the Petition to each House be left for signatures at Mr. Brodribb's, until Tuesday next.

W. M. Everett, Chairman.

12. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman, for his able and liberal conduct.

EXTRACT from the Appendix to the Reverend Dr. Kerr's Letter of 23d July 1807, to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George.

Appendix, No. 2.

Note.

To give English morals to the natives in their purity, we must, I imagine, make them read English books. Translations have hitherto been very defective in the different Country languages; besides, they must be extremely circumscribed in number. I do not think the natives will come to us freely but to learn English. This they consider as the key to fortune; and on the Coast the most strict of the Bramins will have little hesitation, as far as I can learn, in permitting their children to attend a free school for the purpose of learning it; for they despise us too much to suppose, that there is any danger of overturning the principles of Braminism; but their ill-founded ridiculous principles must be shaken to the very foundation, by the communication of such liberal knowledge as a Christian can instil into the minds of youth, and fix there by means of English books; and all this without making any alarming attack directly on the religion of the Hindoos.

Enclosure,
Appendix, No. 2.

No. 4.

Copy of

Two LETTERS;—viz. one to the Hon. Court of Directors of The *East India Company*, dated 22 April 1813; and one to *James Cobb*, Esq. Assistant Secretary to the *East India Company*, dated 23 April 1813;—from JOHN BEBB, Esq.—respecting the *Eleventh* Proposition, submitted on the 22 March 1813, to Parliament.

Now the
12th
Proposition.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
17 June 1813.

3

(East India Affairs.)

Copy of a LETTER from JOHN BEBB, Esq. (a Director of the East India Company) to the Court of Directors, dated the 31st May 1813;—respecting the *Thirteenth* Proposition, submitted to the House of Commons, on the renewal of the Company's Charter.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF
THE UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING, in consequence of my unavoidable absence from the Court Room, deemed it a duty to address you on the 22d and 23d ultimo, on the subject of the 11th Proposition, (now the 12th) as submitted by His Majesty's Ministers to Parliament on the 22d March last, I crave leave, in consequence of one important addition being made by Administration to the above Proposition, and, as I understand, intended to be laid before Parliament to-day, to record my sentiments on the occasion, lest my silence should be construed into a change of opinion, or acquiescence in the wisdom of the new intended measures.

The addition I mean is as follows:

“ XIII. That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native Inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

“ Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.”

Within these last five weeks hundreds of Petitions have been presented to both Houses of Parliament, from various meetings and religious associations in town and country, and from numerous places throughout the kingdom, all having one common object, viz. the *Conversion of the Natives of India to Christianity*.

The dangers I pointed out in my former letter will, if the Propositions, as they now stand, pass into a law, be greatly increased. The people of India will conceive that the whole British nation, that the Parliament, the India Company, and the governments of India, mean the same object as the Petitions above stated; they will see, on the arrival of dignified Divines and of licensed Missionaries, added to the many regular chaplains and irregular Missionaries already in India, that active measures are pursued to give effect to the desired purpose; and when the mass of the people and the native soldiery are alarmed respecting their religion, it is not to be conceived how slight an incident may, as I, in my former letter, stated, occasion an explosion similar to, but more extensive and fatal than, the massacre at Vellore. Mahometan fanatics or Hindoo zealots, possessed of ardour in defence of their respective faiths, corresponding to the enthusiasm now running through this land to destroy them, may speedily light a flame which will consume the British power in India, and with it terminate, in that populous civilized region, even the well-intended

efforts of the overweening zeal of this country. It is dreadful to reflect on the numbers of British-born subjects (and possibly also of the natives of India, who may fall in the conflict) that may become sacrificed in consequence of the measures proposed.

The caution in the latter part of the Proposition, will have little comparative influence. Positive actions will be evident, and carry greater weight than the professions meant to soothe, or, as the people of India may conceive, to cajole their minds. Accustomed to despotism, the *earnest desire* of the ruling powers, and the *order* of those powers, will, in their apprehension, be nearly the same thing.

After the opinions which have already been delivered in evidence before Parliament, by men of such knowledge of India, and who have filled such important stations, as Mr. Hastings, Mr. Cowper, and Mr. Graham, upon the original 11th Proposition of the 22d March last, as well as the allusions which have been made to the subject by other most respectable men, it seems an infatuation that any statesman should thus propose to risk the dangers so forcibly forewarned. Though my suggestions of the 22d April do not appear to have produced any measures, I again respectfully submit that the Court offer to Parliament to produce evidence, showing the danger of adopting the Propositions in question, as they now stand. Whether the application be refused or acceded to, it will convince our constituents and the sober-minded part of the community of Great Britain, that it is not for want of the means of obtaining good information, that imminent hazards are about to be incurred.

I beg leave to repeat what I have before said in my letter of the 22d, that it is from a conscientious discharge of my oath as a Director, that "to the best of my skill and understanding, I give my best advice, counsel, and assistance, on the occasion," and that holding the opinions I do, I should, in my own mind, deem it a dereliction of duty to act otherwise than I have done. Whatever evils may arise, it will be consolatory to me to reflect, that I have earnestly raised my voice in endeavours to prevent them.

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

JOHN BEBB.

Gloucester House,

31st May 1813.

(East India Affairs.)

Copy of

A LETTER from JOHN BEBB, Esq. (a Director of the *East India* Company) to the Court of Directors, dated the 31 May 1813;—respecting the *Thirteenth* Proposition, submitted to the House of Commons, on the renewal of the Company's Charter.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
22 June 1813.

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

Growth of Hemp, and Cotton.—General Revenues of India; and Mr. *Richards's* Finance System in part of Salsette.—Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.—Mr. *Richards's* proposition for establishing a General Bank.—Revenue of Broach and Surat.—Jumma or Rental in Guzerat.—Political State of the Travancore Territory; and Treaty with the Rajah of Travancore.—Revenue of Malabar.—Occurrences at Quilon in Travancore.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,

22 June 1813.

LIST OF PAPERS

Presented to The Honourable House of Commons, pursuant to Orders,
dated 1st—3rd—16th—18th—and 21st June—1813.

— No. 1. —

Copy of a MEMORIAL presented to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by *Robert Rickards*, Esq. dated September 9th 1812, together with Copy of the Answer thereto, from the said Directors, signed by, Mr. Assistant Secretary *Cobb*, dated February 26th 1813.

— No. 2. —

Copy of PARAGRAPHS N^o 2. to N^o 27, both inclusive, of a Letter from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the Government of *Bombay*, dated February 22^d 1811, relative to the Cotton Trade.

— No. 3. —

Copy of PARAGRAPHS 2 to 8 of a Letter in the Revenue Department, from the Governor in Council of *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors, dated the 14th October 1808, with Copies of the Papers referred to therein; and Copy of the Reply of the Court of Directors, under date the 10th of January 1810, to the said Communication.

— No. 4. —

Copy of a MINUTE recorded by Mr. *Colebrooke*, on the Revenue Consultations of *Bengal* the 20th June 1808, respecting the extension of the Permanent Settlement, to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

— No. 5. —

Extract of a LETTER from the Governor General in Council of *Bengal* in the Public Department, dated the 30th June 1809, Paragraphs 109 to 117, both inclusive, together with the Papers referred to therein.

— No. 6. —

Copy of PARAGRAPHS 31 to 38 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Governor in Council at *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated 20th February 1808.

— No. 7. —

Copy of PARAGRAPHS 49 to 54 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Governor in Council at *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors; dated 14th April 1810.

— No. 8. —

Copy of PARAGRAPHS 113 to 142 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors, to the Governor in Council at *Bombay*; dated 10th January 1810.

— No. 9. —

Copy of a LETTER from the Court of Directors in the Political Department, to the Governor in Council at *Fort St. George*; dated the 29th September 1809.

— No. 10. —

Copy of the TREATY with the Rajah of *Travancore*; dated the 28th January 1793.

— No. 11. —

Copy of a PARAGRAPH 226, of a Revenue Letter from the Governor in Council at *Fort St. George*, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated the 21st October 1807.

(No. 12.)—Copy of a LETTER from *John Bebb*, Esq. (a Director of the East India Company) to the Court of Directors, dated the 31st May 1813; respecting the 13th Proposition, submitted to the House of Commons on the renewal of the Company's Charter.—[*This Paper being on a subject different from the matters in this Collection, has been printed, and delivered separate; and is not therefore here inserted.*]

— No. 13. —

Copy of the 2^d and 3^d Paragraphs of the MILITARY LETTER from the Governor in Council at *Fort St. George*, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated the 1st July 1812, relative to the late occurrences at *Quilon* in *Travancore*.

East India House,
22^d June 1813.

No. 1.

Copy of a MEMORIAL presented to the Court of Directors of The East India Company, by ROBERT RICKARDS, Esq. dated September 9th, 1812;—together with Copy of the Answer thereto, from the said Directors, signed by Mr. Assistant Secretary Cobb, dated February 26th, 1813.

To the Honourable The COURT of DIRECTORS for the Affairs of The Honourable East India Company, &c. &c. &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. I TAKE the earliest opportunity, after my return to this country, to solicit your consideration of a few facts connected with the subject of your orders of the 22d February 1811, which removed me from your Council at Bombay, and declared me unworthy of your future confidence.

2. After a residence and service of twenty-six years in India, and with a conscious sense of zealous and uninterrupted efforts to promote your real interests in that quarter, it is no small pain to a feeling mind, to one that disclaims every other motive than honesty of intention, to be thus accused and condemned. Could I plead guilty to the charge, I should not presume to intrude on your further notice: but I address myself to your honourable Court, in the confidence of conscious innocence, and respectfully appeal to that justice and liberality which have so frequently distinguished your public acts, where there was injury to be repaired, or merit, however humble, to be compensated.

3. The orders of the 22d February 1811, being of course well known to your honourable Court, I shall only refer to them generally here, begging to offer such explanations as may probably not have been before your honourable Court at the time these orders passed, and which may be yet necessary to a full understanding of the two questions therein discussed.

4. The first object of censure in the orders above mentioned, was a cargo of hemp consigned to England on the country ship Cambrian.

5. In April 1807, the Bombay Government were instructed that the honourable Court considered it an object of national importance to be able to supply India hemp for the use of the royal navy, and general consumption in England. Our particular attention to this object was enjoined at this time; immediate importations were not wanted; improvement of quality, more than quantity, was to be considered; and extension of culture, with improved methods of cleaning and dressing it, seemed to be the chief objects the honourable Court had then in view.

6. In December 1807, circumstances are represented to have materially changed; and that in consequence of a pressing demand for hemp, the honourable Court had agreed to supply his Majesty's Government for three successive years, viz. 1809—10—11, with the produce of India, at the rates at which this supply should bona fide cost the Company in its provision; purchases were now enjoined, with advances to cultivators in the Company's districts; immediate supplies were required; and we were directed to extend the quantity of Salsette, or Rajepore hemp, in particular, which we might be enabled to procure "to its utmost practicable limits," consistently with due attention to the quality, and to the price not being materially enhanced.

7. These anxious orders were repeated to Bengal in 1808, with intimations that not only the produce of the Company's commercial factories, but whatever could be purchased in the Bazzars, of proper quality, was to be sent without any unnecessary delay. The engagement with his Majesty's Government was stated to extend to a supply of 20,000 tons in three years. The Bengal Government sent a copy of these orders to Bombay, expressing their inability to furnish any thing near the quantity required from that side of India; adding, that they "considered the spirit of these orders equally applicable to the other presidencies," and directed us immediately to adopt such measures as should appear to us best calculated "to promote the wishes of the honourable Court, and of his Majesty's ministers."

No. 1.

Mr. Rickard's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

No. 1.

Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
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8. These orders were expressly stated to have been founded on the then existing circumstances of the political state of Europe, which from every account, public and private, was that of a decidedly hostile disposition on the part of Russia, an entire stop to all commercial intercourse between that Power and England, and distress to the navy from want of the usual supplies of hemp, which if continued (and it then seemed probable) was expected to be attended with serious national inconvenience. Private letters in 1808 and 1809, received in India, stated the price of Russia hemp at from £.80. to £.110. £.115. and £.120. per ton, in the London market. A clear and able pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on the Sunn Hemp of Bengal," written under the sanction of the honourable Court, and found by me in the records of the Secretary's Office at Bombay, stated the price of Bengal Sunn at £.66. in 1808.

9. This pamphlet urges with great force of argument the policy of relieving ourselves by every possible resource from a dependance on Russia for hemp, "upon a due supply of which depends the equipment of the British navy in as eminent a degree as on a due supply of timber for the construction of the ships. Bengal, Bombay, and its dependencies, are looked to for the means of enabling us to defy the enmity of Russia with that of her confederates during war, and to make her on the return of peace sensible of her mistaken policy, by inducing us to open other channels for those articles of commerce she has hitherto furnished."

10. The same pamphlet, stating that the Company in their public spirited efforts to supply the country with Sunn hemp in 1796-7-8 had sacrificed upwards of £.45,000, it seemed highly desirable they should know, by experience of facts, whether the object they contemplated could possibly be accomplished without subjecting them to a repetition of such enormous loss.

11. Under these circumstances, every effort was made by the Bombay Government, and chiefly by the Governor himself, the proper organ of Government, to meet the expressed wishes and orders of the Court of Directors in respect to supplies of hemp. Guzerat was ascertained to afford but little of any kind, and none of a quality fit for consignment to Europe. In Malabar the cultivation of hemp afforded for a moment a hope of supply, but disappointed at length our expectations. Orders were transmitted to every known quarter for hemp; an attempt to grow it on the Company's account on Salsette was made, and wholly failed; advances were made to cultivators on Salsette, who only returned *one-third of a ton*, and that at the average prime cost of £.51. 15s. to £.57. 10s. per ton. In short, every exertion that the most anxious, yet often misguided zeal, could suggest to supply the honourable Court's indent proved abortive.

12. It will be seen in the accompaniment, No. 1, that all that the authority, influence and zeal of the Bombay Government could collect together in three years, did not amount to 200 tons, to meet a demand for 20,000; and this costing the honourable Court in England not less on a moderate computation than £.86. to £.88. per ton.

13. When the tender therefore of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. to send home 700 tons of Rajepore hemp came before the Board in July 1809, the impression, I believe, of every one of us was, that our past efforts had been little better than complete failure, and that our future ones were likely to be attended with as little success. The tender was accordingly hailed as opportune, and cordially acceded to by all, under the belief that it would prove what our orders prescribed, equally calculated to promote the wishes of the honourable Court, and of his Majesty's ministers.

14. The Court's orders, however, express a great degree of irritation at the whole transaction, and are principally levelled at me, exculpating the Governor, who was its prime supporter altogether. The accompanying letter, No. 2, sufficiently testifies this fact. In the public proceedings on this subject, the Governor, it will be observed, dissents to no part, except a slight intimation after the majority had given their votes, that "he apprehended Government is not authorized to guarantee any price to Bruce, Fawcett and Co." This is to be explained by a practice, common to the Governor in matters involving any responsibility. As President of the Council he gave his vote last; and wherever he had secret, yet partial scruples, after the majority had decided a measure generally according to his wishes, he would endeavour to shelter himself against possible censure, in respect to particular parts, by a half record of his doubts, without openly expressing them in the first instance, for the equal and candid consideration of the other members. The late Commander in Chief of Bombay can give a few notable instances of this practice by our late Governor. Were I to detail them, it might be ascribed to motives which I certainly feel not towards the deceased. The honourable Court, however, having I apprehend, never fully understood the real terms of this agreement, their anger towards me alone continued. They re-appointed Mr. Duncan Governor of Bombay, and dismissed me from their Council.

15. The honourable Court are pleased, in the first place, to accuse me of a positive breach of both the letter and spirit of their former orders; which were, they say, to provide hemp from their own territories, by advances for the cultivation of it, through the agency of their own servants; looking less to immediate than to gradual and progressive supplies of hemp; an extensive scheme, it is observed, requiring time and gradual meliorations of culture. In one of the same paragraphs (the 5th,) it is notwithstanding distinctly admitted, that purchases

chases of hemp were also ordered to be made, and that they did not mean to exclude the produce of Concan, which is not their own territory.

No. 1.

Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

16. I have already stated, and the papers or record prove, that every effort which the zeal and influence of the Bombay Government could suggest to supply the hemp required, both from the Company's territory, and the Concan, had failed. The Bengal Government had informed us that the provinces in that quarter could not furnish any thing near the quantity required, and directed us to adopt such measures as should appear to us best calculated to promote the wishes of the honourable Court, and His Majesty's ministers. It was not therefore till after the Company's districts were exhausted, till after every hope of adequate supply from them, or through the agency of the Company's subordinate servants, had vanished, that we acceded to the tender of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. for a cargo of Concan hemp; and, as this hemp was known to be of the best quality in all India, far superior to the Bengal Sunn, equal in some specimens of it at least to the produce of Russia, tendered at a rate cheaper than it was possible for us to make the supply through the medium of the Company's shipping; and the produce of the Concan, which the honourable Court admit, was not meant to be excluded; nay, precisely that description of hemp, which the Court's order to us of December 1807, desire may be sent in any procurable quantity, provided the price be not much enhanced. I can confidently add, that so far from any intention to violate either the letter or spirit of their orders, the Bombay Government conceived they were actually fulfilling both.

17. As to the scheme requiring time and gradual meliorations of culture, it is only necessary to repeat, that all the experiments of this kind in Salsette had decidedly failed; whilst, as if anticipating disappointment from this source, our orders still required a supply of Salsette or Concan hemp "to its utmost practicable limits," and peremptorily restricted us to a period of three years to make it, with a fourth year to clear off the remains on hand.

18. It should also be remembered, that the orders of April 1807, relating to gradual supplies, and improved cultivation, expressly refer to "a state of amity between His Majesty and the Powers of the North," whereas in December 1807, when circumstances had changed, and the demand was more urgent, we are as expressly instructed, that "if whilst this business (cultivation, &c.) shall be in progress, you can, from the usual produce of the country, purchase any quantity of Salsette hemp (the same as Concan or Rajepore) on account of Government, we direct you to do so, taking care that the cost be not materially enhanced above the usual rate."—It is also added, "we expect with confidence that nothing will be wanting to ensure the supply of some considerable quantity of Salsette hemp being received by us in the course of the year 1809." The tender of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. was made early in 1809; by accepting it we were enabled to fulfil; by rejecting we should most certainly have disappointed, this confident expectation of the honourable Court.

19. The honourable Court say, they "do not perceive any suggestion to enter on a provision of hemp on account of the Company;" yet in my explanatory minute, 14th May 1810, to which I respectfully beg leave again to refer, the attempts made in this view, and their failure, are distinctly noticed; together with our report thereof to the Bengal Government. These explanations, it would seem, were not then satisfactory to the honourable Court. The failures, however, they refer to, impressed persons on the spot differently; and were deemed indeed so decided and complete, as only to leave the Bombay Government in despair of being able to comply, in any material degree with the honourable Court's indent.

20. The honourable Court next allege the Company's agents could have procured this Rajepore hemp as cheap, and in as large quantities at least, as any private merchant; that all the allegations to the contrary seem to them entirely groundless; and that our adoption of Bruce, Fawcett and Co's. offer went, on the contrary, decidedly to prevent the designs of His Majesty's ministers and the Company.

21. The recital already given, together with the inclosed paper, No. 1, prove in the fullest manner, how little our direct efforts had been able to effect. It may be further added, that previous to the tender of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. the Governor, as before observed, had despaired, in common with his colleagues, of procuring any but petty supplies of hemp, and we reported accordingly to Bengal. The fear, however, of a private effort succeeding, when all his own exertions, backed by the strong hand of power, had so decidedly failed, would seem to have animated him to fresh exertion. The result of this further effort is given in the enclosure, No. 2, on which it is not for me to comment, further than to submit to your honourable Court on which side obstructions to the supply of hemp really lay.

22. The honourable Court seem much displeased that the house of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. should be secured, as they understand, in a profit on this transaction, animadvert on a fixed price being guaranteed to them; and continue to believe, that an unqualified option was left with the owners of the Cambrian to sell this hemp in the market on their own account, so as thereby to disappoint His Majesty's Government altogether, and to disappoint the Company from being the agent and medium of supply.

23. It is not usual, I believe, for private merchants to engage in very distant speculations, without a certainty, or probability nearly tantamount to it, of profit. Even if willing to incur a certain loss, it would be unjust, as well as unwise, in Government to encourage projects

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

jects so incompatible with the best principles of mercantile enterprize. Nothing too is more common than, sometimes from policy, and sometimes from necessity, to guarantee reasonable expectations of profit in infant undertakings.

24. In the present case, however, the guarantee price had no reference to profit. £.65. per ton was estimated as barely sufficient to secure the speculators against positive loss, whilst a chief object with them in this undertaking, as avowed in their own letter, was to find employment for their shipping, during a general and very distressing stagnation of the trade in India. I can add now, from knowledge of the facts, that, in consequence of the interference above explained, of the Governor of Bombay, in the purchases of Bruce, Fawcett & Co. in the Concan, the guarantee above mentioned has not, after all, nearly reimbursed the costs and charges of the Cambrian's cargo.

25. Of the act of guaranteeing this price, and of the alledged unqualified option above referred to, I shall briefly state what I conceived the papers and explanations sent home would have been long ago sufficient to illustrate. If they have not done so, the fault is not with me, but with those entrusted with the preparation of the official dispatches, which are always superintended by the Governor himself, but which the Members of Council do not sometimes even see, except to annex their signatures. The tender then of Bruce, Fawcett & Co. was a supply of 700 or 800 tons of hemp, to be sent home on a teak-built ship, in the same way as hemp on the same account had been sent home from Bengal, viz. through the medium and agency of the East India Company, for the use of his Majesty's Government; but with this material difference and advantage, that in respect to this particular cargo, neither the King nor Company had to incur the smallest degree of risk. For this the merchants aforesaid were to receive the market price of the day on its arrival in England; provided nevertheless they were insured £.65. per ton, as otherwise they repeatedly and unequivocally declared they could not even commence the undertaking. There was thus an option reserved to the East India Company, in the first instance, either to retain and deliver to Government, or to reject this hemp at any higher market price than £.65. per ton, and a further option to reject, under any circumstances, every parcel thereof, which should not turn out, on examination in England, to be of the very first quality of Concan, Rajepore, or Salsette hemp, of which the honourable Court were to be the sole judges. The merchant owners had clearly no option in respect to this hemp, until the whole or any part of it, according as the terms of the agreement sanctioned, should be thrown on their hands by the honourable Court. They certainly, therefore, had no power to disappoint his Majesty's Government and the honourable Court altogether.

26. This contract, it is true, was not drawn out in due form of law; but these are the plain terms of it; which the house of Bruce, Fawcett & Co. have always avowed, and to the last of my stay in India, invariably confirmed; and these, and these only, are the terms which I acceded to.

27. In judging of the expediency of the guarantee price, I respectfully request it may be considered, that it was granted to encourage an infant undertaking, of vital importance to the interests of Great Britain, when every other means had failed of procuring, in adequate quantities, this so highly desired and particular species of hemp; that without this guarantee, the undertaking would positively not have been commenced, and that 700 tons of excellent hemp would have been lost to our native country, at a time when the demand for it was considered in India to be most urgent; that Bengal Sunn (an inferior species) was selling at the time at £.66. per ton; that it was probable His Majesty's Government would not have scrupled giving a higher market price, if necessary, to encourage an infant undertaking of so much national importance, or if they did, that they had still, through the medium of the Company, the power of rejecting it; that if the price fell, His Majesty's Government would still be furnished with the best material, (for to none other did the guarantee extend, every thing short of it might be thrown back on the owners,) at a rate far cheaper than it was possible for the Company to furnish it to them in any other way; that in making sure of this inferiority of cost, reference was had to the honourable Court's orders, which so confidently anticipated a supply of Concan hemp to its utmost practicable limits, without any material enhancement of price; whilst the rate of the guarantee had so far further reference to the same orders, being only the *estimated prime cost and charges that were thus secured to the owners*; and finally, that the whole of this transaction in England was, by positive stipulation, to be carried on through the medium and agency of the honourable Court alone.

28. In respect to the market price being left open to the owners of the Cambrian, it should be remembered, we had only the option of acceding to the offer as made, or to lose so much good hemp at a period of the greatest distress, altogether; £.65. per ton was estimated as the lowest price at which hemp could at that time be sent home by the private merchant. Had we bargained for a fixed price, Bruce, Fawcett & Co. would have expected a higher one; but as they were willing in this respect to take the chance of the market, it seemed better for the Company to do so too, for whilst on the one hand the market price was not likely to reach that of the hemp freighted on the Company's ships (£.86. to 88.) they had on the other hand the chance of getting it at or near the price of the guarantee. If, again, the market price fell below the guarantee, as the latter was the lowest rate at which Salsette hemp could at that time be conveyed to England, it was still an advantage, unless it can be proved to be better for the King or Company to pay for it at £.86. than at £.65. at which it was at length procured.

29. The honourable Court are pleased to say, that His Majesty's Government had rejected this hemp, thereby throwing it, with all consequent loss, on the Company's hands. I have since learnt, that the Navy Board afterwards took the whole cargo, with the exception of a small quantity damaged on the voyage, and which of course, by the agreement, reverted to the owners. It is also worthy of remark, that by the arrangement adopted the King got this excellent material at £.65. per ton, when a few months afterwards the price of the same commodity rose to £. per ton in the London market.

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

30. In respect to the honourable Court's alledged apprehensions of loss, it is quite obvious, I respectfully submit, that the Company could incur none. By agreement with the Navy Board, the Company were to be reimbursed in the full cost and charges of their importations of Indian hemp. The guarantee had reference to this part of the agreement, as I have already shewn that it was only the estimated cost and charges that were so guaranteed, whilst that cost was considerably lower than if the supply had been made through the medium of the Company's shipping. It was not to be supposed however, private merchants would engage in an expensive speculation, without a prospect of advantage; and when they stipulated for the chance of a higher market price in London, we readily acquiesced, deeming it no unfair compensation for all the risks of loss and damage which they incurred, as well in the provision of the cargo as in its conveyance to England. This, too, was evidently better for the King; for here he incurred no risk; whereas on the hemp conveyed in the Company's shipping, the risk was apparently all his own, the honourable Court's orders of December 1807, requiring all losses incurred in India on parcels of hemp, to be added, as a general average, to the consignments of the season. The agreement for the Cambrian's cargo also stipulated, that neither the King nor Company should be burthened with hemp of inferior quality. I do not observe any such provision in respect to the consignments in the Company's ships from Bengal; a consideration which must be admitted to give the consignment of hemp per Cambrian, a further decided advantage over the Bengal supplies.

31. These, at all events, are the considerations which influenced the bargain made by the Government of Bombay for the Cambrian's cargo of hemp. Of the motives which actuated the measure, I can further solemnly declare, that I ever conceived it, not simply, but eminently calculated to meet the wishes of His Majesty's ministers, and of the honourable Court.

32. The next occasion of the honourable Court's displeasure, was a representation by the house of Forbes and Co. and Bruce, Fawcett and Co. in January 1810, of the ruinous price which cotton had attained in 1809, begging Government to withdraw its competition for a season from the market, and offering to supply, at its actual cost, the quantity of cotton they might require to purchase for the Company's China trade in the current year, a proposal in which Government then thought it expedient to acquiesce.

33. On this head it will only be necessary to premise, that the Company take the cotton of their own districts in Guzerat in kind, partly as revenue, and partly otherwise, at a reduced price; and that for any additional quantity wanted, they enter the general market as purchasers; in which view the merchants thought that the Company's competition was at least one cause of the high prices of which they complained, and solicited that the effects of its removal might at all events be tried.

34. In the honourable Court's animadversions on this transaction, they are pleased to assume the following, as facts, viz.—That the Company exercise no monopoly in their own cotton districts, or throw the least obstruction in the way of private buyers; that their servants only take from these districts the amount of the established revenue in cotton; that this is accounted for to the ryots, at a price equivalent to the general market rate of the season; and that they do not exercise power or influence to get the commodity at a less price, “than the said market rate, or than the owners are content to sell it at.” Admitting at the same time, that if this were really the case, “there would then be at least a consistency between the alledged cause and the alledged effect.” Their competition in the general market is also supposed to be attended with no injury whatever in its effects.

35. From some of the more partial statements entered on the public records, it is possible these inferences may have been deduced; and I have no doubt that these are both the conviction and intention of the honourable Court, as well in reference to their own ryots, as to the merchants residing under their authority in India. But the real state of the case is widely different; their records contain unequivocal proofs of the following facts, as I pledge myself if necessary, to exhibit in the official reports of their servants, and an uninterrupted series of orders by the local government.

First; That the Company monopolize the cotton in their own districts, or at least of the tulput or government lands, taking not only the whole revenue of these districts in cotton, but the “surplus” produce at the reduced price fixed by their servants. Thus, let us suppose the whole produce of a tulput district to be as 10, of which the grain produce is 2, and the cotton - - - - - 8
The Company's share of revenue will be in all 5, but of cotton only - - - - - 4
The remainder of the revenue is grain convertible, according to established usage, into a money payment; but for this, cotton in kind is also substituted, and therefore takes another share or - - - - - 1

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

There then remains a "surplus," the unquestionable, exclusive and allowed right of the cultivators of - - - - - 3
Over which the Company can have no possible claim but that of absolute force; yet this is also taken from the ryots at the reduced price fixed by their servants, making - - - - - 8

Or the whole cotton produce of the district, without leaving any portion of the avowed share of the ryots at their own free disposal.

The produce of the tulput lands of the Broach collectorship in cotton is estimated on record at 12,000 or 14,000 bales; that of the free lands at 3,000; so that the Company monopolized in this collectorship, in the first instance, 4-5ths of the whole produce; the remaining 5th belongs to the actual proprietors of estates called grassias and wuzeefadars; and whose rights, as such, are undisputed. Of these it is recorded in 1808, that the commercial resident attempted to take their produce on the same terms as that of the tulput lands. The wuzeefadars strenuously resisted; the commercial resident loudly complained. A reference was made by orders of Government to the judge of the district, and through his interference the wuzeefadars conformed to what was called the common practice of the pergunnah. It would seem from the record, that the wuzeefadars only submitted to the system in 1808, though the orders of Government, as seen in their proceedings, uniformly required the *whole produce* to be appropriated to the use of the Company.

Secondly; That this monopoly is a continuation of that established in 1791, under Scindia's government; and retaining some of its features, is thereby calculated to keep up the original sense of its injustice, and to level our Government in the estimation of the natives, with the despotism which preceded it. The plea of perpetuating the practice of the old government, is only good in relation to usages whose proved utility may have rooted them in the attachment of the people, but no justification of the rapacious exactions of a Mahratta fonzdar; and the more especially, where even the pretence of antiquity cannot be advanced to lay claim to our respect.

Thirdly; That this monopoly has been uniformly authorized, and even required, by the orders of Government, from the first of our footing in Guzerat, to the positive exclusion of all private buyers from the Company's districts, though such a measure is now declared to be contrary to the intention and understanding of the honourable Court.

Fourthly; That this monopoly has had the effect of nearly doubling the price of cotton in Guzerat.

Fifthly; That if the Company were now to relinquish this monopoly, and the trade were thrown open, the price would materially fall, whence it follows, that the Company's interference not only rises the market price of the article to buyers, generally, but that the Company's agents still withhold from the ryots that market price which their own competition has materially contributed to enhance.

Sixthly; That this cotton is taken from the cultivators, in the first instance, without any price being either fixed or intimated; the reduced price is only pronounced at the close of the season, after all the cotton has been disposed of, and sent off to Bombay; it not being right, as the report observes, "to fix it at the commencement of the season, when the price is high, and expectation great, lest it might perhaps create some degree of discontent among the ryots."

It follows from this rule, and the orders of Government on which it is founded, and the price of cotton is fixed by the agents of the buyers alone, i. e. by the judge, the collector, and the commercial resident, who exercise the whole civil authority of the district over, generally speaking, a slavish, patient, and forbearing people; and that the sellers are in reality allowed no voice in the value of their own commodity, or even suffered to know what they shall get for it, till after it has been far removed from their reach, and the country, by previous exportations to Bombay.

Seventhly; That orders were issued for a further reduction of price, if practicable; and that the servants to the northward, thought it their duty, in pursuance of these orders, to offer it as their opinion, that a further reduction of 10 or 12 per cent. might be unobjectionably effected.

Eighthly; That the further reduction of price was not meant to be attended with a corresponding diminution of revenue, although the payers of this revenue are avowed to be the only sufferers by the reduced price of their cotton.

Ninthly; That Government in this very report, and in reference also to the honourable Court's orders of the 30th April 1806, expressed in December following their expectation, always tantamount in its effect to an order, to the northern servants, that the price of the Company's cotton to the ryots should be fixed at 10 or 12 per cent. lower than the same class of people get for it in the neighbouring Mahratta pergunnah. The Company's price to the ryots has consequently been always under, and in 1809 was 30 rupees per candy or 25 per cent. under the general market rate. Whatever may be said of the Company's right to the revenue cotton at this reduced price, it is for the honourable Court to judge how far it should also be applied to the "surplus cotton," which the ryots have certainly an avowed and exclusive right to dispose of, if they please, in the general market; but which, contrary to the

the declared intention of the honourable Court, it is thus seen they are positively restrained from selling.—And,

Finally, That though the honourable Court's orders of the 30th April 1806, evidently refer to a general reduction of the price of cotton, to save a branch of trade to the western side of India, which it was otherwise expected to lose, yet the views of their servants in India never extended beyond reducing the cost of that portion, which was intended to constitute the Company's annual investments to China. It is remarkable, that the object of the honourable Court's orders was thus wholly defeated. They intended good, but produced in their operation a material aggravation of the very evil which the Court proposed to remedy. By their servants withdrawing a large portion of cotton from the ryots, or sellers, at a reduced price, and the other means resorted to give effect to these orders, the residue of the commodity became materially raised in price in the general market.

36. I have thought it best to state these heads generally; were I to detail all the proofs by which they may be supported on record, it would extend this address to an irksome length, and would, I fear, wear the appearance of a controversial discussion with the honourable Court, which I feel particularly anxious on the present occasion to avoid. As I pledge myself however, to prove these facts, and as the records which contain the proofs are at hand, there may be less difficulty in admitting them to justify any expressions I may have used in reference to the injuries I thus knew to be sustained, and which my recorded minutes specifically state were only intended to be applied locally, that is, exclusively to the internal trade of the country and government of its subjects, and to have no reference whatever to the honourable Company's exclusive privilege, which as sanctioned by the Legislature, and myself a Company's servant, I never had the slightest intention to comment upon or disturb. I ever considered it however, as much the study of a faithful servant, as the wish of the honourable Court themselves, that they should be fully apprized of important facts connected with the prosperity of their Indian territories; and in what I recorded, as well as what I would have continued to explain, on these subjects, I certainly meant no more than a respectful disclosure of truths material for the honourable Court to know; and which, after submission to their notice, it would of course rest with them to act upon, or otherwise, as they might deem most conducive to their own true interests.

37. Several other injuries might be adduced, as resulting from this little understood state of the cotton trade; but the preceding are probably sufficient to answer all the purposes here intended.

38. These facts may also, I trust, serve to justify the disposition I have occasionally evinced to promote, where it seemed to require it, the internal trade of India generally, but which I find has been unaccountably construed in this country into an improper concurrence in the interested views of the two houses so frequently mentioned in this address. I should really think it beneath me to offer even a single explanation on so degrading a charge, did I not perceive it to have been artfully impressed on persons I sincerely respect; and it is not a little mortifying to be obliged to deny an accusation at which the principles of my public conduct actually revolt. It is perfectly well known in Bombay, that I never was on terms of intimacy with either of these firms; that no intercourse passed between us but that of ordinary civility; and that for a long time previous to the proceedings here treated of, and during the whole course of my subsequent continuance in office, I had not a pecuniary transaction of any description with either. In what respects therefore, these houses could have influence over me, remains to be explained by those who have clandestinely preferred so base a charge. No civilized or enlightened government would surely withhold its fostering care and protection from the legitimate trade of its subjects; and in speaking of the merchants of India, I have always had in view that general body, which it is as much the policy as the duty of the governing power to favour equally; a principle which the honourable Court have, in their instruction to India, frequently enjoined, but which partiality to particular merchants or houses would effectually violate and defeat.

39. On the head of competition in the purchase of cotton, I shall, for the same reason as adduced in the 36th paragraph, say but little. All I ever advanced on this head was, that the Company's competition was one, though not the sole cause of the high price which cotton had attained in Guzerat; the undue competition of the private merchants another. The honourable Court however insist on the latter fact, and deny the former altogether, on the authority of a report to this effect by the commercial resident at Surat; yet if the honourable Court will be pleased again to refer to the records of 1809, they will find the same commercial resident avow, in the very same year, and when not personally accused himself of injudicious acts or heedless purchases, that "on the 11th March he had every hope of purchasing cotton at moderate rates," whilst on the 25th following he adds, "it has been unfortunate however, that the honourable Company's views were publicly known at Broach before he received his orders; and the consequence was such an immediate influx of competitors, as to occasion a considerable rise in the market price. By withholding for a day or two, I however was enabled to conclude engagements for about fourteen hundred bales packed, at 150 or 151½ R^s per candy, being 1 to 1½ less than it had risen to at first; but it immediately afterwards obtained 155 and 156 R^s, at which it has since continued."

40. In 1798 the commercial resident at Surat was first employed to purchase cotton (I believe about 2,000 bales) for the Company. If the honourable Court will please to refer to their

No. 1.

Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

their diaries of that period, they will see a series of mysterious proceedings, with injunctions to the strictest secrecy, in this trifling purchase; and merely that the price of the article might not be affected by the Company's competition, or obstacles thrown in the way by a knowledge of their intentions.

41. Just before I quitted the Council Board a letter was received from another commercial agent, ordered by Government to purchase timber, in which he remarks, "I have, in consideration of the tendency which the Company's wants *always* have to raise the market, entrusted this business also to Mr. Crookenden's management, and he has sent trusty people, fully instructed to make such arrangements as they may find practicable."

42. To multiply proofs of this description, is however quite superfluous, for the records are full of them.

43. Some years ago it was stated, on good authority, that 70 R^s per candy of cotton to the grower, was equal to the average which grain yielded. In 1808 the judge of Broach observes, that 30 R^s per bhar, i. e. $79\frac{1}{2}$ R^s per candy, would afford a good profit to the cultivator. At this rate the ultimate exporter might expect to get cotton at 100 R^s to 110 R^s per candy to the northward, and therefore 120 to 130 rupees in Bombay, at which rate it would admit of consignment to China; but when the northern price is so high that the average of the season gives

Dr - - STATEMENT of an Adventure in Cotton from Bombay to China,

1809.		
April 1.	To cost of 4,000 bales, or 2,000 candies of cotton, at the average price of the last 5 years, (or since the Company have renewed their adventures in cotton) or R ^s 150 per candy, rupees - - - - -	300,000
	Charges of packing, screwing, shipping, &c. at R ^s 10 per candy - - - - -	20,000
	Insurance on the above, to cover in case of loss from Bombay to China R ^s 360,000. at 6 per cent, being the lowest terms of the Bombay Insurance Office, including harbour risk while lading - - - - -	21,600
		R ^s 341,600
December 1.	Ditto on the returning funds from China to Bombay, covered as above, on R ^s 488,000. at 5 per cent. d ^o d ^o - - - - -	24,400
1810.		
April 1.	Interest on rupees 341,600. for one year, and on R ^s 24,400. for 4 months, at 8 per cent. per annum, being the Company's rate of interest, but which is 1 per cent. less than the mercantile rate - - - - -	27,978
		R ^s 393,978
	The expenses of the ship for the voyage, viz. Interest for one year on rupees 200,000, the lowest value of the block of a ship of 1,000 tons, at 8 per cent. - - - - -	R ^s 16,000
	Insurance thereon to China at 6 per cent. - - - - -	R ^s 12,000
	D ^o D ^o from China at 5 per cent. - - - - -	10,000
	Interest on premium paid - - - - -	1,226
		23,226
	Wages to the commander, officers and crew, provision, wear and tear, &c. say for 10 months at R ^s 4,000. per month - - - - -	40,000
	Ship's measurement in China (a harbour duty to the Chinese Government) say at least - - - - -	15,000
		94,226
		Rupees - 488,204

N. B. As no more than one China voyage can be performed in the year, the adventurer must in all cases defray the full year's interest on block; but in order to state the expenses as low as possible, only 10 months wages are supposed in this statement to be actually paid.

46. To the sources of extraordinary competition above mentioned must be added the state of the seasons, and the limit thereby placed to commercial speculations in Guzerat. Generally speaking, no boats laden with cotton put to sea after the end of April; and every purchaser is anxious to complete his bargain in time, to convey his cotton to Bombay before the monsoon, in order to avoid the damage the additional expence of warehousing it to the northward, and the disappointment of not being able to send it in due season to China. The cotton

gives, as in 1809, 175 rupees per candy on the Bombay green, there is an end of all profitable speculation to China by private merchants.

44. The honourable Court, in their orders of the 22d February 1811, seem to think there is no proof of the price being too high; yet all the facts I have adverted to are on record, inclusive of their own letter of the 30th April 1806, in which a much lower price than that of 1809-10 is considered by them as fraught with alarming consequences to this trade. Neither is it probable the merchants themselves would have wantonly represented this increase of price in such strong terms to Government, if ruin had not actually stared them in the face.

45. In Bombay I was at pains to collect an accurate account, taken from the books and correspondence of the first mercantile houses, of the selling prices of cotton in China, from 1804-5 to 1809-10 inclusive. This price I can assure the honourable Court does not average more than 12 tales, $7\frac{1}{2}$ mace per pecul; the Company get more, but theirs is so far a nominal price, that is carried to account, without interest, with the Hong merchants, on which the latter now owe the Company I apprehend a heavy sum. The money prices of China, consequently the real selling prices, are no more than what I have stated.

The merchants can at all events get no higher. On these grounds the following statement will be found to exhibit a correct view of the out-turn of a speculation in cotton to China, in a private ship navigated in India, which I believe the strictest scrutiny cannot controvert.

on a Country Ship of 2,000 Candies, or 1,000 Tons burthen.		C
1809.		
October.	By sale of 2,000 candies of cotton, or 11,760 peculs, at 13 tales per pecul, (being higher than the average price of the last 6 years*) are tales 152,880, or R ^s	458,640
	Deduct landing charges, wastage and agency in China, say in all, 5 per cent.	22,932
	Net proceeds	R ^s 435,708
	Or at 216 R ^s per 100 D ^{rs} Spanish d ^o	201,716
	Take off exchange on new D ^{rs} , at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. shroffage and shipping charges in China, and landing charges at Bombay, say in all $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	3,025
	Spanish D ^{rs}	198,691
	Which invested in new dollars, as the greater part of the returns from China have of late years been, and returned to Bombay, will realize there at the most 219 rupees per 100 dollars (the rate obtainable from the Company's mint), by the 1st of April 1810	R ^s 435,133
1810.		
April 1.	Probable freight from China to Bombay, allowed in this statement, but which is seldom earned by more than one or two ships of each season, say	15,000
		Rupees 450,133
	Balance, or net loss on the adventure	38,071
		Rupees 488,204

Bombay, 1st April 1811.

(Errors excepted.)

* The sales in China for the last six years only average 12 tales $7\frac{1}{2}$ mace per pecul; but I have purposely assumed this higher rate of sale to obviate objection against this statement.

cotton dealers take advantage of these circumstances, to keep up a price which the purchasers are thus pressed by more than ordinary causes to acquiesce in. Among the injuries sustained in the cotton trade, it is as well known in Bombay, as the bankruptcies of a Gazette are in London, that the causes of disorder which are thus shewn to have long existed, have actually ruined and expelled from the trade a horde of petty merchants in Bombay, who used formerly to engage in it annually to China, and that none but the richer and greater

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

No. 1.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

greater houses, have been able of late years, to support the losses constantly attending it, occasioned by higher buying prices in Bombay and Guzerat, than the selling price in China was sufficient to cover. There are persons of the highest respectability now in England, who can attest the last mentioned fact, from an intimate knowledge of all the circumstances of these distressing failures.

47. The proposal made by Bruce, Fawcett and Co. and Forbes and Co. in January 1810, was in perfect consistence with the views thus given of the state of the cotton trade. Cotton had been raising in price from the causes above explained, till in 1809, it attained the rate of from 173 to 180 rupees per candy in Bombay, with a few hundred bales at 184 rupees. With no prospect of abatement of price in the following year, the merchants represented the ruinous consequences of such a state of things to their own interest, and entreated Government to withhold, at least, their own competition, as an experiment for one year; offering to supply them with any quantity they wanted of good China market cotton at the bona fide cost of the commodity to themselves.

48. On this proposal, when in circulation for the consideration of Government, and before the meeting of Council to decide on it, I recorded a short minute, adducing very concisely the reasons which led me to think, as well in view to the public good, as the commercial interests of the Company, that the proposal "might merit consideration." The Council afterwards met, were unanimous in their opinion of the advantage, if not necessity, of the proposal; and all I did was to concur in this unanimous resolution. Yet, hard to say, the whole blame of this transaction is again attached to me. I alone am accused of betraying the Company's interests, and my own trust; of siding with their declared enemies against them, of exposing and publishing their secrets to the world; and of not taking the proper means of communicating my sentiments to the honourable Court. When this heavy censure first reached India, the humble and harmless minute against which it was levelled, had so long lain in oblivion and obscurity, that I had actually forgotten its existence. I can safely add, that at this time, no human being, excepting the Members of Government, the Court of Directors, and their respective Secretaries and Assistants, had to my knowledge seen it. If therefore it has been published to the world, it must be through some mischance, at the India House; for at Bombay, it was in profound rest, and nothing but the electric orders of the honourable Court, would ever have caused it to rise again from its official dust. As to the mode I have always adopted of imparting my sentiments to the honourable Court, permit me to ask in what other way I could have done it. The mode adopted was in the strict official line of my duty. It was a confidential communication, on records only open to the inspection of their Government in India, and of the honourable Court at home, and involving no kind of publicity that was not indispensable to a free discussion, between masters and servants, of things intimately connected with the former's interests.

49. To the arguments of the honourable Court, accusing us of throwing, on this occasion, the worst, and most injurious of all monopolies, into the hands of Forbes and Co. and Bruce, Fawcett and Co. it is only necessary to oppose a statement, taken from the Custom-house records, of the imports of cotton into Bombay in the season in which the monopoly, as it is supposed, was granted to the houses aforesaid. The other merchant importers (exclusive of the honourable Company, and the two monopolizing houses) are no less than 70 in number; all importing their usual quantities of this commodity; whilst I am authorized to say, and ready to prove, that the aforesaid misnamed monopolists only imported their usual supplies also, in addition to what they purchased for the Company. Neither were the purchases of these houses made jointly, as asserted by the honourable Court, so as thereby to reduce these two principal purchasers into one; they were actually made by separate agents, and even charged at different rates to the Company, Forbes and Co's. cotton costing R^s 156. 2. 18. per candy, and that of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. R^s 153. 3. 14.

50. As to the secrecy of this transaction, it must be obvious to every one, that if Government had proclaimed their employment of these merchants to purchase cotton, it would have defeated the object in view. Had the sellers known that the Company were still in the market, their motives for demanding a high price would have continued in equal force. Whether A. or B. were the agents of that buyer would have been a matter of perfect indifference to them.

51. Though the honourable Court are pleased to term a proposal, whose object was to narrow excessive competition, in a small degree monstrous and extraordinary, and incompatible with the principles of commerce, there is yet nothing in it at variance with the ordinary usage of Government, as the public records abundantly testify.

52. Previous to 1798, the Government always bought their cotton in Bombay, and employed no agent to compete in the Guzerat market.

53. In 1801 they purchased cotton again, in Bombay, from the merchants.

54. In 1802 they were pleased to approve a plan which narrowed the competition still more effectually than any thing that has been since adopted. A committee was then formed, consisting of a member of council, as resident, and a deputy from each commercial house, to make a joint purchase of the cotton required by the parties respectively. The plea for instituting this committee was also the enormous price to which, under competition, had raised the cotton in Guzerat, and the adulterations which are so fully explained in the honourable

honourable Court's letter; and the object in view was then also to lower the price, and improve the quality, of the commodity. As the committee employed only one agent to make their purchases to the northward, there was then, in fact, no competitor in the market. Yet a scheme thus more than barely narrowing the competition, was at this time acquiesced in without objection.

55. In 1804, on a strong representation from the same houses as in the present instance, coupled with that of Adamson (since dead), as to the very same evils experienced in this trade, Government agreed to withdraw from the Guzerat market, and to receive the quantity of cotton they required, about 12,000 bales in that year, through the agency of the merchants, at the *bonâ fide* cost of the season.

56. The merchants, on this occasion, impressed in the most urgent manner on the attention of Government, that nothing but a perfect union of measures on the "part of Government and the merchants, not only in the present but during several succeeding years, could preserve to the settlement of Bombay the benefits of this extensive, and, they added, its "almost only commerce." This proposal further stipulated, "that Government shall withdraw from the market, on the merchants engaging for the provision and delivery in Bombay, of a quantity of cotton equal to the lading of the honourable Company's tonnage expected from Europe, for which payment shall be made at the average rate of their purchases. In either case, however, it was to be understood that Government will, as in the season of 1801-2, by every reasonable means in their power, promote the object which the merchants had in view; namely, to prevent the adulteration, and reduce the price of cotton."

57. Government in acceding to this proposal, "adverted to the 98th and 99th paragraphs of the general letter from the honourable Court of the 24th June 1803, whence it appeared to be consistent with the opinion of the honourable Court, that this Government should, under the circumstances set forth by the merchants, continue its endeavours towards counteracting the combination of dealers to the northward, for enhancing its price, and debasing the quality of the cotton."

58. This proposal, dated in February 1804, makes no particular mention of the Company's interference in the trade, because the effect of their competition, coupled with the monopoly of the cotton of their own districts, had not yet been felt. It was the first season of their entering the market, since the acquisition of Broach, and February was the commencement of that season; but in April following the collector of Broach having secured from the ryots 4,000 candies of cotton, by which it was withdrawn from the general market, and therefore from fair competition, and having tendered it to the merchants for sale at a high price, these complained of it loudly, as a breach of the original engagement with Government; adding, "this injudicious interference in the Broach market would be of the less consequence, if its effects were confined to that district, but it had produced the prejudicial consequence of enhancing the price over the whole country to a most serious extent."

59. This, then, is an exact precedent. The proposal in both cases is the same; the houses are the same, with the addition of Adamson; the object is the same; the mode of execution the same; and the policy which sanctioned both measures equally clear and urgent. The only discernible difference in their main features is in the adverse sentiments of the honourable Court, who are pleased to punish with extreme severity in 1811, what in 1804-5 they saw no reason to disapprove.

60. It is proper to mention, for the sake of entire accuracy, that Government, for want of funds to pay for it, finally returned this cotton to the merchants; but this does not affect the strict analogy of the two cases; for the surrender of the cotton did not take place until after the purchase had been completed, and the cotton arrived in Bombay, and therefore not till after all those supposed causes of evil, which the Court now ascribe to the transaction, had had their full effect.

61. There are also reports on record from the northern servants, actually recommending all competition in the Guzerat markets to be suppressed. One of these, in addition to a proposal for suppressing all competition, as equally conducive to the advantage of the Company and the merchants, recommends "that the whole cotton of the year might be purchased by the Company; and such a proportion appropriated to supply the demands of individuals, as upon enquiry, or the experience of former years, might be found equitable."

62. Whilst measures and propositions like these were known to be on record, and favourably received, there was certainly little reason to apprehend that suggestions proposing the same end by milder methods could be disapproved.

63. Nay, if reference be had to the orders of the honourable Court of 30th April 1806, it will be seen that they anxiously pressed on the attention of Government the necessity of recurrence to effectual measures for reducing the prime cost of Surat cotton generally, to prevent the annihilation they otherwise apprehended of this branch of trade. At the time these orders were issued, the price of cotton was much lower than in 1809-10. When, therefore, the evil had increased in magnitude, and the necessity for reduction became more manifest and urgent, it is submitted to the honourable Court's justice, whether a simple concurrence in the only immediate means of accomplishing it, and in which the whole

No. I.
Mr. Rickards's
Memorial,
of 9 Sept. 1811.

Board unanimously voted, should draw down on me alone the utmost severity of their censure and punishment.

64. As to the alledged disrespect of the merchants representation in 1810, and the censure cast on Government for not resenting it, the letter will be found to vary but little in substance from the similar representation above noticed in 1804. It appeared to me to contain nothing more than what the merchants had frequently represented before, both verbally and on record. The grounds of this representation were true, and being fraught with extreme injury to their interests, might be allowed to justify some warmth of expression; but even if this had passed the proper limits of decorum, it would yet remain to be proved, whether quickness in anger was more consistent with the dignity of Government, than that calm composure which, to inflexible steadiness in right actions, adds the charity of forbearance towards minor offences.

65. I can add, from my own knowledge, that no member of the Board, when this proposal was before us, entertained an idea of offence being intended; indeed insult or disrespect were incompatible with the object of the representation. Men of sense seeking a favour of great importance to their interests, would hardly clothe it in language fatal to the success of their request.

66. On the honourable Court's objection, that the arrangement with the houses above mentioned in 1810, went to prevent the export by the Company of cotton to Europe, when necessary, it will be sufficient to observe, that the cotton sent to Europe on account of the Company is always toomil, with the addition of the best picked bales of the other cotton, to make up a cargo. All this is invariably the produce of the Broach purgunnah; with which the purchases of Forbes and Co. and Bruce, Fawcett and Co. could not, and were not intended to interfere; wherefore not a single pound of the Company's cotton could possibly have been prevented going to Europe, by the arrangement in question.

67. Finally, it will be seen in the honourable Court's own records, that the average price of the Company's purchased cotton in 1809, was 175 rupees per candy, exclusive of interest. There was every probability as aforementioned, of the price continuing in 1810, but for the arrangement we adopted with the merchants. Under this arrangement, the Company were supplied with about 4,000 candies of cotton in 1810, at the average cost from both houses, and made up with interest to the 1st August 1810, of 155 rupees per candy. The Company must therefore be said to have saved by this transaction, more than 20 rupees per candy, and therefore on the whole purchase of the year (near 4,000 candies) about 80,000 rupees, or £10,000 sterling.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

London,
9th September 1812.

your very faithful, and obedient humble Servant,
(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

Sir,

The Court of Directors of the East India Company have considered your letter, referring to their orders of the 22d February 1811, which removed you from your seat in Council, and, as you state, "declared you unworthy of the Court's future confidence," and appealing to that justice and liberality which have so frequently distinguished the Court's public acts, when there was injury to be repaired, or merit, however humble, to be rewarded—

It appears to the Court, that there is an error in the above quotation made by you, of the Court's having declared you unworthy of their future confidence, as will be evinced by the concluding paragraph of their orders of February 1811, paragraph 27, which is as follows:—"With respect to Mr. Rickards, although he has incurred our displeasure in the instance above-mentioned, yet, as we entertain a favourable opinion of his abilities in general, we shall not object to his being employed in any situation under your presidency, to which he may be eligible from his rank in the service." And the Court having referred to the orders of the 22d February 1811, paragraph 24, which state, "upon those grounds, and in consideration of the conduct of Mr. Rickards in the hemp transaction, we feel it impossible to continue our confidence to him in the situation of a Member of our Council, and are therefore under the necessity of removing him, as we hereby do, from that office."

I am directed to acquaint you, that upon a mature consideration of the whole of your case, they cannot depart from the resolution expressed in the said orders.

I am, Sir, &c.

East India House, }
26th February, 1813. }

(Signed)

JAMES COBB,

Assistant Secretary.

Robert Rickards, Esq.

No. 2.

Copy of PARAGRAPHS, No. 2 to No. 27, both inclusive, of a LETTER from the Court of Directors of the *East India Company*, to the Government of *Bombay*, dated February 22, 1811;—relative to the COTTON TRADE.

EXTRACT PUBLIC LETTER TO BOMBAY, dated the 22d February 1811.

Paragraph 2.

THE engagement entered into by a majority of your Council, with the house of Bruce, Fawcett & Co. for a cargo of hemp deliverable in London, and the mode of reasoning by which Mr. Rickards supported certain proposals of the private merchants relative to the cotton trade, appeared to us so highly objectionable, that we thought it incumbent upon us to take the earliest occasion to convey to you the impressions made upon our minds by these proceedings, and accordingly our sentiments on them were immediately communicated to you in our commercial letters of the 5th January and 10th October 1810 respectively.

No. 2.

The Court of Directors to the Government of *Bombay*,
22 Feb. 1811:—on
the Cotton Trade.

3. It was our meaning then to follow up these communications with our further determination upon the subjects in question; and having since maturely deliberated upon them, we come now to give the final opinions and orders which they call for from us.

4. The extremely exceptionable and improvident nature of the hemp transaction was set forth in our letter of the 10th January 1810, above-mentioned. The answer given by Mr. Rickards in his minute of the 14th May 1810, to the strictures contained in that letter, appear to us quite unsatisfactory, and indeed according to his own account, his explanation, only "leads him to hope that the guarantee may yet appear to contain some advantages, and not to be so complete a dereliction of the public interest, or neglect of the honourable Court's orders, as at first sight pronounced."

5. Our primary object in relation to the provision of hemp was, as our orders to our different Governments stated, both to make the territories of the Company available for the service of the nation in a most important article, and to that end to afford the agency of the Company gratuitously, so as to bring the Indian hemp into the stores of Government here, at no other expense than the prime cost and actual charges disbursed. This was an extensive scheme, requiring time and gradual meliorations of a culture, still in its infancy in India. Our instructions to you were conformable to this idea. You were to make purchases of hemp, and advances for the cultivation of it, on account of the Company in a series of years; and to use all proper means to extend the growth, and improve the quality of the article. In employing the term of "Salsette hemp," we meant to prefer what we understood to be the best hemp; but not to exclude the produce fit to be exported, of any part of our territories, nor consequently the hemp of the Concan, which Messrs. Bruce and Co. furnished; and for this sense of our orders, Mr. Rickards himself contends.

6. Assuredly the Company's agents must have been at least capable of procuring the hemp of Rajahpore from the first hands, as the agents of any private merchants; nor do we see the smallest reason to believe that our servants could not have provided it on as low terms, and at least in as large a quantity. All allegations to the contrary seem to us to be entirely groundless; and we can have no doubt that the best, indeed the only way to accomplish our design, was to employ the servants of the Company, whose agency must equally at least with that of any other description of persons, have encouraged cultivation; and the publicity of their proceedings (a publicity indeed which, Mr. Rickards says, followed the first operation commenced in a silent way of the agents of Messrs. Bruce and Co.) must have contributed to that encouragement. The orders of the Bengal Government to you, which Mr. Rickards pleads, had they differed from those of the Court of Directors, should not have superseded them; but they only enforced a compliance with our instructions to that Government, of which they transmitted you a copy, enjoining you "to adopt such measures as should appear to you to be best calculated to promote the wishes of the Honourable Court of His Majesty's Ministers." Certainly, this language afforded no countenance to a scheme which went directly to pervert the design both of the Government and the Company.

7. Mr. Rickards, in his minute above quoted, pleads for the allowance and the exercise of some discretion in our Governments abroad, "situated at such a distance from the con-
306. E "trouling

No. 2.
The Court of
Directors to the
Government of
Bombay,
22 Feb. 1811;—on
the Cotton Trade.

"trouling authority in England, and in circumstances when they might conceive the Court's wish or the public good to be thereby promoted." But a deviation from plain and positive orders, which always incurs responsibility, and requires a strong justification, can only be acquiesced in under one or more important circumstances, essentially different from those in the contemplation of the Court, when the orders were given. No such essential difference can here be alledged. Indeed we looked less to an immediate than to a gradual and progressive supply of hemp; and we looked to that supply only by the means we pointed out; and if such a latitude of construction and alteration as Mr. Rickards contends for were allowed, very many of our orders might be nullified, and the controul at home greatly weakened.

8. The very measure in question may be taken as an instance. Messrs. Letchmere and Rickards adopted it upon the alledged ground of our orders, and those of the Governor-General in Council; but it went as before intimated, in letter and spirit, entirely to contravene and defeat them. Instead of a great public undertaking, conducted solely upon patriotic disinterested principles, they substituted the private speculation of a mercantile house for one cargo of hemp, a speculation, the prominent feature of which most evidently is not the certainty of any accommodation or supply to Government, but the certainty of gain to that house; because as remarked in our former letter, the house stipulated for, and Messrs. Letchmere and Rickards granted a guarantee of £.65. per ton for the hemp in London, with an option to dispose of it otherwise than to the Company or Government, if they thought fit; so that they were secured not only from loss, but in a profit, if the market here should prove ever so unfavourable; and if the price of hemp should be high, and Government consequently in want of that commodity, they were then at liberty to dispose of their cargo to the best bidder, to disappoint Government, the supply of whom was the original object, and to disappoint also the design of the Company to be the agent and medium of that supply; a supply, that to a certain extent, would have been commenced and found by the Company themselves, but for the interposition of this scheme, which went to turn the provision into the channel of the private merchants, for we do not perceive any suggestion on the part of the majority of Council to enter upon a provision on account of the Company.

9. The issue of this business has been, that the cargo of hemp arrived here when the article was abundant, and the price low. The house of Messrs. Bruce and Co. therefore called on us in virtue of the guarantee, to take the hemp from them at £.65. per ton. We have been obliged to do so; Government have refused to receive it from us at that rate, as indeed, the hemp was not at all provided in the manner we had undertaken it should be; and the article being still low, the cargo yet remains upon our hands; Messrs. Bruce and Co. having alone received any benefit by it.

10. In proceeding to consider the line of conduct adopted by Mr. Rickards, in the particular question brought before you, respecting the Company's trade in cotton, we shall advert generally to the circumstances in which the Company stand in relation to that trade.

11. The district of Broach, part of the lands ceded to us in Guzerat, pays a portion of its revenue in cotton. This practice did not originate with the Company, but was transmitted to them from the Mahratta government, whom they succeeded in the possession of that district; and it is indeed, derived from a principle very ancient in Indian taxation, that of a division of the actual produce of the soil, between the sovereign and the cultivator.

12. The sovereign's share is in modern times commonly converted into a money rent, and such in fact is the case with respect to the cotton produce in question; the cultivator is charged for the whole of his assessment or rent in money, but pays a certain portion of it in cotton, at a money rate agreed on by both parties. The first question that arises here, is whether the interest of the cultivator be properly secured in such a practice; and we are glad to receive satisfactory information on this head from the judge and magistrate of Broach; for agreeing with the sentiment expressed to that officer by our Governor, in his letter of the 4th of July 1808, we would not have the object of commercial advantage pursued to the prejudice of the just claims of the cultivator of the soil. Mr. Prendergast, however, the judge and magistrate above alluded to, states, that whilst the farmers can get for copass or uncleaned cotton, at the rate of 30 rupees per bhar, it will be decidedly more profitable to them to cultivate it than the most valuable grain, but that they are sure both of 40 rupees per bhar from the Company, and a certain sale. And Lieut. Colonel Walker, the resident of Baroda, in an instructive paper recorded in your Proceedings on the Cotton Trade of Guzerat, after stating that when there is a moderate competition, the price is from 32 to 35 rupees per bhar; but that when purchasers are more numerous, it rises much higher, and observing further "that great care should be taken not to reduce the price of the article too much, which would discourage the cultivation;" nevertheless, estimates the price which might be given by purchasers, at 35 rupees per bhar. This he does too in a plan for correcting many frauds and abuses in that trade, of which he has given an account, as they are practised by the various classes of natives employed in it, between the first grower and the last purchaser, for exportation, both of whom suffer by the misconduct of the intermediate men, whether acting as sellers or as agents for the exporting merchant. From this account, which has reference not so much to the limited district of Broach, which pays a part of its cotton produce in kind to the Company, as generally to the other cotton districts, including those still

still under the Mahratta government, it appears that "the moment the amount of the jumabundy is determined, the securities whom the ryots give for their assessment, proceed in communication with the ryots, but often at their own discretion, to settle the price of the copass with the patells, and the patells and taltaties account with the cultivators." The securities termed manotudars, are the monied men of the country, and the amuldar being commonly of their fraternity, they have the support of his authority. The manotudars, or securities, usually sell the cotton in the state of copass, the purchasers from them are the banians resident in the districts, who either sell it again on the spot, or deliver it to the hantias to be cleaned.

No. 2.
The Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay,
22 Feb. 1811;—on the Cotton Trade.

13. It is with the cleaning of the cotton that frauds begin to multiply. Every stage thenceforward is marked by trick and dishonesty; the article is mixed with one of an inferior sort, or packed when only imperfectly cleaned; it is removed from the cleaning wheels without being teased, in order to separate any remaining leaves or seeds, put into darkened damp warehouses, which are cow-dunged to keep them moist; and the cotton, to preserve it humid, is almost daily sprinkled with water, the deceit being covered by putting dry cotton on the outside of that which has been wetted. The night before the purchaser means to begin weighing, the setter exposes his cotton to the heavy dews, spreading it on the ground to receive as much moisture as suits his purpose; the wind at the same time assisting his object, by blowing into the cotton a quantity of dust, sand, or other impurities, and all is deposited in warehouses again, moistened, some hours before the agents of the purchaser appear. Frauds still more gross are practised. The cotton is sometimes wetted with a mixture of salt and water, to increase doubly the weight; and even leaves, dirt, and stones are purposely mixed with it. The native agents employed in the district on the part of the exporting merchants of Bombay, to examine, weigh, and pack the cotton, are suspected of being parties in all these impositions; and from the detail of their conduct given by Major Walker, it seems difficult to believe that they are not both negligent and corrupt*.

* Major Walker's account of the Cotton Trade at Guzerat, recorded in Council.

14. The cotton dealers too, it appears from Major Walker's account, take advantage of a season of brisk demand, to put in practice all their arts to adulterate the article and enhance the price; and they sometimes also treat the purchaser with an insolence which reduces him to the dilemma of either taking a bad article on their terms, or running the hazard of losing the advance he had made. Hence, when the foreign market is unfavourable, and the demand for cotton but small, the dealers, afraid the article should remain on their hands, lower its price, and improve its quality. From the whole of this curious account, it is evident, that where the cultivators of cotton are under the power of monied men, the dealers in the districts, so utterly insensible to the true principles of trade, to a character, and to common honesty, and whilst the agents of the exporting merchants combine with those native dealers in their dishonest practices, real freedom of trade is not to be looked for. We, therefore, see no reason to doubt that the cultivators of cotton, who pay in kind to the Company, are better off than any other persons of the same class in Guzerat; and, in such a state of society, we think, that the community, instead of being injured by the Company's practice, of receiving a certain portion of uncleaned cotton at a fair or rather liberal rate, may be benefited by the example of equitable attention to the interest of the ryots, which is exhibited in the mode of conducting this business.

15. Besides the cotton thus acquired, the Company also purchase in the general market, through the medium of their European servants, a certain quantity of that article, chiefly with a view to aid their important commercial operations in China. This purchase is not carried on to the exclusion of any other buyers, nor to the disadvantage of the owners of cotton; for, on the contrary, the Company or their agents are accused, by the houses of Bruce, Fawcett, and Co. and Forbes and Co., of having, by their purchases, raised the market price of cotton to an immoderate degree; a charge, however, which Mr. Wren, the commercial resident at Surat, defends himself from, and retorts upon them. But certain it is, that the Company do not exercise power either to monopolize the market, or procure the article below its just value. It is now, and has been long, well understood, that it is not the interest of the Company to do so; and the proprietor of an estate, who has a lasting concern in its prosperity, may be expected to be less disposed to take advantage of the tenants than a stranger, unconnected with them. The houses above mentioned, however, have ventured publicly to complain to you "of the ruinous consequences which the competition of Government in the cotton market has unfortunately entailed on its own subjects;" their appeal, they say, "is founded on the principle, that the interference of a government in any market is destructive of fair competition, and necessarily tramples under foot all the collective interests of its subjects:" and the remedy they propose is, that the Company shall not otherwise engage in the cotton market, than for the purpose of receiving revenue in kind from the Broach pergunnahs, in which case these merchants offer to supply the Company with 4,000 bales of cotton for China, under a requisition, however, that the engagement may be kept secret.

16. A more extraordinary proposal, we are persuaded, does not stand upon our records. The Company is the oldest European trader now in India; it has opened the ports of the East to other British subjects, who, fostered solely under its protection, have come at length to share in all its extended commerce, Indian and European; and particularly to enjoy advantages in the inland trade of India, to which they could not have had access in the time of the native sovereigns. But these two houses, now in effect, claim for the private
306. merchants

No. 2.
The Court of
Directors to the
Government of
Bombay,
22 Feb. 1811;—on
the Cotton Trade.

merchants the whole of the trade, Indian and European; because the principle on which they ground their appeal, however they may have meant to apply it, goes fully to that extent. In the name of those who could not have had a residence in India without the permission of the Company, and who have risen to commercial consequence under the auspices of their government, we are plainly told that they are not contented with being partakers in the commercial privileges of the Company, the whole should be left to them.

17. Although no proof is attempted of the assumed principle which involves this proposition, or of the justness of its application, some notice will nevertheless be hereafter taken of it; but it may suffice to observe now, that the proposition contends for fair competition and an equitable regard to the interests of all the subjects of a state; consequently, we persevere for the principle of freedom of trade. The Company are represented as violating all these; a scheme is proposed for the prevention of such violations, and what are the means it adopts?—*A secret combination between buyers to narrow the competition.* The two houses who brought forward the scheme must before have agreed to act together as one buyer; because as such they offer to act for the Company also; thus they would reduce three principal purchasers into one; and that one is to enter the market with all the advantage of knowing how much the competition will be narrowed, and with what certainty he can make his own large provision, whilst he offers only diminished prices.

18. Thus, you were required on the principle of fair competition, and of shewing an equitable regard to the interests of all the subjects of a State, to form a species of monopoly and combination in favour of two purchasers against the sellers universally; such is the practical result, in this case, of a high sounding criminating appeal to public principles; it is a project of self-interest, directly at variance with those principles. Too much accustomed as we have been to such perversion and abuse, in discussions relative to the commerce of the Company, we should not have dwelt so long upon this instance, (though certainly the extreme indecorum of such an attack from persons living and flourishing under the protection of our Government, might naturally have led to particular observation,) if a member of our Government had not sanctioned it in so remarkable a way.

19. Mr. Rickards not only appears to adopt the reasoning and scope of the letter from the two houses, but endeavours to support their proposal with additional arguments. The first argument, which is directed to the propriety of reducing the selling price of cotton in the districts, is founded very much upon the principle, that if the return of cotton to the grower were equal to the return of grain, it might be sufficient. We apprehend this principle of equalizing the profit on all other articles of culture to the profit on grain, to be unwarranted and unsound; and we can have no doubt that any Government which should attempt practically to establish it, would widely depart from the line of its duty. Besides, Mr. Rickards ought to have known, that the enhanced price at which the exporting merchant stores his cotton, is not to be ascribed to the rate paid to the cultivator, but to the passing of the article through different hands, each of which obtains a gain that swells the ultimate cost. To the intermediate dealers between the grower and the exporter, and to the competition for the purchase of the article, the rise of price to the final purchaser is chiefly to be ascribed. The price thus produced by the number and concurrence of buyers, Mr. Rickards, by a singular misuse of language, calls “a monopoly price;” whereas, wherever a real monopoly is exercised to exclude other buyers than the monopolist, it procures the commodity cheap; and when used to exclude other venders, it sells the commodity dear. On the contrary, nothing is better known, than that competition in buying has the effect of raising the price, and in selling of lowering it; in both ways the effect may be excessive; but it is only the nature of competition which is now in question. To counteract “a monopoly price,” which Mr. Rickards has so indefensibly assumed, he recommends a measure in its nature partaking, as has been already shewn, of real monopoly; a measure which he seems to think the more allowable, because few of the cotton sellers are our own subjects; and though it might have been natural for a servant of the Company, who thought the principle of reducing the competition just, to propose that some of the private merchants should withdraw, in order to be served by the Company, rather than that the Company should withdraw, to become dependent on them; yet Mr. Rickards points solely to the latter; because, according to him, the Company’s purchases is one of the causes of the “monopoly price;” it being manifest, he says, that “their agents go into the market backed with all the influence and authority of office, and the knowledge of a competitor in the market, who must at all events be served, is only calculated to make sellers hold back, until their demands, perhaps exorbitant, be fulfilled.”

20. Now, if the charge had been, that the Company’s agents had by power and influence obliged the owners to sell cotton to them, whether they were willing or not, that they got the commodity at a less price than the usual rate of the market, or than the owners were content to sell it at; or had not permitted other purchasers to come into the market, or had forcibly taken from them any article they had bought there, would at least have appeared a consistency between the alledged cause and the alledged effect; but what is the thing complained of? it is excessive price, and that price produced by the Company; but is force or influence necessary to induce a seller to take the highest or even the fair price of the market for his commodity? The effect of force and influence, properly so called, must be to depress produce and competition and high prices; but here another complaint is, that competition is too great, which is the sure consequence of great demand and a free market. In such a demand, and such a market, the best price and largest capital give the only power and influence,

influence, excepting the confidence which we believe the Company have established from general honour in their commercial dealings. Under such circumstances, what is the meaning of *the knowledge of a competitor in the market, who must at all events be served*. From the connection in which this passage stands, and its general aspect, it might seem that it alluded to force; but from the scope of the complaint, it can only import, that the known ability and determination of the Company to buy, must have the effect of raising the price. But so in its degree must the price fall of every other competitor in such a market. Mr. Rickards himself admits, "that there is no other real, ostensible, or even assigned cause for the high price, than the too urgent competition of the buyers." Any merchant however among those competitors would revolt at an attempt to restrict him in the use he should make of his capital; and may not the Company expect the same privilege as other merchants in a discretionary use of theirs? Yet this is opposed sometimes in the way of direct argument, and as it is here, by representing the influence of capital and character as the influence and authority of office.

No. 2.
The Court of
Directors to the
Government of
Bombay,
22 Feb. 1811;—on
the Cotton Trade.

21. Objections, early derived from the very peculiar constitution of the Company, which has connected territorial dominion with commerce, have continued to be represented in a state of things extremely different from that under which they were first advanced, and the principles of political economy have been alledged in their support. The just application of general principles, even where they are well understood, is known to be a matter of difficulty. That science, which is itself very much built on fact and experience, may be supposed yet capable of improvement by further knowledge; and the constitution and system of the Company, instead of being judged by principles adopted before any sufficient experience was acquired of the effects of such a constitution and system, may afford new and useful data for enlarging the boundaries of the science.

22. In the course of the last twenty-five years, a legislative code in many essential respects new, has been formed by the Company, for their territories in India. Let that body of regulations be consulted, both as to the matter and tenor of them, and as to their practical effects, in order to determine whether they have been formed under the influence of a commercial spirit, or dictated by enlarged and true principles of policy and government; having for their grand object the welfare of the whole community, and every class of it. Certain commercial factories and prescriptive commercial rights, were long enjoyed by the Company, under the native sovereigns in India. These have been indeed retained, but under such modifications and regulations as not to interfere with the general trade of the country, or the interest of those whom the Company employ; and further than to secure the right to advances and performance of engagements to which every private trader is entitled, no authority is allowed. Force and compulsion, as far as we understand and intend, are not used either to carry on the commerce of the Company, or obstruct that of other persons. And, as already intimated, in such a state of society as the great continent of India presents, where, from old inveterate habits, there is a disposition in every native, whether a trader or of any other class, to oppress those inferior to him with whom he has to act; the general example of fair dealing and punctuality to engagements, which the commercial branch of the Company's affairs has exhibited, may be beneficial to the people, and rather lead them to improved notions of commerce, which among such a people, and where the subordinate details of administration must be trusted to natives, can never be well learned, while the moral habits are so corrupt. In fact, as the great objection against the Company, founded in the idea of their uniting the contracted selfish spirit of traffic with the character of a sovereign, and using the latter to serve the views of the former, proceeds in the first place upon a supposition that no liberal just views in matters of government, are consistent with commercial pursuits, a supposition which the experience of this country sufficiently contradicts, so the large system of commerce which the Company have conducted in India since their acquisition of territory, may serve to shew that it is possible for Government to manage a commercial department, without abandoning either the principles of government, or those of commerce.

23. That at present our Government employs no force to carry on the commercial pursuits of the Company, or to hinder any individual from buying and selling, and that no unfair influence is exercised in their commercial affairs, we take to be perfectly established, because otherwise, we cannot doubt that particular instances would have been pointed out. Theorists hostile to the Company, object to the union of the commercial character with that of sovereign, from the nature of the thing assuming that it must produce ill effects; practical men like the two mercantile houses in question, availing themselves of this prejudice, advance the same objection as if the actual bad consequences of this union were known and indisputable; but those houses give no particular fact, and we cannot help expressing our surprize, that you should have passed over such assertions as they have advanced, which indeed extremely implicate your own conduct, without calling for explanations and animadverting on the most unbecoming terms in which they are delivered. But if we have reason to complain of the unfairness with which the combination of government and commerce in the system of the Company is used by those whose prejudices or interests are in opposition to the Company, what shall we say of a servant of our own, a member of our Government placed by us in a confidential and honourable situation, who lends his influence to confirm the prejudices just mentioned. If indeed, the union of the commercial with the political character had been productive of inconveniences, was it the province of Mr. Rickards to join the accusers of our system in holding it up to censure. Was there no other mode in which, if he entertained the sentiments he has expressed, he

No. 2.
The Court of
Directors of the
Government of
Bombay,
22 Feb. 1811;—on
the Cotton Trade.

might have communicated them to us? Far from wishing to repress free communication, we are desirous to encourage it on all occasions, when becomingly made; but the occasion which Mr. Rickards has used to bring before us his opinion upon a very important subject, is certainly not happily nor respectfully chosen; and we think, that before he entered upon the subject, introduced as it then was, he should have been careful to have proceeded upon solid grounds; but he quotes no fact to shew that what he calls "the heterogeneous union" of the commercial and tutelary character, has produced inconveniences and injuries; nor does he seem to know of any; he only "*apprehends* that they cannot fail to ensue;" and on this presumption, coinciding with the evidently hostile accusation of the mercantile houses in question, he arraigns to the world the constitution of the Company, and gives to the opponents of the Company all the weight that can be derived from the opinion and authority of a member of our Government, who thus does us an injury which an open enemy could not inflict, not only unnecessarily, but as we conceive, against the real truth and facts of the case; and all this in support of a speculation which has for its immediate object the private benefit of particular parties; and which militate against the true principles of political economy and of commerce; and as it is also in our opinion contrary to that judgment and that sense of duty and propriety, which ought to have guided the conduct of Mr. Rickards on such an occasion.

24. Upon these grounds, and in consideration of the conduct of Mr. Rickards in the hemp transaction, we feel it impossible to continue our confidence to him in the situation of a Member of our Council; and are therefore under the necessity of removing him, as we hereby do from that office. Upon the same considerations, we remove from our Council Mr. Lechmere, who has concurred with Mr. Rickards in the measures and reasonings in question; but as we understand that his arrival in England may be shortly expected, we do not think it necessary to enlarge further upon his conduct.

25. It being necessary therefore, in consequence of these removals, that we should proceed to a new arrangement for the Bombay Council, we have resolved that the Council shall consist of the following persons; viz. Jonⁿ Duncan, Esq. President and Governor; Lieutenant General the Honourable Jn^o Abercromby, Commander in Chief, and Second in Council; George Brown, Esq. Third in Council; Jn^o Elphinstone, Esq. Fourth in Council; and a Commission of Government, under the Company's Seal, embracing that arrangement, will accordingly be forwarded to you by the extra ship Northampton, now under dispatch.

26. We are aware that Mr. Nathan Crow succeeded to a seat in Council on the 3d November 1809, in consequence of our appointment, from whence he retired on the arrival of General Abercromby, the 25th of the same month. By the orders contained in the 114th paragraph of our Letter of the 27th June 1810, a person, under such circumstances, is not considered as entitled to succeed to Council upon any future vacancy, without a fresh appointment by the Court of Directors. We continue to have the same opinion of the merits of Mr. Crow, which at first induced us to appoint him a provisional Counsellor; but being informed that the state of this Gentleman's health is such as to render him inadequate to the active duties of that important station, we have not included him in the present Commission.

27. With respect to Mr. Rickards, although he has incurred our displeasure in the instances above mentioned, yet, as we entertain a favourable opinion of his abilities in general, we shall not object to his being employed in any situation under your Presidency, to which he may be eligible from his rank in the service.

No. 3.

Copy of PARAGRAPHS, No. 2 to 8, of a LETTER, in the Revenue Department, from the Governor in Council of *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors, dated 14 October 1808, with Copies of the Papers referred to therein;—and Copy of the Reply of the Court of Directors, under date the 10th of January 1810, to the said Communication.

PROCEEDINGS of the Governor in Council of *Bombay*, on Mr. *Rickards's* Observations on the Revenue System of *India*; and on his Minutes relative to a General Reduction of Expences in the Establishments under the Presidency of *Bombay*.

EXTRACT of REVENUE LETTER from BOMBAY; dated 14th October 1808.

Paragraph 2.

IN availing ourselves of the eligible opportunity that presents itself, of forwarding our records in this department, by the honourable Company's ship *Wexford*, we have only to submit to the consideration of your honourable Court, in pursuance of the promise made in the 3d paragraph of that dispatch, the minute recorded by our colleague *Thomas Lechmere, Esq.* on the subject of the documents delivered in by *Robert Rickards, Esq.* and our President, in respect to the prevailing Revenue Systems of *India*.

3. Your honourable Court will observe, that on recording Mr. *Lechmere's* minute, we determined, pursuant to the sentiments of the majority of the Board, to avoid making any innovation, without a previous reference to your honourable Court on the system and principles of settlement, for the island of *Salfette*; which having been originally sanctioned by the Supreme Government, has since been approved and confirmed by your honourable Court; this Resolution not, however, extending to such part of that island, as is not under cultivation, and as such occupied by parties to whom a proprietary title has been announced, our preceding determination was accordingly qualified under the motives adverted to in our President's remarks of the 8th of July, by a latitude to Mr. *Rickards*, to make trial of his financial system, on those parts of *Salfette* that were thus open to the experiment; in respect to which, we expressed our readiness to concur in such measures, as Mr. *Rickards* might, in confidence with the preceding general exception, suggest for that purpose.

4. And inasmuch as the inhabitants of *Caranja* appeared to have requested Mr. *Rickards's* system of finance to be introduced among them, we intimated to that gentleman, that we were very desirous that he should immediately proceed with the experiment in that island, such as might also tend to facilitate the attainment of Mr. *Rickards's* objects in deeming thereon practicable a further reduction in the charges of collection.

5. Mr. *Rickards* was at the same time invited to bring forward, for our consideration, those reductions of expense on the islands of *Bombay* and *Salfette*, and generally throughout the honourable Company's possessions under this presidency, which had occurred to him to be available, and which the present exigencies render most expedient to realize to the utmost limits of prudence, sound policy, and justice; at the same time, that the Governor has in his remarks of the 7th July, stated his belief that the aggregate charges of revenue establishments under this presidency (however from local circumstances, varying in different collectorships) are already to the full as moderate, or rather more so, than under either of your other presidencies in *India*.

6. Mr. *Rickards* having delivered in a further minute, explaining at length the motives which impel him to decline all management in the proposed reduction of the native establishment on *Salfette*, and the settling of wealthy capitalists on the waste lands of the island, in consideration chiefly to the latitude tendered to him, admitting but of a partial

operation to his plan; we beg leave respectfully to refer your honourable Court to that Gentleman's consequent minute, and to a further one delivered in by our President on the occasion, in whose opinion Mr. Lechmere entirely concurs.

7th. We take this occasion to inform your honourable Court, that we have under consideration, several applications from wealthy inhabitants of Bombay, to become landed proprietors on Salsette, on the same principles and conditions as had been conceded before Mr. Rickards' arrival to Ardasher Dady; but as the several applications have not yet been matured and finally arranged, we refrain from entering into particulars by the present dispatch, the more especially as the general subject will soon be brought again under your consideration, in a fuller point of view; and meanwhile, we beg leave to refer to the minutes; the present slight notice of the contents of which, are to be viewed as merely indicative of the outline of the course in which this important subject has been hitherto conducted.

8. Duplicates of Mr. Rickards, and of the Governor's first minutes on the subject, (the originals of which were sent on the 9th of July last, by His Majesty's ship St. Fiorenzo), accompanying this.

EXTRACT BOMBAY REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, 9th July 1808.

THE Governor delivers in for record, the following Letter, and Papers accompanying, which, having been addressed to Government by Mr. Rickards, previously to that Gentleman's taking his seat in Council, have since remained with the Resident, under the circumstances hereafter noticed.

Honourable Sir,

I take the liberty of laying before you a few remarks on the subject of Taxation in general, and of the prevailing Revenue Systems of India; which I respectfully hope may appear to you, as well as to the Honourable Court of Directors, to merit consideration, in view to the future prosperity of this country.

If I conceive that prosperity to be incapable of any considerable permanent increase, under the system of land taxation now in force, I have, in advancing that opinion, cautiously endeavoured to avoid, as I should be much concerned in, giving the slightest offence.

With some experience in the revenue administration of India, and actuated by no motive but that of the public good, I hope to be exempt from the charge of arrogance or inconsiderate presumption: an humble opinion can, at all events, do no harm; and calm discussion and sober investigation are, in all speculative questions, the only sure road to the attainment or confirmation of truth.

In the Essay now submitted, I have applied the principles with which I am impressed in the form of an arrangement for Salsette, where, if approved, a trial may be made without risk of the least particle of loss to the honourable Company; and where proofs will soon be given, from the peculiar situation of the island, of the merit or demerit of the theory adduced. Failure in Salsette must determine its inapplicability to other parts of India; while success may perhaps sanction the more general adoption of the same principles; and though the same degree of success cannot be expected to follow the general introduction of such a system every where, since the progress of improvement in all great countries must be gradual, and slow; yet unequivocal proofs of their efficacy in one favoured spot, are reasonable grounds for anticipating similar consequences in others, as the course of industry and wealth shall gradually, yet similarly, be extended to them: if, in short, the principles are proved to be good, they may be considered as the ground-work of great and extensive prosperity, which, it is humbly apprehended, is not a constituent feature of our present revenue systems.

Should any thing urged in these sheets induce you, Sir, to make the proposed experiment in Salsette, permit me to beg your particular attention to that part of the plan, which suggests the immediate construction of reservoirs, and points out the practicable saving in the native establishments.

The advantages of the former are too manifest to need further comment, whilst of the latter it may be observed, that under a plan of revenue so simple as the one I have recommended, it is by no means improbable but the establishments may admit of still further reduction; but if only the same principle of collection be extended to the other collectorships under this Government, there may be anticipated an annual saving of considerable amount, (as exhibited in Voucher, No. 9,) since, from actual experience of the sufficiency of such an establishment for realizing revenue, even on the old system, with perfect security, I cannot for a moment doubt, but that, with the good will of the collectors, it might be every where, and advantageously, acted upon.

In the preceding arrangements I had intended to include the island of Bombay; but finding the whole system, which has been long in force here, so complicated; the nature of landed tenures so uncertain, yet so important to be accurately known; and much other matter requiring deep and probably long research, satisfactorily to elucidate, I thought it better

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

better to compress all that related to this particular island into another separate treatise; and I shall accordingly continue my inquiries in this view, if it meet the approbation of Government.

As Bombay, Salfette, and Caranjah, with the subordinate smaller islands, only constitute one collectorship, and that by no means an extensive one, there is certainly no reason why one cutcherry under the collector should not be sufficient for the duties thereof.

In the present plan, I have therefore declined framing the necessary establishment for this cutcherry, until the Bombay arrangements should be completed; but I still trust there are sufficient data given to judge, with accuracy, of the annual saving in that part of the collectorship treated of, and which, in Salfette and Caranjah, will be about 20,000 rupees per annum, or more than two-thirds of the present amount.

It will not escape the observation of the honourable Board, that the accompanying petitions from Salfette and Caranjah, contain many representations beyond those adverted to in the essay, and which may require local adjustment previous to the adoption of any arrangement, whatever it be, for the permanent administration of these islands.

Among other requests, the inhabitants of Caranjah have particularly solicited the introduction of the system here recommended. It was explained to, and fully understood by them; but it has not been communicated to those of Salfette; though, from the frequent and detailed discussions I have had with men of influence and property connected with Salfette, I have reason to be assured it would prove equally acceptable to the inhabitants of that island.

I must finally apologize for any errors that may be discovered in the accompanying treatise. It has been only begun since my late arrival in India, and necessarily finished in more haste than is perhaps consistent with the importance of so grave a subject. Still, if the principles are good, trifling omissions or oversights may be pardoned, and however fond the supposed partialities of a man for his own productions, I shall be amply satisfied, if this only leads, in abler hands, to the ascertainment of truth.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

Bombay,
24th Sept. 1807.

ESSAY ON TAXATION:

Containing Principles attempted to be deduced from the Laws of Nature, and applied to the Revenue System of India, with Proposals for an experimental Amendment on the Islands of Salfette and Caranja; and a Plan of Collection, on simple principles, by which the Revenue Charges (exclusive of European Allowances) on those Islands, are capable of reduction in at least two-thirds of their present amount.

1. IN the different branches of science and art, theories, or first principles, seem to be universally useful; they are often, indeed, derided and placed in disadvantageous comparison with the superior utility of practice; and bad theories deserve it; but it must be recollected, that all practice has its appropriate theory; the pupil, or apprentice, equally imbibe the first principles of their profession or art, as they advance in habits of experimental skill; and in all observations wherein the mind is concerned, that execution is most perfect where good theory and good practice are combined.

2. A celebrated modern author has observed, that there is no science in which first principles are more necessary than in that of political economy. There is, perhaps, none where established maxims are in execution, so often neglected. In civil government, the road to permanent prosperity is, like the ascent to the temple of virtue, strewn with many difficulties, and many temptations to stray: the mind is dazzled with a view of advantages, which a slight deviation from the prescribed track seems capable of attaining; they are greedily grasped at by the hand of misguided political zeal, on the plausible pretence of public good; and in the disappointment, or accumulated difficulties which ensue, we might usefully learn, were not prejudice predominant, that durable prosperity is only to be found in the ways of eternal justice; that perseverance therein is indispensable at whatever temporary sacrifice or forbearance it may require; and that deviations, under the fallacious hope of collateral benefits, are often ruinous, or at best yield but partial good, at the heavy loss of a disproportionate degree of lasting evil.

3. The envious desire of exclusive advantage, coveted at the expense of strict justice, perhaps of a neighbour's right, would seem to be the foundation of that system of rivalry and intrigue, in which courts and ministers so vainly aspire to excel: diplomatic skill degenerates into artifice and cunning, and custom throws the veil of sufferance over the most unrighteous acts; when these fail, violence is resorted to, and then follows the greatest of all political evils—the scourge of horrid war.

4. How often too is the pretended honour of a nation, like that of a duellist, made to consist in blood and ruin; revenge is the moving cause; established principles are disregarded; and honour and benefit perversely sought in the *indulgence*, rather than in the *controul*, of the most odious passions.

5. To a similar deviation from the broad path of justice and forbearance, to the indulgence, in fact, of passion, at the expense of reason, may also be ascribed most of the internal disorders

No. 3.

Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

disorders of all political institutions. The avarice, the vanity, and sometimes the severity of power, establish, between a state and its subjects, two distinct interests, which, in view to national prosperity, ought ever to be inseparably united.

6. It is thus that power may be said to involve itself both in foreign broils and domestic difficulties, tempted by the flattering suggestions of human craft to forsake the unerring maxims of infinite wisdom.

7. There are sundry points in the science of political economy, concerning which the learned are still at variance, and on which, therefore, it would be presumptuous in an humble individual to intrude an unlearned opinion; but there are others so obviously right, that we cannot be wrong in their assumption; the only difficulty lies in their due adaptation to the state of things in this country.

8. Nature is the ground-work of all science; and it is from the laws of nature alone, or the revealed will of God, that we can hope to derive principles of infallible excellence. If, therefore, we can discover those laws, by which nature regulates her societies on earth, no man will surely presume to deny the policy, or even the necessity of their adoption, or to think the expedients or ingenuity of his own fallible reason a better guide; and the constitution of the human mind, its natural powers, and its passions, bear so strong a similitude in all countries, that the same immutable laws of nature may be found equally efficacious, and equally prevalent among all the various races of civilized life.

9. It is generally admitted, that one of the most universal laws on which the fabric of human society is formed, is that of self-love. It pervades the whole race of man, and even the virtues and energies of the mind are attributed to this source. We do good because it is a gratification to ourselves, or because we expect benefits in return; we labour to supply the wants, or promote the conveniences and luxuries of others, because we are ourselves benefited by the exertion, in fortune, or in fame, self-love, or self-interest, in here the fundamental source of good to every branch of the society, and self-interest is only a modification of the same.

10. To give greater force and efficacy to this radical principle of human society, nature, all-wise and all-consistent, has implanted in man a corresponding motive to action, in which the human is found essentially to differ from the rest of animal creation. Every animal in nature besides, has no wants but what its own power can supply. Man alone (excepting perhaps the lowest savage) is a purely dependent being; he is unable to supply the hundredth, nay, the thousandth part of his own wants; and whilst labouring, within a limited sphere, to furnish those of others, thousands and ten thousands are similarly employed to contribute to his own. Civilized man thus owes the enjoyments and comforts of life to the assistance of his fellows: it is a common cause, in which the wants of all call forth the exertions of all; and each finds his own advantage in concurring to the general demand.

11. Self-interest is therefore the law of nature, which prompts to this universal labour, for the benefit and use of others; and the natural dependence of man, or in other words, those numerous wants which others only can supply, give activity to the passion, and call it into full exertion. The extent of these wants is therefore the measure of public prosperity in every society; for it is the profitable supply thereof, that occasions the prosperity of individuals, and what is public prosperity but that of every individual combined.

12. Self-love or self-interest, is now displayed in the garb of universal industry; profit, or as before observed, the profitable supply of men's wants, is its only natural stimulus, and the general good of the whole community is the natural result. To restrain these wants, or to share too deeply in the profits of industry, are consequently impolitic acts of power, from being evident counteractions of those very laws, by which alone society can be expected to prosper: and we accordingly find those states to be most remarkable for internal wealth and strength, for the general spread of the comforts of life among all classes of the community, where the laws on which industry and profit are founded, are allowed to operate with the greatest efficacy and freedom.

13. Look, on the other hand, to the state of our Indian possessions; and with the exception of our chief commercial towns, and some few other favoured spots, we are presented with a view of what, comparatively speaking, may be called universal poverty, in one of the finest countries of the world; and the cause does not appear to me to be hid in impenetrable obscurity. Agriculture being, more especially in extensive and fertile continents, the most natural employment of man, is here productive of at most but little profit: the actual annual produce of the soil is taxed, on the principle of Government being entitled to one-half of that produce; or in cases where the lands are made over in proprietary right to individuals, to upwards of eight-tenths of the net rent of such states. The rate of this tax is enormous, compared with that of any known flourishing country; and it is aggravated in very many instances by the exactions of native servants: it is laid on the immediate employments, and shares in the immediate profits of industry, and also falls directly on the most important of the necessaries of life, all and each of which, are serious political evils.

14. But were the superfluous produce of agriculture, or the major part thereof, left in the hands of those who raised it, it is easy to conceive how it would set in motion mechanical industry, for the supply of wants which every possessor of this superfluity would then naturally feel, and by distribution among the various workmen in trades and professions, contribute to
encrease

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increase the comforts and the wealth of every part of the society; for, when the possessors and cultivators of land realize wealth, to be expended in the gratification of wants and wishes, mechanics, &c. by the supply of those wants, increase in wealth and numbers also, so as to require (in addition to the wealthy, idle consumer of every society) more and more of the produce of their own, as well as of agricultural labour; the increasing funds on both sides occasion a mutually increasing demand.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

15. But where the major part of this superfluous produce (or, which is the same thing, the proceeds thereof) is absorbed in a government tax, and then expended in purposes foreign to the support and encouragement of industry, it is equally clear that the wants of society can neither increase, nor the funds from which they originate.

16. Let us conceive, for example, the effect of a heavy land-tax, raised to support a large standing army in a country of no commerce, such a tax as the one under discussion, viz. half the gross produce of lands, or 8-10ths of the rent of estates, can only be supposed at best to leave a bare maintenance to the payers; their means of supporting labour and mechanical industry must therefore be very limited. Conceive next, the distribution of this tax among the component members of the army, who are all idle consumers, or persons not engaged in lucrative employments: here also it only affords a bare maintenance. In this progress of the limited circulating wealth of a country, there are no visible grounds of augmentation or improvement of any thing, there is no increasing fund for the support of industry; no more food required in one year than the preceding, no greater supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life; all is stationary, because all are equally poor; a people having attained the limit of its food, may thus exist from year to year, but can never advance in durable prosperity.

17. Now, if a capital does by its employment, say, for example, in one year, produce a greater fund for the re-employment in the next year, of a greater quantity of labour to that originally employed, the industry of a country is manifestly advancing: if it re-produces an equal fund, industry is stationary; but if it re-produces a lesser fund, i. e. a fund only equal to the employment of a lesser number of labourers, artificers, &c. than before, the industry and prosperity of a country are manifestly declining.

18. In India however, the circulating agricultural capital can only be said, in the present state of the country and under the system of taxation above specified, to re-produce at best in each succeeding year, but an *equal* fund, whence it may reasonably be concluded that our industry is *stationary*, and our population and our poverty also: and the immoderate wants of Government, under such circumstances, may be feared to be more likely to cast the body politic into incurable decline, than their paternal care to advance it to a state of growing vigour.

19. On this part of the subject it would be unnecessary to enlarge, did not the systems and local practice of India leave reason to suppose, that in fixing the amount of a tax contributable by any people, it was deemed immaterial from what source it were levied, or on what funds it were assessed, whether on consumption, profits, lands, &c. &c. since, in all or either case, the people were only required to pay a fixed revenue, and no more.

20. In opposition to this opinion, the illustrious Dr. Smith would teach, that all taxes should, in the first instance, be equal; that is, contributed in proportion to men's abilities, and ought therefore equally to affect *rent, profit, and wages*, the only source of revenue to individuals. If they fall on *one* only of three sorts of revenue, they are unequal, and therefore oppressive.

21. Secondly; They ought to be certain, not arbitrary; that is, clearly and plainly defined, so that the payer of the tax may know exactly what he has to contribute. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence and *favours the corruption of tax-gatherers* (and no country has experienced this effect more sensibly than India), whence Dr. Smith conceives, that even a considerable degree of inequality is not so great an evil as uncertainty.

22. Thirdly; Taxes should be so contrived as to take as little as possible out of the pockets of the people, over and above what is paid into the public treasury. A great number of officers, whose salaries may eat up a great part of the tax, and whose perquisites may impose another additional tax on the people, are bad.

23. No man acquainted with an Indian system, and the number of native servants which so complicated a system requires, will need any comment to feel the full force of this maxim, as applicable to our Eastern possessions.

24. Fourthly; Taxes, and particularly high ones on the necessaries of life, are objectionable; and all taxes generally, "*which obstruct the industry of the people, and discourage them from applying to certain branches of business, which might give maintenance and employment to great multitudes.*"

25. Can any *obstruction* or *discouragement* be more effectual, than a tax which absorbs a lion's share of the profits of industry, as soon as ever individual labour shall have acquired them?

26. Fifthly; Taxes on consumable goods, particularly luxuries, are probably the least oppressive, because they are naturally, and without the interference of inquisitors and assessors, proportioned to the means of a consumer, paid in a manner most convenient to him, by little and little, as he buys goods; and he is left to buy, or not to buy, as he pleases.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

27. The tax, moreover, which is paid on the price of a commodity, is seldom adverted to, and it constitutes no part of a man's view of his profits: he labours with the cheering prospect before him of *indefinite* advantage, therefore with every possible incitement to the exertion of human industry, and with the further privilege of exercising his own free-will in the purchase, or otherwise, of the taxed commodity, according as he may find himself possessed of the means of gratifying his wants.

28. In applying these maxims, and subjoined remarks, to the rate of land-taxation in India, it will not be requisite to say much on that which takes, under the permanent settlement, *upwards of eight-tenths of the annual net rent of estates as the share of Government*. The tax, I imagine, speaks for itself, and is surely an evident violation of the preceding principles; from its inequality, its amount, and the particular effects of "destruction" and "discouragement," it is likely to perpetuate. The plea of waste lands being attached to each estate, which the proprietor may cultivate free of further tax, is, I humbly apprehend, illusory; for waste lands require capital to bring into a state of cultivation, whose produce, moreover, is, until tried, always doubtful; and to cultivate on borrowed capital, therefore, precarious. Whence then is this capital to originate? not surely from the *generality* of landlords, who already pay upwards of eight-tenths of their profit from the cultivated part of their estates. A few rich individuals may extend their cultivation; or a portion of commercial capital, in the vicinity of towns, may be partially applied to this purpose; but it is very difficult to discover in this system, the seeds of any *great degree* of improvement, or how agriculture is to become a productive source of *general* wealth.

29. Want of effectual demand for the superfluous produce of such waste lands is another and insuperable bar to their cultivation: when the other branches of a community are too poor, or too limited to consume this superfluous produce, agriculturists would only raise it to their own loss; and this loss would be inevitable, if foreign demand were at the same time fully supplied.

30. The land-tax in England, though nominally four shillings, varies in different districts, from four shillings to one shilling in the pound, and in some less; and this is calculated on a very moderate value of estates, framed in 1692, in the reign of King William III.

31. But even this tax is not free from complaint, as well in respect to amount as to the mode of assessment, and the partial distribution thereof, in each subdivision or district; and of late years, or in 1798, it was rendered subject to redemption and purchase, under the avowed view, as stated in the preamble of the Act, of "*strengthening and supporting the public credit, and augmenting the nation's resources*."

32. The land-tax, or contribution, (*foncière*), in France, is stated in their own reports, to have been universally complained of as heavy, and to have fallen very unequally, although only a professed fifth of the net produce. Indeed, the evil of inequality would seem to be incident to every system of land-taxation that professes to levy a specific portion of actual produce, *from the very great difficulty, if not total impossibility, of correctly ascertaining or fixing its amount or value for any length of time together*. In very light taxes this inequality may not be much felt or complained of; but in heavy ones it can hardly fail, I apprehend, to fall with the weight of oppression on a considerable part of the agricultural community.

33. In the ancient dominions of the King of Prussia, the land tax is said to be assessed at the rate of 20, 25, 38, 33, 40, 45, and 50 per cent. of the revenue of proprietors, according to their different ranks or privileges, and this country is consequently far behind England in point of prosperity.

34. In Arthur Young's account of Lombardy, a very minute detail is given of the gross produce, rent, and taxation of land.

$3\frac{1}{2}$ pertiche are
stated to be equal
to an English acre.
20 soldi, one livre.

35. Taking 100 pertiche in the Milanese, he states its gross produce in corn, wine, and silk, at 1836 livres, of which the proprietor's net share is 785 livres, exclusive of tax. Land of this rent and value pays censimento (tax) $15\frac{1}{2}$ foldi per pertica, or 77 livres on the hundred. The tax is paid by the farmer; but, if it were not, it would form part of the landlord's share, making this latter 862 livres. The tax, therefore, to the proprietor is 77 livres, on 862 livres, which is $8\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ or £.8. 18s. per cent. or 1s. 9d. in the pound.

36. Only half this contribution of 77 livres goes to the Sovereign, the other half is retained for roads, bridges, and other parochial charges, and, in some cases, the partial support of the cures is included.

37. "But (as Mr. Young adds,) though the burden is nothing compared with those which 'crush us,' (alluding to the land-tax, tithe, and poor-rates, all of which he estimated equal to 8s. or 10s. in the pound,) 'in England, yet 1s. 9d. in the pound is too heavy a land-tax; it is throwing too great a burden upon landed property, and lessening too much the profit which should arise from investing capitals in it. Were $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to be laid on new investments, not one livre would be invested."

38. If Mr. Young, a man of the first experience in matters of this nature, deems this tax a heavy burden, what would he think of one nearly ten times its weight.

39. On the lands above described (which are also said not to be rich) there seems to have been laid a capitation tax equal to about $22\frac{1}{2}$ livres the 100 pertica.

40. Watered

40. *Watered* dairy lands, yielding a net rent to the landlord of 10 livres per pertica, and two livres five soldi, as censimento or tax; this latter equals $18\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. or 3s. 8d. in the pound. In other parts he found the tax equal to 12 per cent. or 2s. 4d. in the pound.

41. Throughout the whole Duchy of Milan, the land tax is computed at something less than one livre per pertica, which according to Mr. Young's given admeasurement of the pertica, may be said to make in English money and measure, about 2s. per acre (supposing the livre 8½ d. English) or about 1s. 9d. per acre, supposing it 7½ d. *

42. In the ecclesiastical state of Bologna, the land tax is computed at only 2d. the English acre.

43. In Parma at about 9d. per acre,† and in Modena, the common calculation is, that *all taxes whatever*, only equal a fifth of the gross produce of land.

44. In Tuscany the land tax is in many places redeemed. That part of it which is paid to communities for roads, &c. and is not thus redeemable, amounts to more than one-tenth of the net rent. From the general tenor of Mr. Young's observations, I should conclude, therefore, the whole of the land-tax, previous to redemption, to have been one-fifth of the net rent.

45. Numerous other examples might be produced; but these perhaps are sufficient; all these rates are much lower than the one adopted in India. Indeed, I believe we can find no other country in the world, under the rule of an enlightened government, whose lands are subject to so heavy an imposition.

46. With regard to our other tax, as referrible to the actual produce of the lands, and purporting to be *one half of that produce*, it may be briefly observed, that Dr. Davenant states the land-rents of England, generally, to be to the gross produce as nine to twenty-one, or three-sevenths, and the rents of corn-lands (which are the chief fund of taxation in India) as two-ninths only of the produce.

47. Dr. Smith (a later writer) says, that "in the present state of Europe, the share of the landlord seldom exceeds a third, sometimes not a fourth of the whole produce of the land."—It is therefore very clear, that in Europe, were there no landlords in the way, the lands generally could never pay a tax to the state of half produce.

48. In China, the land-tax is said to consist of one-tenth of the produce. Even under the Mahomedan governments in Bengal, it is only said to have been a fourth or fifth of the produce; in ancient Egypt the same. In the province of Malabar, a mode of assessing lands from time immemorial, has been discovered, whereby the rents to proprietors are estimated according to the fertility of different soils, and as these are exceedingly rich in Malabar, an average of the whole, according to a table thereof framed in the year 1803, gives about a third of the produce generally as the proprietor's share.

49. But it may be safely alledged, on the grounds of experience, that though some lands may be sufficiently rich to yield half their produce to a landlord or government, the other half being sufficient to defray the charges and reasonable profits of cultivation, yet this is not the case generally; in the majority of lands it will require from six to eight tenths of the produce, and sometimes more, to defray the charges and profits abovementioned; and it thence follows, that a tax, regularly and correctly assessed at half the actual produce of lands, would not leave to the inhabitants of any extensive country under heaven, a sufficiency to subsist on.

50. The system of *metayage* or letting out lands at half, which is often a third or fourth of the produce, prevailed in France, and in some parts of Italy; as far as regards the division of produce, its analogy to the Indian system is striking, and like that too, it has been every where observed by agricultural travellers and writers, (vide Mons. Turgot, Mr. Arthur Young, &c.) to be attended with wretched poverty and distress to the cultivators of the soil.

51. But there was a public tax under the ancient government of France, similar, in many respects to the one here treated of, both in its nature and operation, though not so exorbitant in its amount; the *taille* was properly a land tax, chiefly laid on farmers, or the actual cultivators of the soil; in some districts it was assessed on the value of lands held in perpetuity by ignoble tenures, but in others (and I believe most generally) on the supposed profits of those employed in agriculture, both of which were *in their effect* ‡ similar to the Indian assessment, more especially in the important circumstance of direct interference, and sharing too deeply in the first fruits of agricultural industry; for it bore a heavy proportion to the actual produce of lands; like the Indian tax it professed to be an assessment proportioned to the

* N. B. Mr. Young attaches both these values to the livre of Lombardy.

† It is a common rule in Salsette to estimate the average produce of a begah of land at one morah of Batty; a begah is about three-fourths of an acre. The morah of Batty is rated at 20 rupees, one-third of which is the Government share, or somewhat less than seven rupees per begah. At this rate even the reduced land-tax on Salsette would average *upwards of a guinea per acre*.

‡ The profit of agriculture arises out of the produce, whence a tax on the profits and a tax on the produce are pretty nearly the same thing; a certain portion must always be allowed for the expences of cultivation; whence the net produce, which is the profit, is in fact the only taxable fund.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

the real abilities of districts to pay; and, like that too, it was liable not only to the ignorance and misinformation, but the partialities, private resentments, and prejudices of assessors. These are evils incident to every assessment of this nature; it is utterly impossible, and has been found so in all countries, to make an accurate survey, which requires years to accomplish, of the produce of lands, which is yearly varying. Irregularity and uncertainty, involuntary error, and wilful fraud; oppression on the one hand, and corruption on the other, are therefore the invariable characteristic marks of such a system of taxation, and no country presents a more accurate proof than India, of the melancholy existence of *these effects*.

52. Dr. Smith, in speaking of the effects of the *taille*, draws a picture so strikingly applicable to very many Indian districts, and their state of agriculture, that I shall here subjoin it. In the countries, where, "the personal *taille* takes place, the farmer is commonly assessed in proportion to the stock which he appears to employ in cultivation. He is upon this account, frequently afraid to have a good team of horses or oxen, but endeavours to cultivate with the meanest and most wretched instruments of husbandry that he can; such is his distrust in the justice of his assessors, that he counterfeits poverty, and wishes to appear scarce able to pay any thing, for fear of being obliged to pay too much. By this miserable policy, he does not, perhaps, always consult his own interest in the most effectual manner, and he probably loses more by the diminution of his produce than he saves by that of his tax. The public, the farmer, the landlord, all suffer more or less, by this degraded cultivation. *That the personal taille tends in many different ways to discourage cultivation, and consequently to dry up the principal source of the wealth of every great country*, I have already had occasion to observe," &c.

53. Mr. Arthur Young remarks, on the same tax:—"One would naturally have supposed, from the gross abuses and cruelty of this method of taxation, that the object in view was as much to keep the people poor, as to make the king rich. As the *taille* was professedly levied in a proportion to every one's substance, it had the mischievous effect of all equal land taxes, when levied even with honesty, for a *farmer's profit*, his success, his merit was taxed exactly in proportion to the quantum, a sure method of putting a period to the existence of either profit, success, or merit. The farmers are really poor, or apparently poor; since a rich man will affect poverty to escape the arbitrary use of a tax, which professes to be in proportion to his power of bearing it."

54. The preceding intimation respecting land taxes, I believe to be perfectly just, as I may have occasion, at some future time, more fully to elucidate. Our business here is to reduce a tax deemed exorbitantly high, rather than to discuss the merits and operation of land taxes generally.

55. There were other taxes in old France, obstructive of private industry, and therefore, checks to national prosperity, inasmuch that Dr. Smith, in comparing the system of taxation in France and England, shows that England, even then, paid twice as much as France, in comparison to their respective population, though the soil and climate of France, he adds, are better, the country longer in a state of improvement and cultivation, and therefore, better stocked with those things which it requires time to raise and accumulate, such as great towns, convenient well-built houses, &c.

56. These natural advantages, however, were so much more than counterbalanced by the effect of the French system, and its immediate pressure on the pursuits of industry, that Dr. Smith concludes with the remarkable observation, that the people of France, it is generally acknowledged, are much more oppressed with taxes than the people of Great Britain, notwithstanding, as above stated, the French did not, relatively to their population, pay one half as much in aggregate amount.

57. But, if the experience of other countries, and the arguments of our best writers, against a heavy land tax, should still be thought inapplicable to this, let the matter be placed in another point of view, and the merits of the question tried by the calm deductions of reason from positive facts.

58. In Sir John Sinclair's History of the Public Revenue, a curious and interesting circumstance is stated, viz. That from Michaelmas 1787 to Michaelmas 1788, the net produce of the perpetual excise upon malt was £.724,786.; the annual excise £.603,317.; the duties upon beer £.1,666,152., upon British spirits £.509,167., so that barley yielded a clear revenue of £.3,503,422.

59. Now, the whole land-tax of England does not produce annually more than about £.1,900,000., of which no great proportion can be considered as at all referable to the produce of barley lands; but if, according to the Indian principle of laying the whole tax at once on the produce of land, these $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions were attached, in the first instance, to the cultivation of barley, and the people of England were told the tax (like unto the Indian practice) was simplified and fixed for ever at this amount—"You shall have your malt, beer, and spirits free:" Can any man, for a moment, suppose that this cultivation would not be immediately and effectually checked? Would capital be any more employed in a line where profit was at once annihilated, or ought but hungry necessity drive a people, under such circumstances, to the cultivation of their soil?

60. Is it not evident that a first tax on such principles, even though capable of payment, must be oppressive, and obstruct the progress of future improvement? Is it probable the same

same quantity of malt, beer, and spirits, could ever be brought into being? Is it not evident too, that the aggregate amount, to which the above mentioned taxes thereon are, or might be carried, is by this means utterly incapable of realization? Is it not, in fact, a question between confirmed poverty and abundant wealth? And can we, therefore, hesitate as to the preferability of the systems here contrasted, or, for an instant, doubt that the consolidation of taxes on lands, to the amount, at least, practised in India, has thus a clear and manifest tendency to defeat its own object.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

61. But the system of uniting all the imposts of a country in one single land-tax is the great principle of the French economists, though not carried to so ruinous an excess as in this country. A moderate tax on the "produit net of estates taken from existing accounts, contracts, or leases, and without any pretended reference to the actual produce of the soil," may be entirely unobjectionable. Arthur Young, however, would seem to combat even this principle; and, though he may not be allowed to have successfully confuted it, he yet adduces a remarkable fact, which may be admitted to demonstrate the monstrous impolicy of such a tax as would absorb, like that of India, all, or almost all, the net produce of lands, leaving little or nothing but a bare maintenance to proprietors and cultivators. It shews, I think, satisfactorily that, under a heavy system of divided taxation, wealth may continue to exist, nay, to increase, and to be expended advantageously, whilst, by absorption of the net rent of lands, it is utterly extinguished.

62. After pointing out the supposed error of the French principle in forcible terms, Mr. Young supports his argument with the following example; which is so striking, I shall give it in his own words.

63. "Relative to the utter impossibility of extending land-taxes in England to such a degree as to include all others, I have it in my power to refer to an instance of our taxation most correctly given. I have inserted in the Annals of Agriculture, No. 86, an account of all the taxes I pay for my estate in Suffolk; and in that account it appears that the tract of land which pays me net £.229. 12s. 7d. pays to the burthens of the public £.219. 18s. 5d.; deducting from fifteen millions and a half (the net revenue of Great Britain) those taxes which enter into that sum of £.219. 18s. 5d. there remain ten millions and a half; and as the present land tax, at two millions, burthens me £.40. a year, an additional one of ten millions and a half would consequently lay the further burthen of five and a half times as much, or £.220., that is to say, it would leave me the net receipt of £.9. for the whole clear income of my estate. Perhaps the economists never received directly from facts so convincing a proof as this instance offers, of the utter impracticability of their preposterous schemes."

Vide, A. Young,
Vol. I. p. 592.

64. From the contemplation however of these facts, all I should attempt to deduce is (and the conclusion seems to me inevitable), *that a heavy consolidated tax on the first exertions of any species of industry*, absorbing the whole, or nearly the whole, of its profits, is ruinous and impolitic, from being an effectual bar to the creation of that produce, on which future exertions might be profitably employed; and through the medium of which, individual wealth and public revenue seem capable of being increased to an almost inconceivable extent. A land-tax, more especially of this nature, blasts the very production of that wealth, which industry would otherwise bring into being.

65. It is not intended to be denied that taxes on consumption have their inconveniences and objections; but merely to prove, that a divided system is less ruinous and oppressive in operation, than the enormous consolidated land-taxes discussed in these sheets.

66. The excessive amount of our Indian tax, and the peculiar mode of its operation, by falling on the immediate employments, and sharing in the immediate profits of industry, and of that species of industry the most important to man, the production of food, are therefore evidently so many restraints on the wants of society, and checks to the increase of capital, which in the unobstructed course of nature's laws would universally expand. If however, the necessities of Government will not admit of an immediate reduction of the present taxes, they may, at all events, be removed from those sources where industry is blasted in the bud, to others where their deadening and disheartening influence will, it is hoped, be less severely felt; and some idea in practice of the utility of the change may be formed by a local application of these principles to the island of Salfette.

67. The land revenue of Salfette, as per Abstract (A.), including the angdena or coolery tax, may be stated at rupees 145,850. Though much simplified by Mr. Rivett Camac, it is still drawn from fourteen different sources (exclusive of seven farms) liable to vexatious irregularities; which are, in many instances, accordingly felt and locally complained of, as preventive of extended cultivation and improvements. The main principle of Mr. Camac's system was a consolidation or abolition of many vexatious taxes, and a reduction of the batty revenues from one-half of the produce to a nominal third. The Government of Bombay, actuated by a further humane regard to the interests of the natives, proposed on the preceding principle to grant the tenants of batty lands cowles, making over the said lands to them in proprietary right, subject to the said tax of one-third of the gross produce, in perpetuity; as the cowles contained an objectionable clause, they have only been taken out by a few. The principle, however, has been acted on in the collection of the revenue; and in this respect the people of Salfette are certainly more favoured than our other districts, where the principle of half produce still prevails.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

68. With deference to superior judgment, it is nevertheless humbly submitted, whether a tax, absorbing one-third of the gross produce of land, is not higher than the landlord of an estate ought in sound policy to pay in perpetuity? Whether, as the other numerous taxes are still continued, the same complicated system of revenue will not be perpetuated, liable to the same restraints on the inhabitants, *and the same vexatious interference and exactions of native servants*; and whether, in short, the present cowles go the full length of that encouragement, which, according to the best established and most generally admitted principles of political economy, ought to be granted to the pursuits of industry?

69. If these be answered in the negative, I would next humbly suggest, as well with a view to more effectual relief from high taxation, and the interference and exactions of native servants, as to the complete simplification of the revenue system.

B. on G.

70. First.—That all the various land-taxes now in force be consolidated into one general tax, and wholly transferred from the lands and their produce *to the houses*, which, according to the accompanying population tables, are about 11,500 in number; each house to pay at a certain proportionate rate, to be hereafter fixed in money, which I will myself, with the approbation of Government, settle on the spot; and which, to the present occupiers of land, must necessarily be regulated by the amount of their land-tax, as more fully explained in the accompanying Abstract, A.

71. Let all others now paying tax to Government, have, for the sake of conformity, that tax similarly fixed on their houses.

72. And as shopkeepers, who now pay nothing, may very reasonably be included in the proposed house tax, whatever be levied from this new source may, I should hope, be allowed, in the first instance, to be set against a corresponding deduction in the amount of the tax on the occupiers of land, and the more especially, as the Company are throughout the whole of the plan effectually guarded against loss.

* Note—Angdina
is a kind of Cspita-
tion or Body Tax.

73. The coolies, who now pay * Angdina, are so well off, in comparison with their neighbours, that it is imagined no deduction of their tax, after being fixed on their houses, will be found necessary, at all events not immediately.

74. The tax thus fixed on each house respectively, may be painted thereon in large letters or figures, as the only, or rather utmost tax to be for ever afterwards demanded thereon. The lands having been previously made the private property of the present occupants, free of all expense for cowles, &c. may then be declared by solemn proclamation to be for ever free from all tax; the produce, whether of those now in cultivation, or to be hereafter cultivated, to be wholly and entirely at the disposal of each proprietor, subject only to sale of the said *lands* (not their *produce*) by public outcry for arrears of house-tax, in case of necessity; *and to be wholly exempt from every other species of interference on the part of the officers of government.*

75. Secondly.—Let proclamation be also made, that waste lands will be granted in proprietary right to any extent that may be demanded or applied for, on condition of immediate cultivation, and under the same solemn engagement of being equally *free from all tax for ever*, except the relatively small one, which may be now paid, where there are productive trees.

Orig.

76. Thirdly.—As capitalists and men of property may be expected to take lands on these conditions, the object should be encouraged by further proclaiming, that no house-tax will be collected from new settlers cultivating waste lands, for the first fifteen or twenty years of their occupancy, and that at the expiration of that period, they shall only be subject to the same house-tax as may be in force among the old settlers, and which it is intended to reduce from its present amount, as other unobjectionable sources of equivalent taxation may be discovered to one moderate uniform standard throughout the island. This standard, as more fully explained in the Abstract (A.) it is anticipated, may be ere long fixed at a certain rate, say 5 per cent. ad valorem (or any other Government may in preference decide on), without any reference whatever to the produce of land.

77. But whether or not it be the mode in force generally for houses on the island, at the expiration of the said fifteen or twenty years, as it is the principle to which the plan ultimately tends, it should be applied, to the new houses and new settlers, whenever they become liable to the imposition of the said tax.

78. Fourth.—On the revenue system now in force, if additional batty grounds be desired to be cultivated, or present cultivation to be improved, if dry grains or other products be raised on the high grounds, or more trees planted, neither can be effected without subjecting the speculator to an additional proportionate tax; besides (what may not be always so capable of direct proof) the necessity of certain presents to the local native servants, for permission to undertake the projected improvement, and the probability that the further annual exaction of these servants will be proportionately augmented. These are so many checks to extended cultivation, which the plan endeavours at least to remove; since by confining the land-tax to one source, and fixing it for ever, all the profits of improved or extended cultivation are the proprietor's own, unshared by any one, and the tax is moreover confined to a house, or it may be laid on any other preferable article of dead stock, on which industry is not either constantly or annually employed.

79. There

79. There will also be fewer native servants, as will be seen in the concluding sheets of this essay, to exact the price of their sanction or acquiescence; and the impositions of the remainder may be restrained by transporting such as are convicted of the crime.

80. Fifth.—Another improvement, and one that I believe will be truly acceptable to the inhabitants, is proposed in the plan, as follows: the cowles contain a stipulation, that though the actual amount of tax be fixed for ever, its money value is liable to alteration at the expiration of a certain number of years, to guard against the depreciations which time and circumstances may superinduce in the intrinsic value of the precious metals. This clause is a source of doubt and uncertainty to the inhabitants, who fear lest future governments or collectors may take advantage of the clause, to raise the actual amount of the tax hereafter; and I believe it may be difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate these fears from the number of people wholly ignorant of the principles of money, and long habituated to see increase of revenue, not its diminution, an object of desire and necessity with the state.

81. The house-tax proposed in the plan is, however, intended to be fixed in money, for ever, that is, never to rise; and as the gradual diminution of this particular tax (without loss to the Company) is one of the most important avowed objects of the plan, every depreciation in the value of money, or permanent rise in the value of grain, will then be an actual reduction thereof; whilst Government may always guard themselves from loss, by increasing in proportion the tax on articles of consumption, as for example, in the present customs and forms.

82. But the value of money cannot be supposed to alter much in the course of 20 or 30 years; and it is hoped, that in a much shorter period than this, the tax may be every where reduced to the uniform standard proposed, of a rate ad valorem on houses, and then it is perfectly immaterial, considered in respect to the revenue, how the value of money alters; for a revenue assessed on this principle may be augmented at pleasure and without objection, as the value of money is reduced; another advantage, I apprehend, which the cowles do not possess.

83. Sixth.—The poorer classes, including the more lazy, are now alarmed at the amount of the tax being fixed in its annual amount, lest the produce of their lands in some years be unequal to pay it. Here, however, all uncertainty is removed for ever; the tax is not only limited, never to rise, but on the contrary, subject to gradual reduction; whilst by the cowles it is intended to be continued for ever to be fixed at a high rate, preventive (if these principles be just) of the progress of improvement.

84. As the lands, under these circumstances, will be more valuable to their possessors, the produce being all their own, and the tax ever lessening, either positively or relatively in amount, an arrear need occasion no alarm, for money might be more easily raised, by mortgage on lands so circumstanced, or they would fetch a readier sale; whilst the same motive to their cultivation remains to stimulate the indolent, since it is only from the produce of their lands, that the proposed house-tax can be expected to be discharged.

85. The cowles stipulate for the seizure of lands, and all the goods and chattels of every defaulter for arrear of revenue. The plan confines it to the *lands alone*; the one might reduce an unfortunate sufferer to desperate and helpless poverty; the other, with adequate security for the public revenue, leaves the means of temporary maintenance, till other employments offer.

86. Seventh.—The arrack and tobacco farms, particularly the former, are at present sources of heavy complaint, as may be seen in the accompanying petitions (D & E); on enquiry I find there is some ground for the representation; the price of the arrack does not here altogether fall on the consumer. In the season of cultivation, the proprietor or occupier of land *must* purchase the requisite quantity of arrack for his labourers, for they refuse to work without; so that thus far, it clearly operates as an additional tax on agriculture. With a view therefore, to reconcile the inhabitants to its present price, (which appears to be an object with Government, considered relatively to the morals of the people), I would propose, that in proportion as the revenue from arrack and tobacco increases beyond its present amount, a corresponding deduction be allowed to the old settlers, in the commuted land or house-tax.

87. This may greatly expedite the much wished for reduction of the said tax, which is conceived to be an object of the highest importance and necessity.

88. The other complaints of the inhabitants as to bad liquor and enhanced prices, even beyond that stipulated in the farmer's contract, may easily be obviated by abolishing the present farms, and licencing shops in each village, taxed at so much per diem, which shops will be mutual checks on each other, for if one shopkeeper ill uses the inhabitants, either in the quality or price of the liquor beyond that of his agreement, they have their remedy by dealing with another.

89. A plan on this principle has, I understand, been already carried into effect in Caranja, for the sale of liquor, with good success, and is more satisfactory to the inhabitants than the late farm.

90. Eighth.—In assessing the house tax, a distinction is preserved between the old and new settlers, which it is presumed, is still reconcilable to strict justice; the whole have

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

their situation improved by the consolidation, commutation, and gradual diminution of the tax; they are vested with the exclusive property in lands, already in a state of full produce, and therefore justly liable to a heavier tax than the new settlers, who will have to expend capital in the cultivation of waste lands, yielding perhaps, but a slow return, and therefore requiring greater encouragement, whilst the whole tax tends, with the progress of improvement, to ultimate equalization, and will at length be equally light to all, without any intermediate sacrifice on the part of the Company; the lands will then be every where relieved of those burdens which are now conceived to check the progress of universal prosperity, and the great encouragement is in the interim given, as it should be, to those who have the greatest, if not the sole means of promoting it.

91. From a late report of the collector, the waste lands on the islands of Salfette are stated at 1,739 morahs capable, besides 312 morahs incapable of cultivation, i. e. I presume incapable to the present poor and indolent race, total 2,051 morahs or 4,102 beggahs; besides, "*those waste spots situated on the hills,*" which the collector admits to be very capable of cultivation, with some expense, "adding, that a considerable quantity of hemp might be produced therefrom."

92. Although my experience in revenue matters leads me to believe, that *revenue accounts seldom, if ever, are correct statements of landed produce, or of admeasured quantities of land, or ever can be so on our present system*; and knowing, as I do, that pattells who furnish the accounts on Salfette, have a manifest interest in concealing the extent of waste lands, with a view of reserving much more of them than is necessary, for the pasture of their own cattle; yet admitting, in the present instance, that the accounts are nearly correct, there is still a considerable quantity of batty ground admitted to be waste, besides those higher spots above mentioned by the collector, capable of cultivation, and which may perhaps, without exaggeration, be stated to include *one half at least of the surface of the whole island*.

93. Now, it is the whole of these lands, batty and high grounds inclusive, that the plan here suggested, would propose to bring gradually into a state of cultivation, that at last "every nook and corner of Salfette" (as Dr. Scott expresses himself) "may be as eagerly bought up, and secured, as it is in Bombay," but which the very same report proves, I think to be unobtainable under the present checks to agriculture; Dr. Scott's own report is also a further proof of what new settlers might effect on the island, possessing capital, and a disposition to incite the inhabitants to greater labour.

94. Ninth.—If, after all, it be objected that the plan favours the rich at the expence of the poor—the new and wealthy settler at the expence of the impoverished old one—that even an ultimate house tax, ad valorem, will be more felt by the lower than the higher orders, and that these taxes are therefore disproportioned to the respective means of the contributors, I answer:—

95. First.—That the grand object of the plan is ultimately to reduce all to the same uniform system of moderate taxation, *without subjecting the Company to any intermediate loss in the amount of their annual revenue*.

96. Secondly.—That the ultimate house tax will be sufficiently moderate for the meanest labourer to discharge, and must in fact be paid in the amount of his wages, by the richer man, who employs him. And

97. Thirdly.—That, in respect to want of proportion, however plausible at first sight such objections may appear, yet, to estimate them properly, they should be considered in relation to the nature of human society.

98. As providence has been pleased to constitute this world, it is utterly impossible for every member of any large society to be rich; the major part *must necessarily* have no other means of subsistence, than what the different varieties of labour, bodily and mental afford: the object of wealth is the gratification of wants and wishes; labour alone supplies them; and if all were too rich to work, where would be the use even of the largest possessions? Gold and silver are not in themselves either food or cloathing, or capable, without labour, of supplying a single luxury, comfort, or necessary of life. Without labour they are more useless to their possessors than the very soil they tread on. Without labour, wealth, in the common acceptance of the term, would be absolute poverty.

99. It is among the able, the industrious, or the favoured few, that the acquisition of wealth is conducive to the prosperity of society at large; for when acquired, it is infallibly circulated. Its liberal circulation in the employment of labour, is the only natural means of distributing the comforts of life to the inferior classes; and this distribution is generally proportioned in all states to the degree of civil liberty they may be blessed with. It is thus only that wealth is useful or contributive to the happiness of mankind; and its natural utility and peculiar mode of operation ought to be the guide of all governments in promoting its acquisition.

100. To tax the members of a society in proportion to their means is certainly an equitable rule; but it is thought by many respectable authorities, that there are no more equitable or certain means of obtaining this end than by taxes on *individual consumption*; the generality of mankind consume, in proportion to their income, from whatever source it arises, and therefore, taxes on the price of commodities are proportioned to people's means, through the

the medium of their expenditure. But taxes which bear immediately and heavily on individual profits, cannot fail to be oppressive; they check the acquisition of wealth, confirm general poverty, and therefore obstruct the only possible means by which the laborious, i. e. the major part of every society, can be expected to prosper.

101. If, therefore, taxes affecting the poor fall easily within their limited means of payment, or occasion no forced rise in the wages of labour, and that the other taxes of a state leave the field of industry free and unobstructed, the social body has then all the benefit which government is capable of extending to it. To security and protection is added proper encouragement; the lower benefit by the wealth of the higher classes; their utility and dependence on each other are reciprocal, and the good of all is promoted by its best means of attainment, that of mutual advantage and assistance.

102. Though there is an evident limit beyond which the wealthy few cannot pass, or would cease to be productive of further good, yet it may be impossible to define the precise number in any society that would be most beneficial to the whole. But there is a natural property in wealth in proportion to its own increase, to increase also the laborious hands destined to supply its wants; the liberal recompence of labour enables the poorer classes to live in greater comfort, to rear larger families, and, consequently, to increase in numbers; or it invites additional hands from abroad; so that the proportion between rich and poor, if left to itself, will always balance itself. It is a case that would only bewilder human governments to define, and is referable to the laws of nature alone, by obstructing which, we can never be right; by following which, we can never be wrong.

103. Unlimited encouragement therefore, to all who choose to adventure in the pursuits of industry, should be the policy of those who rule, since the acquisition of wealth, by the few, is the source of universal prosperity; and the expenditure of it, among the many, the only practicable method of ameliorating the condition of the lower orders.

104. Tenth.—From an arrangement, therefore, on these principles, or with such modifications as local circumstances may, on carrying the plan into effect, require, it is humbly hoped that the spirit of industry, which is said to have disappeared with the great Portuguese settlers, may again revive on the island of Salsette. Without it, every hope of improvement is vain. The present inhabitants are certainly better off in some respects since the introduction of Mr. Rivett Camac's system of revenue than they were before; but neither have their numbers, their cultivation, their energy, or their wealth increased; long habituated to a state of hopeless poverty, it is manifest, that with the means, they lost also the inclination to better their condition beyond the reach of ordinary encouragement to relieve; and such are the habits of laziness still prevalent, which poverty and oppression have long tended to perpetuate, that were the whole revenue of the island surrendered to *its present tenants*, it might be longer before it stimulated to greater energy among themselves.

N. B. The accompanying population tables, taken from the public records, show the numbers to have decreased since the year 1802.

105. Capitalists are therefore indispensably necessary to recal into activity the deadened powers of this degenerate race; but, without adequate profit, it cannot be expected that capital will ever be devoted to so desirable an end. The present plan however, proposes this encouragement, by holding forth to its acquirers all the profit which the employment of agricultural capital is capable of affording, subject, ultimately, to a moderate tax at the utmost, wholly unconnected with, and independent of, the amount of profit in question. The tax being ever limited, though the profit be for ever increasing.

106. The introduction of capitalists into the island must necessarily bring about an improved and extended cultivation; the lower classes will hence find constant employment, and enjoy greater comforts; their numbers increase, and, with the further addition of new lands to be employed on the present waste grounds, occasion an increased consumption of liquor, tobacco, &c. The old will thus be better reconciled to the new settlers, not only from the improvement of their own circumstances, but from the effect of their augmentation in reducing the rate of the old tax. Capitalists will also, in many instances, purchase productive lands from the old settlers, to the great advantage of the latter, who may find more comfort and profit in being the well paid farmers, or even labourers of a wealthy landlord, than as the needy possessors of, to them at least, unproductive estates.

107. Eleventh.—An abundant supply of water is so well known in this country to be one of the most essential requisites in agriculture, that it may be needless to dwell on all its advantages. The impossibility of any extended cultivation, without it, the extraordinary capacity of land in this country to produce, uninterruptedly, with it, and often, several crops in the same year; and the means which large reservoirs of water would consequently afford to mitigate the calamities of dry seasons, render it an object highly deserving the attention of Government.

108. From the generally impoverished state of our agricultural population in India, it is not to be expected that works requiring a considerable expenditure of money, however desirable, can be undertaken by them. Even tanks, already in existence, are suffered to go into ruin and decay, from the inability of agriculturists to clean and repair them. The aid of Government is perhaps indispensable; and there is no doubt but it would operate as a most important encouragement to agriculture, if only prudently and judiciously employed.

109. On the island of Salsette, for example, there are numerous spots in the vicinity of the hills, where water might be dammed up, and thereby reserved for the use of cultivators.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

tors throughout the year; the beds of rivers, now dry very shortly after the rainy season, afford, by means of dams, another source of easy supply; and reservoirs, I imagine, might be formed of any required capacity in the places here alluded to, at a comparatively small expence to Government; and this expence admit, without inconvenience, of such arrangement with the inhabitants as to be gradually reimbursed to Government, by an annual moderate tax from those in whose favour and at whose desire the outlay shall have been made.

110. I confess that I am no advocate for the premature construction of public works in an impoverished country, or one likely to continue so: public canals or high roads, for example, in a desert would be useless; they are little better in a country of confirmed poverty, where the inhabitants themselves may be insensible of their advantage, or destitute of the means of turning them to account. In these cases, the expence incurred is always disproportioned to the resulting good. A canal or a road, cannot of themselves create population, or excite the industry of the confirmed poor, any more than a market-place can attract supplies for which there is no demand. In all these cases I should prefer awaiting a general sense of the uses and benefits of such a work, previous to the expenditure of any considerable sum in the execution; but in the case here recommended, of reservoirs, the benefit is so obvious, and the use so immediate and certain, as to justify, it is hoped, this suggestion of the work to the favourable consideration of Government.

111. The speculations on this subject, it may be added, are far from merely theoretical ones. The incalculable benefits of large reservoirs have been actually experienced in the agricultural practice of many nations; numerous proofs may be adduced of it, but I shall only trouble the Board with the accompanying extracts (F. G. H. I.)

112. The animated description, by Mr. Townsend, of the wonderful effects of the pantano on the beautiful valley of Huerta in Spain, cannot be read without admiration. The effects of the reservoirs mentioned by Neibhur, and the prosperity and decay of the population and countries therein referred to, which seemed to follow as consequences of the abundant supply and failure of water, as well as of change of government, are also striking; and, above all, the numerous observations and positive practical facts adduced by the celebrated Arthur Young, of which, however, to avoid prolixity, I have only extracted a few striking instances, will, I trust, be found to merit the particular attention of Government.

113. In the vicinity of Surat the result of irrigation is still more wonderful. From the accompanying statement received from Surat Desloys, now in Bombay, it would seem that some of the well-watered lands are worth *about seven and ten times* as much, in gross produce, as the best of those that are only watered by the monsoon, and the revenue derived therefrom also proportionably greater. As these lands are under the Company's authority, the fact is capable of correct ascertainment, and it is of importance sufficient to merit minute investigation, if this statement be only an approach to accuracy.

114. I have by me a jummaundy of the district of Ahmednugger, for Fulee 1214, wherein the revenue, on an average per begah and per acre, is stated at from four to near six times as much, on constant watered as on monsoon-watered lands.

115. In Bassen, close to the northern boundary of Salfette, a most beautiful and rich cultivation is also established, with the aid of irrigation, and one that affords a striking but mortifying contrast with the agriculture carried on close to it, within our own frontier; but where the same effects might undoubtedly be produced, if to a spirit of industry were only added the same means of increasing, through irrigation, the productive capabilities of the soil.

116. In Malabar, Corgo, and Wynaad, I have seen similar effects produced in valleys abundantly watered; but it is needless to multiply examples of facts so well established in this, and perhaps every other part of the world.

117. I believe I may confidently add, from a superficial knowledge of the laws of hydrostatics, that whoever, as a professional man, is acquainted with that well known and fully established principle of the pressure of water, in proportion to the height of its column, not to its actual bulk, might construct these reservoirs on Salfette at a very moderate expence; another strong recommendation in favour of the experiment.

118. Another object in the establishment of these tanks or reservoirs, though perhaps somewhat more distant, yet not less important, is, that they may hereafter prove a source of very considerable revenue to the state. Whenever this may be, it is presumed they will be found unobjectionable sources of taxation, at the same time that it may be prudent to restrict the taxes thereon, under present circumstances, to the mere reimbursement of their original cost, i. e. until their great utility and advantage be very generally felt, or until a spirit shall be excited on the island to extend its agriculture beyond the limits to which it is now very generally restricted by an annual supply of water from the heavens.

119. At some future period therefore, and that not very distant, it seems to be by no means visionary to calculate on a clear revenue from this source, which I would earnestly recommend, in the first instance, as a further substitute for the present land-tax, or to aid in the reduction thereof. And when this tax shall be sufficiently reduced to be no longer an impediment to the progress of general prosperity, it may be difficult to foresee to what extent

the proposed house-tax and reservoir-tax may be carried. A reservoir-tax is moreover, in my humble judgment, as unobjectionable as a house-tax, from its not interfering, as before observed, *with the immediate pursuits, or sharing in the immediate profits of industry*. A fixed annual tax for a supply of water, will constitute no part of a man's view of his profits from the sale of an untaxed produce; the tax is fixed while the produce may be any thing; and the principle already repeated in the course of this essay, of holding forth to the industrious the prospect of indefinite profit, or of a profit extensible to any practicable extent of his own exertions, is therefore equally adhered to.

120. Lastly.—In short, the whole plan proceeds on the principle of exciting universal industry, by holding forth its only natural incitement; and such is the favourable situation of the island, from its proximity to a market capable and ready to absorb its utmost possible produce, that industry and prosperity might be here carried to an incalculable and indefinite extent; and as general wealth increased, if more revenue were requisite to answer the just calls of Government, there would then be found abundant sources of unobjectionable augmentations.

121. In the interim, the Company, under any result, are effectually guarded against loss; for their present revenue from the island is fully and cautiously secured to them throughout every stage of the plan, with no reduction of what is deemed the objectionable tax, until an unobjectionable equivalent is presented; and if the plan be otherwise successful, this must be admitted to be no small additional advantage, in a country so poor and yet so highly assessed.

122. By the reduction of the new establishments the Company will moreover be considerable gainers, as more fully shewn in the sequel.

123. The present state of Salfette exhibits a fact highly interesting to political inquirers, and on which a few remarks may be useful, particularly if they shall be found equally applicable to other parts of our Indian territories.

124. In Mr. Rivett's able report of the 25th of June 1796, he asserts the island of Salfette to be equally populous, if not more so than some of the most prosperous known countries.

Its extent is stated to be 240 square miles, and its population 51,000 souls, which correspond with the population tables accompanying this essay; with the facts, it is curious to compare the late statements of the population of our mother country.

In the Encyclopedia Londinensis, containing some of the latest surveys, the population of England and Wales is given at 8,400,000 souls; and the extent of territory 49,540 square miles. This gives 169 inhabitants to every square mile, whereas those of Salfette are 212.

125. If the situation of these two countries be only viewed by the most superficial observer, it is impossible not to be struck with the active energy of the one people, and the languid apathy and helpless indolence of the other; and thinking minds can hardly avoid the conclusion, that agriculture alone is not sufficient to promote or support a vigorous and efficient population; and that population, however extensive, is inefficient and comparatively useless, *unless it be stimulated* to active employment. Without at all pretending, or even feeling qualified to engage in the disputed points respecting agriculture and population, the example before us is too forcible to be invalidated by arguments derived from theory alone. We here clearly see, that farmers and cultivators will raise food for themselves, but not gratuitously, for others; neither will those others supply the extra wants of the agricultural class, without an equivalent value in exchange; extra exertions on both sides must be roused by the application of proper incitements; if these be wanting, agriculture alone, its consequent population, and the prosperity of the society at large, have an evident limit, and that by no means an extensive one.

126. By these observations it is not pretended to deny, that agriculture is a source, and the original source of wealth, but rather to contend that its productions lose their character of wealth, when confined to the uses and consumption of the actual producers; that wealth, in short, consists more in the surplus produce of agriculture than in the portion which cultivators immediately consume; and that this wealth should neither be checked in circulation by impolitic restraints, or drained from the pockets of its industrious acquirers by heavy taxation; for, in the hands of the latter, wealth, with filial regard, as it were, to its parental source, re-acts upon industry, by stimulating it to the supply of greater wants, the chief of which is food; and food for a flourishing population can only be procured by extended agriculture, which thus, and thus only, is enabled to pass the abovementioned barrier that poverty and restrained wants would seem to prescribe to it.

127. Without these stimulus indeed there may be even superfluous produce in a country, if demanded by foreign consumption, without conducing in the least to its own abundance or prosperity; for if the proceeds of that superfluous produce or the major part, be equally with the proceeds of home consumption absorbed by high taxation, we may be still far removed from a progressive course of improvement. Internal wealth is still wanting to excite the industry of the necessitous, in the other mechanical branches of civilized life; the price of labour is consequently too low, and its produce yielding but a scanty subsistence, population becomes stationary, and at the same time feeble, inefficient, and comparatively useless. A country may thus be populous, as in Salfette; may even export a superabundance of grain annually,

No. 3.

Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

Recorded in the Revenue Department of the 19th August 1796.

N. B. The population is rather diminished since Mr. Rivett's time.

N. B. These, I apprehend, are geographical miles, sixty to the degree; for according to another computation now before me, the superficial contents of England are stated at 66,348 square miles, at the rate of 69½ miles to a degree; and even supposed to be as much as 73,306 square miles; according to the first of these numbers, the population is about 126½, and according to the last, about 114½ per square mile.

It may be objected that Salfette is too limited a spot to compare with England and Wales as to relative population; but the average of Salfette, is also that of at least a large proportion of our Indian territories. The Bengal provinces for example, are also computed to be peopled at the rate of about 200 per square mile.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

annually, and yet be wretchedly poor; and many of our *Indian districts are perhaps existing proofs of this fact.*

128. It is a common thing too in poor countries for the lands to be divided and subdivided into small possessions or farms. Our Indian territories present abundant examples thereof; and wherever it is the case, an extensive population may be supported; but as in Salfette, it must be proportionately poor and feeble, each subdivision being entrusted to the management of a separate family; it follows, that the more subdivisions, the more will be the families maintained, as long as each spot shall be capable of affording sufficient produce for the maintenance of its occupiers.

129. Subdivision may be easily conceived therefore so minute, as that the whole produce, including rent and profit, shall at length be absorbed in the maintenance in question; there will then remain no superfluity to excite employment in the other branches of the society; the cultivators of the soil may be said to labour almost for themselves alone; and the poverty of such a state is irremediable, except by the consolidation of smaller possessions, till the surplus bears a high and due proportion to the gross produce, and by substituting rich proprietors and capitalists for wretched occupants, who, thus bordering on the condition of brutes, are restricted to the unnatural necessity of almost exclusively supplying their own wants.

130. This is the utmost limit of subdivision, and of consequent population and poverty; but it must be remembered, that all approaches to it are only lesser degrees of the same evil; and in the applications not unfrequently made on Salfette, for the circumscribing of lands, from want of means to cultivate, at the same time that it is a proof of growing poverty. I would humbly recommend to Government this consideration of the probable consequences of present acquiescence in the request.

131. It would hence then seem to be impossible to encrease a people to any useful end, if the ways of active employment are obstructed, or shut, and that kind of employment too, which renders them serviceable to each other. This employment only arises out of reciprocal wants; wants are only created or encreased wealth, and wealth is unattainable, or incapable of active circulation in a country like the interior of India, where the immediate sources and employments of industry are so highly assailed.

132. "The political economy of government is brought to perfection, when every class, in general, and every individual, in particular, is made to be aiding and assisting to the community, in proportion to the assistance he receives from it."

133. "That number of husbandmen therefore is the best, which can provide food for all the state; and that number of inhabitants is the best, which is compatible with the full employment of every one of them."

134. Thus too the plan proposes to reanimate the Salfettetes to full and active employment, by opening wide the field for industry, by holding forth the certainty of great, and the prospect of indefinite profit; and by the consequent introduction of capitalists, with all their train of wants, to give life, energy, and activity to the whole. If the old house-tax prove for a time heavy, it is still removed to a far less objectionable source, from one of the most important of human employments, and that employment no longer clogged with the disheartening prospect of its profits being about to be shared, nay disproportionately shared, as soon as labour shall have acquired them; and it has been kept in view throughout, to give full operation to those laws on which societies are founded in nature, by removing the obstructions which seemed hitherto to oppose the natural extension of wants, and to giving to self-love, or self-interest, a manifest advantage in supplying them.

135. The field of industry is not only opened to all, but freed also from interference or direction on the part of Government; and the free agency of man, his absolute and unalienable right, left at full liberty to follow those branches which he may himself find most conducive to his own benefit, and of which he alone is the fittest natural judge. Though this principle be generally admitted in theory, it is too often disregarded in practical systems of taxation; for all taxes, whose operation is to check industry in its natural channel, or to force it into others less zealously, and therefore less advantageously pursued, are greater or lesser violations of this natural right. Man, as a free agent, is properly amenable to no restraint, except in what may be absolutely pernicious; in other respects the freest exercise of his own will is his undoubted privilege; made by his creator to prosper, rather than to pine on earth, his creator's laws are consistently directed to the same end; they are according parts of one admirable whole, and must therefore evidently operate with most efficacy, where free agency is least restrained. It is, in short, that enviable state of civil liberty, as much the happiness of subjects to acquire, as it should be the pride of Government to establish.

136. Having in the preceding paragraphs intimated the practicability of reducing the native establishments on Salfette, Caranja, &c. it will be proper to subjoin, that I propose this arrangement on the principles of a plan which I carried into effect some years ago, and with entire success, in a much more extensive territory, and of more difficult collection.

137. On Salfette, if the present simple plan of revenue be adopted, a still smaller establishment than what I now propose may very possibly be found to answer; but if it be desired to extend it to other districts where the old system of revenue continues, an adequate idea will,

will, I hope, be conceived from the enclosure K., wherein, with a view to more easy comprehension, I have adopted it to the present system and revenues of Salsette.

138. This island, already containing seven districts, is divided by the plan into as many patelships, to whom, with a proper number of peons, are entrusted the superintendence and controul of the sub-patels, and the responsibility of forwarding without delay the revenue, as collected to the cutcherry. The sub-patels are the immediate collectors of it (in districts where more than one patel is necessary) within circles of about six or seven thousand rupees each, having a writer under them to keep accounts, of which copies should be forwarded through the head patel, with every consignment of treasure, and three peons each, to aid in collecting, and when necessary to be allowed to call on the head patel with his peons, to grant their assistance. In Salsette, if the present revenues be commuted for the proposed house-tax, it is possible that one sub-patel, of capacity himself to keep a simple account, may do in each circle, under the orders of the district or head patel, without a writer under him; but in other countries, where the accounts are less simple, a writer may be necessary.

139. From the accompanying voucher (K), it will be seen that a sibbendy or village establishment, on this principle, falls considerably within the amount of 5 per cent. on the gross collections, so as to leave, I trust, an ample allowance for the cutcherry of the collector, without exceeding that per-centage.

140. In another country, where I have already tried the experiment, I found it abundantly satisfactory to the natives. The employment of these, in preference to foreigners, afforded them a gratification which enabled me to engage the services of men of the first respectability and influence in the country, at salaries nearly corresponding to those inserted in the voucher; and by ridding the country of a horde of foreign native servants, I not only eased the public of a heavy unnecessary expense, but the local inhabitants of the exactions of this foreign tribe, which from the total inability of a single European collector to controul, are very generally, perhaps universally, a most burthensome addition to the weight of the established taxes, and therefore a double bar to the means of improvement.

141. I do not pretend that by the employment of resident natives of influence, men of greater purity were introduced into office, but from identity of habits, and being long known and respected within their local spheres, their administration was more acceptable to the natives, and from paucity of numbers, and perhaps too a fellow feeling for friends and neighbours, less generally oppressive.

(Signed) R. RICKARDS.

Bombay, 24 Sept. 1807.

MEMORANDUM of the Number of TAXES, and their Amount, from which the LAND REVENUE of Salsette is at present realized.

1 Batty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104,841	2	98	
2 Brab Trees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,545	1	0	
3 Mohoturfa (Artificers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,663	3	0	
4 Baggai or Oarts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,699	2	50	
5 Dannar Cocoa-nut Trees in peoples compounds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	558	3	0	
6 Rents or Godowns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	186	2	65	
7 Cocoa-nut Oarts belonging to Sircar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	0	This is the produce of the Oarts in kind.
8 Dongur Dhulley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	108	0	0	
9 Wuskeesor Hill cultivation of Gingitie, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	3	34	
10 Maryse and Codjans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1302	3	66	Company's Property. Ditto let at outcry. pay $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce.
11 Sircars Salt-pans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	434	2	08	
12 Fuzendars Salt-pans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	777	3	72	
13 Ground allowed for garden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	1	25	
14 Angdana or Cooley Tax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,685	3	0	
Total								Rs.1,45,850	3	68	

LAND REVENUES								1,45,850	3	68	
15 Tobacco Farm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,825	0	08	
16 Arrack Farm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67,300	0	08	
17 Farm of Hay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	0	0	
18 Ditto Date Trees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	395	0	0	
19 Ditto Poonavem Flower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	735	0	0	
20 Ditto Stone Quarries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	167	0	0	
21 Ditto Duty on Junger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,438	0	0	
Total								Rs.2,45,110	3	74	

N. B. Of the preceding taxes that on batty alone, is intended to be included in the cowles, as now drawn out; and these cowles would perpetuate the said tax, at its present rate or rates, for ever, without any diminution in its amount to the present or old settlers. The rates of this tax now are a nominal third of the produce of white batty grounds, 4-3-2, and 1 parrah per beggah on private salt batty grounds; and half produce on salt batty grounds, the property of the Company. From the

No. 3.

Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

the wording of these cowles being confined to the computed one-third of the rated gross produce of the soil, it seems doubtful whether the last mentioned tax on Company's salt batty grounds be intended to be included, it could not, without a fresh assessment, which would diminish the *present* amount of revenue. The tax, however, is payable in kind, but commuted into money at 20 rupees per moorah of white, and 16 rs. 2 qr. of black batty, liable to a future decennial adjustment. Both lands, and the goods and chattels of defaulters, are liable to seizure for arrears of revenue.

Bombay, 24th Sept. 1807.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

HEADS of the proposed New Plan.

1. THE present revenue being derived from fourteen different sources (besides seven farms), and many of the payers contributing from two or three different heads, with a view of simplifying the revenue both to payers and receivers, it is proposed to consolidate the whole of the different land-taxes into one general tax, to be removed from the land and its produce, and fixed on houses in perpetuity.

2. Cowles to be granted to every landholder on the island of Salfette, making over the said land to him which he now occupies and cultivates, after correct admeasurement, in full and exclusive proprietary right.

3. The said cowles to specify not only the extent of the land thus made over to the proprietor, but the particulars of the different taxes now paid by him, the whole to be then consolidated and commuted into one general house tax, *fixed in money*, never to rise, though subject to diminution, as will be hereafter explained.

4. The tax being thus fixed on a house, will then have no reference whatever to the produce of land; a proprietor may then extend or improve his cultivation within the limits specified in his cowle, without any interference on the part of the servants of government, or being liable to one or more pice of tax. The profit of every improvement will then be wholly and entirely the proprietor's own.

5. After the tax is thus fixed, any servant who interferes with a proprietor in his cultivation or improvements, to be punished by transportation beyond sea.

6. For the sake of conformity, the house-tax shall extend to all those now paying revenue on the island, and be proportioned in each case to such payment; it shall extend also in due proportion as this source of revenue (which a new one) be productive; it shall be allowed to operate in diminution of the rate of house-tax to the *present* occupiers and cultivators of land; hence, no man will in any case pay more than he does at present, but evidently less, even in the first instance. Another advantage of the commutation is, that the tax will thus be *one* and permanently fixed; i. e. never to rise, though individual profits may be perpetually increasing.

7. Waste lands, which require encouragement and much expense to cultivate, will be granted *free of all tax for ever*, excepting such as may now be paid from trees or other articles thereon; any new houses built on the island, to carry on the waste cultivation, will be subject to no tax for the first fifteen or twenty years. After which period the proprietors, &c. will pay the same house-tax as the rest of the island, which it is hoped may before this time be reduced to one uniform moderate standard every where.

8. In the event of arrears of revenue, the *lands* of proprietors, but not their *produce*, will be liable to public sale to make good such arrear.

9. In order to expedite the great object of the plan, viz. *the reduction of the present land revenue to the standard above adverted to*, I also propose, that in proportion as the present farms of tobacco and arrack shall, by some better management become more productive than they *now* are, a corresponding amount shall be given up in the commuted tax to the old settlers.

10. The plan also proposes the establishment of tanks or reservoirs on the island, for the purpose of irrigation. It is proposed to make these reservoirs likewise a source of taxation; first, to reimburse the expense of construction; afterwards to be an equivalent for further reductions in the house-tax; and when these combined sources shall be found sufficient for the purposes now anticipated, it is finally proposed, that the house-tax be converted into a tax ad valorem, and for ever; after collected on that principle from all the houses of the island, without any reference whatever to the produce of lands*, and this rate to be applied to the houses of new settlers, cultivators of waste land, in fifteen or twenty years from the date of their possession.

11. And lastly, the plan proposes a saving to the Honourable Company, by reduction of useless establishment, and other charges of more than two-thirds the present annual amount.

Bombay,
24th September 1807. }

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

* Note.—On these principles it will be perceived, that the house-tax to old settlers will only undergo gradual reduction, as other equivalents offer, whence also the Company will at no time suffer the least actual diminution of revenue; and the said house-tax will not be finally converted into a tax ad valorem, or an estimated rent thereof, until all the proposed sources of revenue be found productive of an equal amount to that now derived from the island.

(ABSTRACT).

Houses and Population, &c. of the Island of Salsette, taken from the late Collector's "Inspection of Villages," framed in 1802.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

	Land Revenues, Rupees.	Population.	Houses.
Mallar District	34,621	10,619	2,665
Daravie D°	11,415	4,285	739
Gorabunder D°	10,663	3,209	709
Tannah D°	23,883	12,996	2,728
Marole D°	23,561	5,407	1,365
Tromba D°	35,396	8,605	1,858
Bandora D°	12,070	6,986	1,406
Total	151,629	52,107	11,470

(Signed) R. RICKARDS.

(ABSTRACT).

Numerical List of Population and Houses of the Island of Salsette, taken from the Collector's Records for the Year 1807.

	Houses.	Population.
Tannah District	2,178	10,972
Gorebunder D°	652	3,244
Daravee D°	816	4,524
Marol D°	1,241	5,392
Tromba D°	1,888	8,692
Mallar D°	1,986	9,817
Bandorah D°	1,406	7,283
Total	10,167	49,924

The population of the villages under Doctor Scott, and Mr. Ashburner, is not registered in the collector's books. The numbers therefore may not be accurate; they are probably less than the truth, being taken from the table framed by the collector himself in 1802. Since these estates are perhaps the only part of the interior of Salsette where population increases.

(Signed) R. RICKARDS.

TRANSLATE of a Representation from the Patell Mattaras and Ryatts on the Island of Salsette, dated 11 August 1807.

Sic. Orig.

After Compliments;

Representing that your honour wished to know the reason of the ryatts being in poor situation, so in what manner they will become rich, as also to state what hardship they bears, consequently we now beg to propose as follows, viz.

1. That the late Mr. Rivett, chief of this island, having observed the indigent situation of the ryots, and have fixed one-third of the produce as fircars toka allowed in the meantime to pay for it at rupees 20 for white, and rupees 16 per morah of black batty; besides given up several baptus or taxes, which made greatly happy to the ryots, requesting therefore to your honour (being in the place of Almighty) to fix the same price of batty to our posterity.

2. That in the island of Salsette have leased two farms of arrack and tobacco, which is great deal prejudicial to the ryots, viz.

1. The fircar have bind the arrack farmer in his lease, that he must supply to the ryots fix half maunds of arrack (for each morah of land at the rate of rupees 1-1) per each half maund, which he, the farmer, according to the condition of the lease, never supplies to the individuals, but putting off from time to time for the delivery, till the fixed period of the lease is expired, and than offering at rupees 1-3 per each half maund, which is not even good, but like water, and some time four, which undoubtedly makes people sick; and the person who accustomed to drink half seer of arrack in a day, he cannot satisfy himself even with three seers; besides, the farmer purchasing bad arrack from the bandarees, at under rate, as of half a rupee, and some time six annas per each half maund, and he disposes the same to the consumers at the fircars fixed rate of rupees 1-3 per each half maund, even for

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

Sic. Orig.

the payment of such decreased rate, at which he purchases the arrack from the bandaree, evades them from time to time, and, lastly, don't discharge in full their due; however the bandarees in such case ought to prefer their complaint before the judge; but the poor ryots fears, for they oblige to break their time from two to four days to attend for the justice; thus they cannot proceed by laying their work at aside. Prior to the arrack farm is leased out, the ryots use to get from two to three quarters of a rupee per each half maund of arrack.

2. The tobacco retailers, without receiving any wages from the tobacco farmers, paying him rupees 5 per maund of tobacco, and carrying the same for the petty sales, who do not sell more than three quarter per a seer of tobacco; so, at medium rate, the ryots oblige to purchase at rupees 8 per maund, instead of rupees 5, as all sort of people do not understand in the weight; besides the tobacco which the farmer supplies is of inferior quality, no doubt he might, purchasing it at under rate. The person who have expenditure in his house of one seer of tobacco, he do not satisfy even with four seer, being of bad quality, and it makes them sick by coughing. Prior to the farm is established, the ryots use to get from 2 to 2-2 rupees per maund of tobacco, which is of a superior quality. Thus, Sir, the ryots labour under the detrimental situation owing to the aforesaid two farms.

3. That in the island of Bombay no fees were collected from the ryots for the wedding permits. As in this island some people oblige to pay fee of rupees 2-25, from which article the firca do not reap much revenue, consequently we the ryots request to give up this trifling tax to them, that they may celebrate the wedding without note, or paid any fees agreeably to the rule observed in Bombay.

4. The firca wishes to give to the cultivators the deeds of property, but the toka and the rate of batty, which is fixed by the late Mr. Rivett's system, as prayed in the 1st article, is to abide them by adding the same into the deeds of property, and then to deliver the said deeds of property to the cultivators, yet if any cumbees is unable from his situation to cultivate all the land now under his title, he may be at liberty to take out a cowle only for such part as he may wish to retain, leaving the rest at the disposal of Government; besides this, the brab trees, those that stands upon their batty ground, the produce of which trees goes to the firca, and not to them, they wish to receive in the manner the trees were given in Mr. Rivett's time to the oart fazendars. These ryots, therefore, suggest, that if this indulgence, as herein prayed, is given to them, the ryots will then readily receive the deeds of property.

5. That if any cultivator is failed from his situation, the firca should make him reasonable advance of money, which must be recovered in three years without interest, by instalments, which will greatly save the cultivators.

6. That in the island of Salfette, the coolies who never goes to fish, but cultivating the land, and they oblige to pay angdenah, which is very heavy to them.

7. That the cooley and other cast people, from Marratta country, came and resided in this island, who do not pay any more to the firca than one rupee per each house, and making or cultivating Dhuntteys in the Hill, the produce of which never enough to maintain themselves, however in regard to these people, the accompanying will shew your honour the particular of it, and beg your honour will be pleased to make necessary arrangement about them.

We respectfully solicit your honour will be pleased to take the premises of the aforesaid articles into your serious consideration, and give the redress as your honour (is a father and mother to the ryots) wishing to promote their poor situation, which obliged them to submit this petition. In granting the aforesaid redress, it will keep the ryot in a happy situation; and pray Almighty for your health and happiness.

The above petition is signed (the original) by upwards of 100 of the principal inhabitants for themselves, and the other inhabitants of the island.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

TRANSLATE of a PETITION from the Patel and Mattaras, and Ryots, on the Island of Salfette; dated 11 August 1807.

A. C.

1. Respecting that the thieves and their firdars, inhabitants of continent country, came over one after another, and took their abode in this island, as also in Bombay, and shewing the appearance of their being maintaining themselves by work, but they became qualified with the situation of the several character, people residing in this island, as well as with the rule of justice of the British Government.

2. That on the last dry season, in the several villages, these thieves having plundered four or five houses, and by flogging the people of the houses, carried away ready cash and jewels whatever they had, but they never touched for any cloths or copper ware, for the fear of being hereafter found; as the rule of the British justice is, that no enquiry were making into the funds thus robbed by the thieves, as also heretofore they might have plundered, consequently

quently the booty they acquire is safely remains for the use of their family; and in case if the ryots run after the said robbers in order to catch them, and they by their turn happen to murder them, as they sure themselves that they have no fear for their soul; on the contrary, the ryots if happened to kill the thieves, the justice takes pain to examine into the matter; yet if the thieves were caught by the ryots, the justice asks evidences on their part, still if satisfactorily proved the fact, in such case they, the robbers, don't meet with proper repriment. Thus the rule is with the justice, with which they, the robbers, became well known themselves, and have already plundered several houses, and we sure ourselves they will still continue in the same manner.

3. In short, if any person's house is robbed, he and the village people for his help, takes great pain to find out the thieves, with hope that if they were caught, must be properly punished; but agreeably to the rule of the justice, the aforesaid trouble shews no effect, but increases the animosity and fear of the thieves, as we are well known with their conduct, for their friends and children even will endeavour to take the revenge by foul, wherefore no person shall or will offer help one to another hereafter.

4. Thus, Sir, is the perplexity under which these Petitioners labour; moreover, these Petitioners are inhabitants of this island from their forefathers, and the estate they possess as houses, oarts, fenotore, &c. &c. is appears now to them no more than poison, owing to the aforesaid job of the thieves; there is not any sort of prejudice or hurt to these ryots, excepted this of the thieves, in the British Government, consequently they have thus submitted their petition to your honours favourable decision, (being your honour is a father and protector of the ryots), and they in the mean time request, that according to the villages the number of garrison sepoy with arms, is to be allowed, in order that in conjunction of them, the ryots of each village will watch three times in the course of a night, and by that means they will save their lives.

5. The fircar never derive any much revenue from those robber people, consequently these petitioners request, that they, the robbers, should be banished from this island to their own, by which the ryots will remain quiet and happy, otherwise these ryots will oblige to quit their former place, and live where they will observe safe for them. It appears to these petitioners, that as soon as they quitted the place, the remainder poor ryots never will remain on the spot without them; consequently we respectfully beg your honour will be pleased to consider the premises of this petition, and make happy to the ryots. If your honour could not give decision on the subject, in such case, this petition please to refer for the favourable decision of the honourable the Governor in Council.

Original signed by upwards of 150 of the principal inhabitants, for themselves and the other inhabitants of the island.

True Copy of the Translation.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

The Humble PETITION of the undersigned Inhabitants of Caranjah.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, with the greatest respect and humble submission, beg the liberty to represent their case. That the deeds of property proposed by the honourable the Governor in Council to be granted to the cultivators of land, your petitioners are willing to take, provided the following alterations be made therein, instead of the term of ten year already mentioned, by which your goodness shall be acknowledged by them and their families for ever.

Article 1. That in the deeds of property, the particulars of the toka of the ground on their titles in the collector's records, is to be specified in batty, and money revenue, at the present rate; and that these different taxes be made one, and fixed for ever payable to the fircar annually, the net amount in money; and which may be commuted as a tax on their houses, and the same be registered in some of the public offices; but your petitioners first request to be considered.

Article 2. That the tax of rupees 12, on a beggah of baggayet, or garden ground, levied on this island, is a very heavy one; and in Salsette they only collect it at 9 rupees per beggah on the similar ground, agreeably to which they request the rate to be at Caranjah.

Article 3. That ever since the introduction of new system on this island, your petitioners, deprived of their right of a rent of two annas per each brab trees, formerly they used to recover from the bhandaries or the drawers of the toddy upon every tree stands on the ground of which the cultivators are paying to the fircar a tax by beggah measurement; therefore they, requesting either to adopt the same custom here as in such cases practicable in Salsette, or to be continued an ancient custom prevalent among the bhandaries, that they used to pay a tax of six annas on every tree to the fircar, exclusive of the two annas rent to the possessors of the grounds.

Article 4. That the petitioners cultivating beetle leaves in their gardens, which they send to Bombay for sale, of which they pay customs to the fircar, both at Caranjah and Bombay; it may be therefore exacted at one of the places simply.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

Sic. Orig.

Article 5. That the price of tobacco at Caranja is fixed at the rate of rupees 6. 1. 60. per maund, and in Salfette at five rupees per maund; therefore you will be pleased to reduce the price of it at Caranja, agreeably to that of Salfette.

Article 6. That some years ago some of the cultivators absconded, who indebted to the fircar for certain revenues, in consequence of which an order was issued by the fircar, that the heirs of such persons absconded to make good the revenue to the fircar, and take in their possession the grounds cultivated by the emigrants, which accordingly been done; but those that left no heirs, the judge and the collector compelled the patells to make good the balances due by those that quitted this island, and ordered to make over to them the grounds held in their title, which orders are not yet put into execution; therefore your petitioners beg that the said ground will be transferred on their title in the collector's books.

Article 7. That the villages of Seven and Navern suffer a great hardship on paying the farmer toka on their high lands, which ought to be put on the same footing as the other different villages on this island, conformably to the new system introduced here.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

(Signed)

I. Nellajer Patett,

and Seventeen more.

Caranja, 15 August 1807.

(True Copy.)

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

EXTRACT from Townsend's Travels in Spain, on the subject of Irrigation.

The country in the vicinity of Alicant is wild and broken; the mountains are lofty, rugged, bare, and little susceptible of cultivation; the vallies are mostly small, but remarkably fertile; the soil is sandy, with beds of clay and marle. The rock in general is calcareous; the city is partly fed by a valley to the north, and by the Huerta, a rich and extensive valley, but chiefly by the vale of Murcia. The carriers bring wheat, and load back with fish.

The Huerta is watered from a vast reservoir, called Pantano, constructed in the mountains, at the distance of above five leagues from Alicant. The governor had the goodness to carry me in his coach to view this artificial lake, formed between two high mountains by a wall, the dimensions of which, reduced to English feet, are as follow: one hundred and forty-seven high; two hundred and sixty-two wide at top, from mountain to mountain, and not more than twenty-four at bottom; the thickness of the wall is sixty-seven feet at top, and one hundred and twenty-one at bottom. It is very properly made miptual to sustain the lateral pressure of the water, but had the thickness of the wall been only seven feet at top instead of sixty-seven, there would have been more than sufficient, because the æra of any surface being given, the pressure of fluids on that surface is in proportion to its depth. The depth being given, it matters not whether the quantity of water be one acre or ten thousand acres, for the same expense they might have constructed many such reservoirs, one below the other; but when we consider the age in which this was made (A. D. 1542) we are not surprized to see so much labour lost.

When the stream comes near the Huerta, it is separated into four by the administrator, and each proprietor of land receives, or should receive, the quantity allotted to him, in proportion to his land, paying for this the stipulated price. To prevent violence and fraud A. D. 1739, the King, by his royal edict, established sixty-two regulations for the distribution of this water, and appointed a special court to enforce these regulations; yet notwithstanding, either through ignorance of hydrostatics in the managers, through their negligence, or through the influence of bribes, many obtained more than their just proportion, and others are left to murmur and complain. It is to be lamented that government does not construct more Pantano. The farmers in the Huerta could dispose of five times as much as they receive at present, and were the whole interval between the mountains occupied with reservoirs, they might all be filled. This Pantano, although vast, has been replenished by four hours rain.

Independent of the produce in all kinds of grain and herbage, Government derives a direct revenue of near two thousand pounds a year by the distribution of this water.

The rock is a fine limestone, covering schist; and as the country produces pines, juniper, and coscoja in abundance; fuel for burning lime is on the spot; so that the expense of constructing reservoirs would not be great. After having examined the Pantano, I visited, on the succeeding days, the Huerta, to get acquainted with the agriculture of that reack, well planted, and well watered valley.

Going eastward from the city, having ascended gradually for about a mile, you look down upon a wide expanse of nearly thirty thousand acres, every where inclosed by lofty mountains, excepting towards the sea, and covered with oranges, lemons, figs, mulberries, almonds, cherries, apricots, peaches, nectarines, plumbs, apples, pears, pomegranates, olives, alganobos, the more humble yet not less profitable vine, and the liquorice, with every species of grain, of leguminous plants, and of herbage for the cattle.

This vale is said to contain more than twenty thousand persons, and I can readily believe it; for wherever you pass, you see old and young men, women and children innumerable, all

Orig.

all busily employed, ploughing, sowing, reaping, treading out the grain with cattle, winnowing the corn, or conveying it to granaries, hoeing in the vineyards, distributing water to their crops, or digging their lands, and preparing it for fresh productions.

When I visited this delightful vale, they had reaped their barley, and were engaged in treading it with mules. To these they added carts drawn backwards on the area, for the purpose of separating the grain, and of cutting the straw for fodder. Others were employed to wind off silk from the cones; their reel is five feet wide, and receives six compound threads, from thirty, thirty-six, or from forty-two cones, which swim in a furnace of boiling water; these threads are made to traverse on the reels, that they may not agglutinate together.

I was much pleased with the reticulated fences round most of the little farms, composed of reeds in pairs, crossing each other like a lattice frame, yet so as to form, not rectangles, but lozenges or rhomboidal figures, with the reeds not interwoven, but bound together by esparto threads.

Every part of the Huerta is refreshed with water once in fifteen days, during the summer; but in winter it may go three weeks or a month unwatered. Beside the refreshing stream derived from the Pantano, they have some norias, the most remarkable of which, belonging to Mr. Arabit, is worked by wind, and raises the water forty feet.

The land never rests; for no sooner has it rewarded the farmer with one crop, than he begins to prepare it for another: In September he sows barley, and having reaped it about the latter end of April, or the first week in May, he immediately puts in maize, which comes off about the middle of September; but before this ripens, he puts in Landias (the cucurbita of Linnæus,) or some other esculent, which yields him a third crop in the course of the same year. In November he sows wheat, and in June he reaps; the produce both of wheat and barley is from fifteen to twenty-four for one, having sowed of the former nearly two bushels to an acre, of the latter between three and four. Flax is put into the ground about September, or the beginning of October, and comes off in May; but hemp, which is sowed in April, continues on the land till August. These, with cucumbers, melons, garbawzos (cicer artistinum,) peas, French beans, lettuce, alfalfa (medicago saliva,) form a rich variety of crops, which, cherished by a bright sun, and fed by abundant streams from the Pantano, prove a never failing source of plenty.

In the spring they abound with oranges and lemons; in summer they have plums, cherries, figs, apricots, and nectarines; in autumn they gather grapes; and in winter a rich variety of fruits supplies their tables. Thus Ceres and Pomona appear to be engaged in a never ceasing contest, which shall most contribute to the wealth and prosperity of this favoured Valley.

One of the most valuable productions of this country is the barilla. For this they plough their land four or five times, dung it well, and then, having turned the earth twice more, they make it smooth with boards instead of harrows, and sow their seed in the months of January and February, waiting always for wet weather.

(True Extract.)

(Signed) R. RICKARDS.

EXTRACT from Niebuhr's Description de L'Arabie.—Quart. Ed. page 240.

“Mareb est encore actuellement la principale ville de Dsjôf. Elle est à 16 lieues d'Allem. à l'est-nord-est de Sanà, & ne consiste qu'en 300 maisons chétives; cependant elle a une muraille & trois portes. On prétend y avoir trouvé quelques ruines d'un palais de la reine Balkis, mais aucune inscription; ainsi elles ne valent peut-être pas la peine d'être vues. Le Seigneur qui y reside se donnoit en 1763 le titre de Scherif Mahammedibn Achmedibn Alojibn Khâletibn Hossejnibn Mahammedibn Nâsribn Mahammedibn Achmed; il étoit de la famille d'Abutaleb; hors de Mareb il ne possédoit que Hôsnabrâd, Sahher & quelques autres petits villages. J'ai beaucoup entendu parler en Arabie du grand réservoir de Sabéens, que les Arabes nomment Sitte Mareb, mais personne ne m'en donna des notions plus sûres qu'un homme de Mareb très considéré, qui y étoit né & y demuroit. Il me décrivait le réservoir ancien comme une vallée entre deux chaînes de montagnes, qui avoit presque une journée en longueur (5 lieues d'Allem.) Dans cette vallée se réunissent six ou sept petites rivières qui coulent de l'ouest & du sud, & qui viennent en partie du domaine de l'Imân; quelques-unes sont poissonneuses & ont de l'eau toute l'année. Ces deux chaînes de montagnes qui renferment cette vallée de deux côtés s'approchent si près l'une de l'autre à l'est, que l'on peut en passer l'entervalle dans 5 à 6 minutes. On disoit, que cette ouverture avoit été fermée par une épaisse muraille, pour retenir l'eau superflue pendant & après les pluies, & selon l'opinion de cet Arabe, pour la distribuer dans les champs & dans les jardins qui sont à l'est & au nord, par trois portes pratiquées l'une sur l'autre. La muraille avoit 40 à 50 pieds de hauteur, elle étoit bâtie de fort grands pierres de taille, & il en reste encore des ruines des deux côtés. Mais elle ne retient plus l'eau qui s'écoule d'abord dans la plaine, & qui, suivant le plus ou le moins de pluies, se perd à longue ou à courte distance dans les sables & les champs voisins.

“Ainsi le grand réservoir près de Mareb, n'avoit rien de merveilleux. Ailleurs & même en Yemen, où il ne pleut que dans une saison fixe, on ménage soigneusement l'eau, mais ces

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

reservoirs sont petits auprès de celui-ci. Que de contrées par exemple en Egypte & dans la Palestine, autrefois très cultivée, à présent désertes faute de canaux & de réservoirs ! Toute comme un sage administration a rendu fertiles beaucoup de bonnes terres, auxquelles il ne manquoit que de l'eau. Ces mêmes terres sont redevenues désertes dès que le gouvernement a changé, & surtout depuis qu'il n'y a plus eu d'union entre les habitans. Il seroit donc très possible par la nature du terroir, & aussi profitable aux habitans, de rétablir la muraille Sitté Mareb pour contenir l'eau, qu'il leur fut autrefois possible & utile de la faire construire. Mais Mariaba étoit la résidence d'un Roi, qui regnoit sur une grande partie de l'Yemen & de l'Hadramant ; & à Mareb il n'y a aujourd'hui qu'un pauvre Scherif, qui outre cette ville ne possède que quelques villages, & qui, loin de relever une si grande muraille, peut à peine défendre son pays contre ses voisins (94 Quest. de Mons. Michaelis.) Les réservoirs qui fournissent l'eau à Constantinople, sont construits comme l'étoit celui de Mareb. Mais bien qu'ils soient de beaucoup plus petits, ils ont été bâtis par de grands Empereurs, comme ils sont encore entretenus par les Sultans ; non que les dépenses excéderoient les forces des sujets, mais à cause du peu d'ordre qui règne parmi eux, & parce que les orientaux mettent entre les devoirs du Prince le soin d'entreprendre, ou d'entretenir ces sortes d'ouvrages publics. Lorsque cette digue des Sabéens fut rompue, Mareb n'étoit peut-être plus la résidence du Prince, peut-être même ce royaume autrefois si puissant étoit-il divisée en plusieurs seigneuries. Il ne faut après cela point s'étonner, si ces ouvrages superbes n'ont pas été continués, ou si l'on ne les a pas rétabli."

True Extract.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

EXTRACT from Arthur Young's Travels, &c. Vol. 2. on the subject of Irrigation.

The celebrated Arthur Young, in the above-mentioned work, speaks frequently of the great advantages of irrigation in agriculture.

In that of Lombardy he describes the irrigation of the Milanese, by means of reservoirs, canals, &c. as "perhaps the greatest exertion of the kind that ever was in the world." The whole description being too long to copy, a few extracts may suffice.

"Their greatest exertions were in irrigation, which was so well known, that they sold their superfluous water, transferring the use and property of some, by the hour, day, and week."

"There are authors who have asserted, that agriculture is improved in consequence of great trade or manufactures only ; but the instance of the immense irrigation in the Milanese, effected by these and many other canals, too numerous to mention, will not allow of such a conclusion being general ; and to shew that my opinion is not without foundation, a very brief review of the state of Milan, as far as it respects these periods, will not be displeasing to a reflecting reader."

After this review, too tedious to enter, he concludes as follows:

"The conclusion of the whole seems fairly to be, that we are not to attribute the irrigation of the country to wealth derived from foreign commerce ; the fertility and excellent management of the lands supported a great population, which proved as industrious as public calamities and confusions would allow ; but it does not appear that this industry was ever continued through a long series of peace and happiness."

"The same law, that has been so effectual in watering Piedmont, operates here also ; and has done even greater things ; he who discovers a spring conducts it where he pleases, paying a fixed compensation for cutting through the properties of others ; all rivers belong, as in Piedmont, to the Sovereign, who sells the waters to speculators for the most beneficial purpose of irrigation. In the distribution of it by sale, they do not measure by the hour, as in Piedmont, but by the ounce, 12 ounces are a bratico, or 22 inches ; an ounce of water is a stream that runs one bratico long, and one ounce deep ; and the farther the water has run, the higher is the price, as being more charged with manure."

"As an example of the beneficial influence of this law, I was shewn between Milan and Pavia, a spring that was discovered two miles from the lands of the discoverer, the properties of many persons lying between him and the spring ; he first bought the property of the person in whose land it was situated, which was easily done, as it was too low to be there of any use, then he conducted it by a trench at pleasure, the two miles, paying the fixed price for cutting through his neighbour's lands ; and having gained it upon his own, presently changed poor hungry arable, into a very fine watered meadow."

"Near Milan a watered meadow sells at 800 liv. the pertica (£.32. 15s. the English acre) and the rent of such is about 39 liv. (£1. 5s. the English acre) ; this must not however, be classed high, for there are lands that rise to 4,000 liv. (£.163. the English acre) ; in land at 800 liv. or 1,000 liv. water often makes half of the value, that is, the rent to the owner of the land will be 15 liv. to 20 liv. and as much to some other person for the water."

"In viewing a great farm, six or seven miles from Milan, in the road to Pavia, I found that all the watered meadow was mown four times ; and that what was watered in winter, prati di mercita, five times ; such is the value of water here, that this farm, which watered is rented at 20 liv. the pertica, would not let at more than 6 liv. without water, the soil being gravel. The irrigation of the mercita begins in October, and lasts till March, when it is regulated like all other meadows. All in general begin in April, and last till September ;

“tember; and if there be no rain, once in seven to fifteen days. An ounce of water running continually from 24th of March to the 8th of September, is worth, and will sell for 1,000 liv. When arable crops want water, it is always given. At Cari, watered meadows are cut thrice commonly, but in some seasons four times.”

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

L O D I.

“I cannot but esteem the twenty miles as affording one of the most curious and valuable prospects in the power of a farmer to view; we have some undertakings in England that are meritorious, but they sink to nothing in comparison with these (meaning the canals, &c. for irrigation in the duchy of Milan) great and truly noble works. It is one of the rides which I wish those to take, who think that every thing is to be seen in England.”

“The meadows are commonly cut thrice, but the best four times; the produce of hay per pertica 6 fassi of 100 lbs. of 28 oz. at the three cuts. Price of the first 8 liv. per fass; of the second 5 liv. of the third 4½ liv.; they water immediately after clearing, if there be no rain. Without irrigation, the rent of the country in general would be only one-third of what it is at present.”

V E R O N A.

“The meadows here are cut thrice, and fed once; are never ploughed if good and well watered. Water for irrigation here, as in all Lombardy, is measured with great care and attention by what is called quadrata, which is a square foot (the Verone foot is to the English about as twenty are to twelve). Twelve quadrata are sufficient to water five hundred campi of rice grounds (about three hundred and eighty English acres); and the price of such a quantity of water is commonly about three thousand zechine (£1,425. sterling.) The wheels in this city for raising water for irrigating the gardens are very complete; they receive the water as in Spain, into hollow fellies; there is one in the garden of the Daniele Monastery, for watering about four campi, which are said to yield a revenue of three hundred zechin, which is one hundred zechin (of 95s. 6d.) per English acre, or £47. 10s. per acre—immense produce.”

T U R I N.

“The irrigation in all this vicinity is extensive, and carried to great perfection. Water is measured with as much accuracy as wine; an hour per week is sold, and the fee simple of the water is attended to, with the same solicitude as that of the land. Rich meadows, without water, sell for 1000 liv. and 1100 liv. a gianata; and arable worth 500 liv., without water, is in many instances worth 2000 liv. with it. During the winter, as the meadows are commonly fed with sheep, they do not water at all. Those who have water enough, let it on to their land once a week during the whole summer; but if the weather is wet, once a fortnight, and a day or two before cutting, if the water is perfectly clear. In regard to the quality of the water, they make no other distinction than that from mountains being cold, and that of the Dora, near Turin, being charged with so much sand as to be bad. They attend to the cutting of weeds in the canals, that they may rot; and some good managers harrow the bottoms in the spring, to foul the water, which then acts more powerfully as a manure. Another practice, which tends also to prove what excellent farmers they are, in all that respects meadow grounds, is that of paring and burning, which they perform on pieces that have a bad herbage or want improvement, but do not sow them with corn, or any other plant, except hay-seeds, in order to renew the grass with no other interruption; it is impossible to praise such practices too much; they call this husbandry, Motara.”

“The power of effecting the great works in irrigation, which are visible over this whole country, depends very much on the law, which supposes the right and property of all rivers to be vested in the King; consequently all canals taken from them, are bought of him; and this ensures another regulation, which is the power of carrying the water, when bought, at the pleasure of those who buy it, where they think fit; they cannot, however, cut across any man's ground, without paying him for the land and the damage; but the law does this by regulations known to every one, and no individual is allowed a negative upon a measure which is for the general good. The purchasers of water from the King are usually considerable land owners, or communities, that have lands wanting water; and it is of no consequence at what distance these lands may be from the river whence the water is taken, as they have a right to conduct it where they choose, provided they do not cut through a garden or pleasure ground; nor can they carry the water under that of others whose canals are already made, as they might in that case deprive them of a part of their water; they are obliged to throw aqueducts over such canals. The benefit of water is so great and well understood, that nobody ever thinks of making objections; and in case their lands are not already watered, it is no small advantage to have a new canal brought through them, as they have the opportunity of buying water of the proprietors. It is sold per hour, per week, and even half an hour, and down to a quarter; the common price of an hour per week, for ever, is 1500 liv.”

Mr. Young has many more remarks on the advantages of Irrigation, and in several parts of Lombardy compares the value of watered with that of unwatered land, the result being every

No. 3.

Mr. Rickards
(24 Sept. 1807)
on Taxation and
Revenue.

every where similar to those above given. After a long dissertation on the commerce of Lombardy, he closes with the following pertinent observations:

Page 282. " There is but one conclusion to be drawn from this detail of the commerce of Lombardy, viz. that eighteen-twentieths of it consist in the export of the produce of agriculture, and therefore ought rather to be esteemed a branch of that art, than of commerce, according to modern ideas; and it is equally worthy of notice, that thus subsisting by agriculture, and importing manufactures, these countries must be ranked among the most flourishing in the world, abounding with large and magnificent towns, decorated in a manner that sets all comparison at defiance. The country every where cut by canals of navigation or irrigation, many of the roads splendid, an immense population, and such public avenues, that if Italy were united under one head, she would be classed among the first powers in Europe.

" When it is considered that all this has been effected generally under governments not the best in Europe; when we further reflect, that England has for a century enjoyed the best government that exists; we shall be forced to confess perhaps, with astonishment, that Great Britain has not made considerable advances in agriculture, and in the cultivation of her territory. The wastes of the three kingdoms are enormous, and far exceeding in proportional extent all that are to be found in Italy; while of our cultivated districts, there are but a few provinces remarkable for their improvements. Whoever has viewed Italy with any degree of attention, must admit, that if a proportion of her territory containing as many people as the three British kingdoms, had for a century enjoyed as free a government, giving attention to what has been a principal object, viz. agriculture, instead of trade and manufacture, they would at this time have made almost every acre of their country a fertile garden, and would have been in every respect a greater, richer, and more flourishing people than we can possibly pretend to be. What they have done under their present governments, justifies this assertion; we, blessed with liberty, have little to exhibit of superiority.

Vide Sir John
Sinclair's History of the
Public Revenue,
Vol. 2, p. 98.

" What a waste of time, to have squandered a century of freedom, and lavished a thousand million sterling of public money, in questions of commerce! He who considers the rich inheritance of a hundred years of liberty, and the magnitude of those national improvements which such immense sums would have effected, will be inclined to do more than question the propriety of the political system which has been adopted by the legislature of this kingdom, that, in the bosom of freedom, and commanding such sums, has not in the agriculture of any part of her dominions, any thing to present, which marks such expence or such exertion, as the irrigation of Piedmont and the Milanese."

In treating of the same subject in Spain, Mr. Young has the following further interesting remarks:

" Every time we see any irrigation, we are struck more and more with the importance of water, *even on soils which are apparently mere rock; and on the most arid deserts it gives at once the utmost luxuriance of vegetation.*

" A journal, which is here also about an English acre, of rich land in the vale, not watered, sells for 500 liv.; watered, for 1,000 liv.

Page 324. " Leaving Barcelona, enter immediately on extraordinary scenes of watered cultivation, and which must have given the general reputation to the province. Nothing can well be finer; the crops in perpetual succession, and the attention given to their culture, great; not the idea of a fallow, but the moment one crop is off, some other immediately sown. A great deal of lucern, which is cut four, five, six and even seven times in a year, all broad-cast, and exceedingly thick and fine, from two and a half to three feet high when cut; it is all watered every eight days. Advancing, the irrigated lands let from 24 to 40 Spanish livres, that not irrigated at 15 livres; water therefore, here, *more than doubles the rent of the land*; and in other places we have found the difference yet greater.

" Land near canals, well watered, sells for 100 Spanish livres the journal; vineyards for 300 livres; they give in good years to 12 charges. Unwatered land 100 to 150 livres.

" Enter a flat vale, half a mile broad, not watered, hemp very poor; maize seven feet high; vineyards under regular plantations of olives; corn cut in stocks, and the land ploughed; a journal sells for 200 livres, and further on, when irrigated, for 1,000 livres, which is an astonishing difference."

Page 327. " While the mountains and waste parts of the province present an unfavourable prospect, the watered districts are, on the contrary, scenes of most exuberant fertility. To a person from the north of Europe there can hardly be a more striking spectacle than the effect of watering in these southern climates; *it converts an arid stoney waste, which would yield nothing but vines and olives*, on which every sort of grain would hardly return the seed, at once into fields pregnant with the richest harvests; on such soil it gives almost the whole value of the land; and on the richest it raises it at the least double, and in some instances five times; it enables the cultivator to have a succession of crops, more important than any thing we know in the North. The reaping one crop is but the signal for immediately putting in another, in doing which they exert themselves with the utmost activity, ploughing universally as soon as the corn is cut,

" and

“ and are by this enabled to have constantly two crops a year. The extreme fertility of
 “ these lands has, however, led many travellers into great or ignorant exaggerations; they
 “ have asserted, that the land yields many crops at the same time, one under another, which
 “ is both true and false; it is a fact, that corn, wine, oil, and silk, are produced by the same
 “ field, in some few instances; but it is not from hence to be concluded that the goodness of
 “ the land, or the importance of irrigation, is at all shown by that circumstance. The fact
 “ is, that it is impossible to raise one crop under another, without losing in one nearly as
 “ much as you gain in the other; the olive being a large tree, cultivation may be carried on
 “ under it; but the crop gained is poor, and shows, that exactly in proportion to the shade,
 “ is the injury sustained by the produce which is shaded. If the trees are thick the corn
 “ is hardly worth reaping; it is the same in other cases; and I was well convinced, from
 “ reviewing their grounds with this design, that the soil can carry, profitably, but one crop
 “ at a time; several may be crowded on it, but nothing is gained: with grafs under trees,
 “ this is not so much the case in a hot climate; but even grafs is damaged; and it is not the
 “ question at present, as they have none; a country to be supported, and in a hot climate,
 “ without meadows or pastures, sounds very strange to English ears, and it is among
 “ the curious circumstances of these parts, and I am told of the rest of Spain, if they applied
 “ to grafs the land that is proper for it, they could not possibly have bread to eat; straw
 “ here is given instead of hay, and entirely supplies its place; and the oxen and mules
 “ which we saw, did not show in the least, by their looks, any deficiency in nourishment.
 “ Lucerne is not at all common through the interior parts of the province, and where they
 “ cultivate it, it is used green. Maize is sometimes sown merely for its herbage, as it might
 “ be, I believe profitably in England, late in the Spring to avoid our frosts; it is one of the
 “ most nourishing plants in the world.

“ The consequence of water being so apparent in the province, I could not but attend
 “ particularly to their exertions in conducting it, and I conclude that not one acre in twenty,
 “ perhaps in forty, is watered, that might be in the flat vales, where canals of irrigation
 “ are made at a small expense, a very good though by no means a complete use is made of
 “ them; but on the declivities of the mountains, it is necessary to erect a mound of solid
 “ masonry across the river, and to cut the canal partly out of rocks, and to support it by
 “ walls of stone, as I have seen in France; and having thus diverted a large portion of the
 “ water of a river, to carry it on its level along the side of the mountain, as far as it will go,
 “ such exertions demand a much greater capital than is to be found upon the lands of
 “ Catalonia; it could be done only by a great lord, who knew the importance of such under-
 “ takings, who resided on his estate, and whose income was spent in something else than
 “ the taste and pleasures of a capital. But leaving such exertions to individuals, who either
 “ have not the money, or not the will to employ it, is to perpetuate wastes; it is the king
 “ only who can make these efforts: a monarch, who should be determined to improve his king-
 “ dom, would presently find the means of doing it; the importance of water is so well known,
 “ that if a canal is made to conduct it, the proprietors or farmers of the lands below would
 “ readily and speedily make use of it, paying proportionably for the quantity they took; this is
 “ the system in Lombardy, and the effect is great; it would be the same in Catalonia, but the
 “ capital for the great work of the canal must probably be supplied by the king; if not the
 “ whole, at least a considerable portion; such money should be lent to undertakers at a mo-
 “ derate interest; exertions of such a nature, with a proper general attention given to these
 “ objects, would make them fashionable among the great lords of the kingdom, and fertile
 “ provinces would soon be created out of barren and desolate wastes. Arbitrary power has
 “ been exerted for ages in efforts of barbarity, ignorance, and tyranny; it is time to see it
 “ employed in works that have the good of mankind for their aim. A beginning, and a
 “ very good one, is made in the construction of some great roads, on a scale of true mag-
 “ nificence, which is never exhibited with such effect as in works of public utility; and
 “ whenever the importance of cultivation is well understood in Spain, and the right means
 “ of advancing it clearly analyzed, irrigation will then receive an attention that has not
 “ hitherto been given; such is the necessity of water for various productions in this climate,
 “ that rivers ought to be no more than infinitely multiplied channels, and collected in one
 “ stream only, as a reservoir for fresh and repeated deviations.

(True Extracts)

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.”

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

READ the following Minute from Mr. Rickards :

MINUTE.

IN a former essay, delivered to Government on the 24th September 1807, I attempted to develop certain principles connected with the permanent prosperity of social bodies and states, founded on the laws of natural order, and applicable to the circumstances of all civilized societies, in whatever clime or region.

Man, it has been shown, is of necessity a social being; he has abundant wants which others only can supply, and a greater interest in co-operating with his fellows in the common advantages of reciprocal aid, than in the selfish pursuit of exclusively supplying himself: the greater benefits and comforts arising out of this general labour for the use of others, extend the sources of individual industry; industry creates wealth, and wealth again re-acts upon industry by an increase of wants, and the liberal recompense of the labour which supplies them.

The wise ordinations of nature, therefore, cause the greatest comforts and happiness of every society to arise out of the greatest possible use and employment on account of each other :

“ In age, in infancy, from others’ aid

“ Is all our hope—

“ That, Nature’s first, last lesson to mankind.”

It is the union of humanity in one fraternal bond, an universal contribution of mutual assistance, flowing from want on the one hand and supply on the other, and which the positive institutions of human government ought similarly to regard and encourage, as the surest, if not only basis of national prosperity. In this natural order, labour and wealth, the poor and the rich, are equally dependant on, as they are equally and indispensably necessary to, each other; equality of condition, or even that approach to it observable in the greater part of India, is consequently incompatible with the growing prosperity of any civilized community, from being positively adverse to the course and effects of Nature’s laws.

It follows then, that encouragement to the acquisition, and security to the enjoyment of wealth, should be fundamental maxims in the practice of enlightened states; but the only encouragement required is entire freedom; direction, interference, participation, are positive restraints, and according to the degree in which they are exercised, check the production of that superfluity or abundant wealth which I have already remarked to be the only natural fund for the increase of industry, the only natural channel for distributing the comforts, or increasing the enjoyments of life, among the laborious and industrious, *i. e.* the major part of every society, as it is also the only fund from whose progressive increase the Government can or ought to expect any increase of its own resources.

The superfluity or abundance above mentioned is most conspicuous in the existence of great capitalists, and the expenditure of wealthy proprietors; but in all flourishing communities, lesser portions of the same abundance are universally distributed; its aggregate amount being always proportioned to the freedom of acquisition, as the sum of national prosperity is to its general distribution and expenditure.*

It is evident that acquisition alone is not sufficient; for if, as in this country, wealth be hoarded when acquired, from inability to employ it advantageously, or buried from the dread of arbitrary power, it can neither operate in promoting the comforts or industry of the laborious orders, or constitute a productive source of supply to the exigencies of the state.

It must be spent, as well as gained, but its expenditure is also a natural propensity; the possession of wealth is, generally speaking, the possession of so many wants which crave to be supplied, and there should consequently be as little obstruction to its expenditure or employment, as restraint in its acquisition: by free expenditure, the distribution of wealth is enabled to reach the obscurest retreats of society; it then supports, comforts, or enriches all who have the industry or the talent to acquire it, and is most useful to individuals, and most productive to the state, when most generally and abundantly spread.

“Plus les hommes sont en état de consommer, plus ils sont utiles.———Quand on recoit gros, et depense gros, tout va bien.”—(Phil. Rurale.)

Under the impression of these principles, my own mind has been long habituated to ascribe the backward state of all the Indian provinces I have seen, to the want of that wealth, to the very scanty number of the possessors of that abundance by which alone industry can be invigorated, and the comforts of the community at large, or the resources of the state, augmented. I shall confine my present remarks to this part of the subject: other parts may be better separately treated; but in the opinions either now or hereafter advanced, I trust I may not be suspected of designing to reflect either on particular persons or particular acts of our local administration: I solemnly disclaim the intention: the general object of the British Government in India has been, I admit, to promote the prosperity of its subjects; all I would argue is, that encouragement has been hitherto too sparing, or the means of administering it at times mistaken: let me also hope that the agitation of this important question will not be deemed an officious act of public duty, tempted to it, as I am, not by the

* If the institutions of Government have a tendency to restrain the spread of human wants, and consequently the demand for supply, can they be said to be promotive of the order of nature?

the vain expectation of doing it that justice which its importance demands, but from the conscientious conviction that the mere discussion of economical principles applicable to our Indian territories, and their treatment in abler hands, may be productive of vast advantage, as well to the Company's interests in this quarter as to those of their numerous native subjects*.

Having already submitted it as my opinion, that our system of Indian taxation, alias a heavy consolidated land tax, is the prevailing cause of this universal poverty, I shall briefly recapitulate the general principles of that taxation, and after a few remarks, founded upon existing facts, leave to the decision of the candid how far this opinion may be justly founded; and whether any material progress can be made in the improvement of individual prosperity, or of financial resource, whilst the same system of taxation be persevered in.

In Guzerat the principle of half-produce is known, alias, a tax equal to an actual half of the actual produce of the soil; I beg leave to be understood however as speaking of the principle only, for I believe it is not generally, as indeed it never can be reduced to actual practice in any great extent of territory.

In Salsette the same principle formerly prevailed, taken from our Mahratta predecessors; but very laudably reduced by the Bombay Government to one-third of the actual produce.

In Malabar it was also attempted to be enforced, first by the Mahomedan, and afterwards by the British Government; though the attempt operated most oppressively in many instances, as the records of that province will show.

In the provinces subject to the Madras Government, we have again the same principle. Authentic statements procured from that presidency, give the following rates of assessment:

" The gross produce of an acre of paddy land* may be, for example	-	-	100
" From 10 to 12 per cent. is supposed to be deducted for reaping, cooly, &c.;	-	-	
" variety of small charges, say 10 per cent. however	-	-	10
		Remain	90

" Of this remaining produce the Government is sometimes entitled to 35, 40, 45, or 50 per cent. according as custom has defined, under local circumstances, the right of the ryots."

The Government share is commonly denominated the gross collections; and the permanent settlement at Madras is founded on these gross collections, or actual payments made into the public treasury on account of Government.

" From the gross collections, for an average of years, hereditary zemindars† have been allowed one-third for charges, maintenance, profit; paying two-thirds to Government, as a rent in perpetuity. Mootahdars, or those who purchase Government estates, or have them bestowed on them, have, as before stated, a reduction of from 11 to 25 per cent. made in their favour.

" When estates, from the recent repairs of tanks or other causes, are known to be susceptible of improvement, the reduction is small, viz. from 11 to 16 per cent.; but when an estate is known to be fully cultivated, and to be capable of little or no improvement, the deduction is greater, viz. from 20 to 25 per cent."

In the preceding statement, the gross collections constitute what may be termed in other countries the net produce of lands, or that portion which farmers or cultivators would be enabled to pay as net rent to their landlords. Of this net produce or rent, landlords, under the Permanent Settlement at Madras (with the exception, as above observed, of some few hereditary zemindars) are only allowed, it would seem, to retain from about one to two and a half-tenths, whilst the remainder, or from about nine to seven and a half-tenths, of that produce or rent, constitutes the Government tax.

In Bengal the Government tax is stated to have been originally calculated at ten-elevenths of the expected rents of estates,‡ leaving of course to the proprietors of such estates only one-eleventh. What pity these rates of division were not, in the first instance, reversed!

The principle of a tax of half-produce seems to have been in force in Bengal previous to the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. It is in fact the assumed basis of all our Indian land taxes; but even here, as elsewhere, the division of produce is stated to vary, and the cultivators to have been responsible for the payment, in some places, of one-half; in others, a fourth, two-fifths, &c.

Even

* " En effet quel danger peut-il y avoir d'agiter
" et de discuter les matières économiques sous un
" Gouvernement qui ne désire que le plus grand
" bien? Que pourroit-on redouter de ces disputes
" entre citoyens, et qu'en peut-il arriver qui ne
" soit infiniment avantageux?"

Physiocratie, vol. 4. p. 45.

† " Paddy land is here taken, but all money
" rents

" rents are founded on the right of Government
" to a share in the produce. The share of Govern-
" ment is less on dry grain than on wet grain, some-
" times not more than 25 or 30."

‡ Some consideration having been allowed for their former manners and state.

† Vide Remarks on the Husbandry, &c. of Bengal, printed in Calcutta, 1804; re-printed in England, 1806.

No. 3.
Further Remarks
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Even this variation is a proof that an actual half cannot be universally collected; and it also proves the inapplicability of a fixed rate of tax to a produce of indefinite diversity, independent of the other objections against it here intended to be advanced.

Whatever may be the actual local rates however of collection in different districts, arising out of the above-mentioned established principle, it is evident, and more especially from personal observation of the effect, that the land tax, added to the extortions of those who collect it, is universally exorbitant, and that the situation of the real cultivators is universally that of poverty and distress.* The division of produce leaves him a bare maintenance, Government absorbs the rest. It is consequently evident that no wealthy proprietors can, under such a system, arise out of the agricultural branch of the society; and that even commerce cannot open a very extensive field either to the acquisition or employment of capital, where the far major part of the population are wretchedly poor. It is in a few favoured or eligible spots only that commerce is accordingly found to prosper; the demand it has to supply being limited, its capital and the local employment thereof must be limited also; and it is still more injuriously restricted by the effectual exclusion of all its surplus from investiture in agricultural pursuits.

Encouragement to commerce, that is, a certain degree of freedom from restraint, and from heavy taxation, has therefore produced in India a partial and local accumulation of wealth, perhaps equally or nearly so, to what the impoverished state of the community at large is capable of yielding or supporting; but the possessors of it are comparatively few, in proportion to the very great population of which they are members; and the fatal obstruction to its employment in the purchase or improvement of land, presents us with the curious phenomenon of rich commercial towns situated in territory little better than a wilderness, or in a deplorable and wretched state of cultivation. The transition from the limits of mercantile wealth to the dreary bounds of agricultural poverty, is immediate, since the surplus wealth thus acquired is either hoarded, and therefore useless from want of expenditure, or it is less beneficially employed than the natural propensities of its possessors, and the best interests of society would naturally dictate.†

From what then can this proceed, but from our destructive system of heavy land taxation? Man naturally covets the possession of land, it is an innate principle which all the habits and wants of civilized life tend to strengthen and confirm; but in countries where half the produce of the soil is rated as the Government's share, there would seem to be no room for proprietors, rich or poor, either to enter or to arise; they are positively excluded by the operation of the tax, and of the tax alone Government itself takes the place of the class of proprietors, and by this impolitic act of power, supersedes all the benefits which they alone are

* In the work already quoted, the recompense of a cultivator, at half-produce, is stated to be positively worse than that of a common labourer in the cultivator's field at 2 annas per diem. Page 102.—The remarks throughout this work on the rates of taxation and division of produce, are very interesting and appropriate.

An accurate view of an Indian System of Revenue, is also given in the first part of Reg. I. 1808, of this Government; which, in addition to the division of half-produce, and other levies made by the Portuguese landlords from their tenants, sums up the aggregate of Mahratta taxes in the following words: "So that on the whole there were added by the Mahrattas to the former imposts (meaning the levies of the Portuguese landlords from their tenants) forty-six in money and twenty-four in grain, several of which stand hereafter more particularly noticed;" and in a subsequent section these numerous levies are stated "unitedly to exceed in number 100 distinct heads of taxation," and mostly laid on the direct produce of land. The bare contemplation of this enormous list of taxes, is sufficient to account for the present deplorable state of Salsette, in despite of the better system introduced ten years ago by the present Government, and which was certainly a great and decided improvement of the Mahratta course of administration. In respect therefore to this island, whenever mentioned, I hope never to be understood as meaning to arraign the late measures adopted for its improvement; the principle of Mr. Camac's plan is good, and its effects, no doubt, must have been slowly and partially beneficial: all I would say in this respect, is what is now self-evident, that there has not yet been sufficient encouragement held out to draw to Salsette the overflowing surplus of the commercial wealth of Bombay, and I selected this spot for the experiment proposed to effect it in my former essay, from the

advantage of its situation, and the opportunity it would afford to Government of personally witnessing its effects. The anticipated objects of the experiment, it will be remembered, are briefly these:—Permanency of tenure with removal of tax from the land, and its gradual diminution; consequent encouragement and success to agricultural pursuits—consequently the multiplication of wealth—consequently the improvement of our fiscal resources, and without the least risk of intermediate loss; a reduction of native establishments, the practicability of which is no longer speculative, but proved by actual experience: whence, not only immediate saving of expense, but a blessing to the inhabitants, as great perhaps as the reduction or removal of the consolidated heavy land tax. In short, the plan suggested, may be said to be rather an experimental improvement than a change of the system now in force: the same principles are recurred to as in 1798, only with greater encouragement to the employment and expenditure of wealth; all therefore that is proposed, according to the remarks thereon of a learned and distinguished critic, is only a larger dose of the same medicine, and which the patient may perhaps now be admitted to require. I am even authorized to add, that on the terms of the proposed plan, several natives of the first wealth and respectability in the settlement would immediately take waste lands on Salsette, and employ capital in their improvement. Might not this therefore be the best and most likely method of promoting the Court of Directors views in respect to the cultivation of hemp?

† Vide Appendix (A.) where the checks to commerce and manufactures, as supposed to arise out of our revenue system, are discussed more in detail than could conveniently be comprized within the limits of a note.

advantage

are capable of distributing through the other ranks of life, and even cuts short the improvement of its own resources; since the revenue of the state must be necessarily limited by the wealth of its subjects; and taxation, under a system of confirmed poverty, be ever incapable of increase.

Although the principle of a tax at half-produce be very general in India, it may be difficult to state when and where it had its origin. It may, however, confidently be asserted, that it arose out of some violent overthrow of the natural order of societies, and is decidedly foreign to the ancient institutions of the Hindoos, under which, India is supposed to have long flourished; for, first, the erection of a class of landed proprietors, is according to the free course of nature's laws, as certain and evident a consequence of the cultivation of land, as the production of a plant from its seed. The more fortunate, the more strong, or the more industrious among the first cultivators, who were the first proprietors of the earth, would soon extend their possessions beyond their own individual means of tillage. Cultivation by tenantry would ensue; and land proprietors, properly so called, being thus established, would, in the ordinary progress of civilized society and population, naturally become more numerous, more extensive, and more wealthy. That these proprietors formerly existed, and perhaps universally in India, there cannot be the least doubt, it is equally certain that they must cease to exist where the ruling power would absorb all the produce of the soil beyond a bare maintenance to the wretched cultivators. That existence therefore must have been crushed at some later period, and landed proprietors swept away by the torrent of violence, from those countries where this principle of taxation was first enforced.*

Secondly, We are informed that the Mahabharata authorizes "the prince to levy a fifth of the produce of mines, and a tenth of the corn." Menu and other legislators "authorize the sovereign to exact a sixth, an eighth, or a twelfth of the grain, according to circumstances; and a sixth part of the clear annual increase of the trees†." The Institutes of Akber record, that former monarchies of Hindoostan exacted the sixth part of the produce of lands.‡ Under Akber the revenue was settled at a third of the average produce of lands; and in Mr. Grant's Observations on the Revenues of Bengal, the assessment is said to have been limited not to exceed in the whole a fourth of the actual produce of the soil.

In Malabar, we have the authority of the printed Report of the first Commissioners, a work distinguished for its useful and accurate information, to be assured that no land revenue was collected by its ancient princes;§ and that when expensive preparations become

* We have some pretty clear indications of this being the case in the history of the conduct of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, towards the Poligars of Mysore and the Landholders of Bednore. (Vide Major Wilke's printed Report on Mysore, Fort William, 4th May 1805.)

† Husbandry, Bengal, page 61.

‡ Vide vol. 1. page 347.—The whole Section here referred to, "of tribute and taxes," is very interesting, and applicable to the present question: it states the rates in Tuckey, Iuran, and Iran, to be a sixth or fifth and a tenth of the produce, and gives a detailed account of the Akberian rates of collection from different descriptions of land. The subjoined account, taken from ancient Hindoo works of great repute, was furnished by a pundit in Bombay.

Translate of the coinscent of the twenty-fifth stanza, in section sixty-eight of the chapter Shantee Purua, a division of Mahabharat, written by Kiās, which treats on the state policy, and wherein Bheestna tells Rajah Dhuram how much tribute a rajah should collect from his subjects. "One-sixth part of whatever the subjects will produce from their land, and the same to be applied for their maintenance. Then whence shall the rajah get money for his expenses?—I observe, he is to receive one-sixth of the produce of land from his subjects, after measuring the grains, and no more; to levy fines on the offenders as well as on those that become variously vicious, and annoy others, or to conquer the kingdoms of others by his own valour and thus gain wealth: also, to collect customs from the merchants on goods they import by ships, or on bullocks. Through all these means he shall raise funds, thereby to defray his charges and to protect his subjects—not to become indolent himself in pursuing all these measures. The subjects also, with willingness, are to pay the rajah's cess.

Nulcunt Bhat, son of Narayan Bhat, an author of a book, intituled, "Mayookh Darmashatra," or "Religious Institutions," in which he treats on the subject of policy, observes, "that the rajah should show pride, and be compassionate, and receive from his subjects, from year to year, one-sixth part of the produce, and protect them: if this be neglected, he shall be liable to share half of whatever sins they may commit, because he receives tribute from them."—Translate of the paraphrase of a stanza, the author called as inserted in the first chapter of a book written by him, intituled, "Raja Wounee (literally meaning, Offspring of Maghoo)." "The rajah, for the purpose of doing good to his subjects, shall collect from them one-sixth of the produce." The author adds the following simily: "That the sun attracts water, and pours down seasonably, a thousand times more than the attracted quantity as the people on the earth want; so the rajah, having received a sixth part of the produce, ought to expend a thousand times as much for the defence of his subjects."

§ It is remarkable, that the practice of the Malabarians has in this respect a striking coincidence with a Jewish ordinance. The Malabar rajahs have from time immemorial possessed landed estates, from which to support the princely dignity; and, as noticed in the text, exacted no land tax from their subjects. In the divine commands, through Ezekiel, to the Jews, on their prophesied restoration to the land of their fathers, we find the following injunctions in respect to their princes, chap. xlv. verses 7 & 8: "And a portion (of the land) shall be for the prince, &c. &c." (describing its situation and extent.)

"In the land shall be his possession in Israel: and my princes shall no more oppress my people; and the rest of the land shall they give to the house of Israel according to their tribes."

Chap.

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

Orig.

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

come necessary against apprehended invasion, they only exacted from the landholders a fifth of their produce. This information is the more valuable, as the aboriginal laws and customs of the Malabarians seem to have been preserved unimpaired from time immemorial, down to the subversion of their principalities and government in 1766, by the power of Hyder Ally, and must have had some reference at least to the established usages of surrounding countries.*

In Guzerat it is also ascertained that no such principle was in general force, up to the period of the Mahomedan Conquest; and that even after the introduction of the Mussulman power, the Grassia landholders successfully resisted, as they do to this day, the payment of any such tax; and,

In Salsette, authentic records are still extant to prove, that it was neither adopted by the Portuguese Government. A statement now in my possession, procured from the records at Goa, exhibits the whole of the land revenue derived from the island by that government as amounting only to 20,000 purdaws, or about 10,000 rupees per annum; whilst the lands were given up in undisturbed and undivided possession to individual proprietors, who thus became numerous, respectable, and wealthy.

If therefore the principle here discussed, shall be neither found to be sanctioned by the old legal institutions of the country, or by the natural established order of societies; and if violence, or the effects of despotic power, be its probable origin; it will I hope be allowed no claim to the privilege of being perpetuated in the civil institutions of a just and moderate government, merely because preceding conquerors had enforced it. Precedent, prejudice or prescription, the common motives of human actions, may very properly sanction in established practice what is right; may even justify what is indifferent, but can never excuse what a candid examination at the shrine of reason would prove to be decidedly wrong. Unconsciousness of evil may indeed be some excuse for errors from precedent; but to err with our eyes open is an unjustifiable aggravation of injury †.

That the principle of a tax of half-produce owes its origin to violence, to conquest, or the more gradual oppressive exercise of despotic power, is rendered still further probable from the circumstance of our having several traces of the division of half-produce being the rate adopted between landed proprietors and their tenantry or cultivators: we know it existed on Salsette, during the time of the Portuguese; it still appears to obtain in the Bengal provinces under the Permanent Settlement; it is probable therefore the principle may have been formerly more general; and on the annihilation, or expulsion of proprietors, it would be but natural for the despot who took their place, to appropriate also to himself their share in the produce of the soil. This was actually the case on Salsette, when the Mahrattas took the island from the Portuguese. The conquerors adopting the principle of a tax at half-produce (which was before this the landholders share only, not that of the displaced Government) the class of proprietors soon disappeared, and in Malabar (independent of the violent expulsion of the whole class of landholders by the Mahomedan power) many instances came within my own personal knowledge, of landed proprietors, after their return under our Government, abandoning their estates to their farmers, desiring them to be responsible for the required revenue, in consequence of our local officers having been enabled partially to enforce the same tax.

But the rate of division between proprietors and their tenants, is a very fallacious ground of assumption in behalf of a Government tax, since the rent of an estate paid to a landlord, and a land revenue paid to a government, are entirely and essentially different both in their nature and effects; for,

First, Every contribution to a government is a gratuitous payment, whence the contributors of a tax give so much of their money for nothing; the payment of revenue therefore is in the first instance a dead loss to the contributors.

But

Chap. xlvi. v. 18. "Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance by oppression, to thrust them out of their possession; but he shall give his sons inheritance out of his own possession: that my people be not scattered every man from his possession."

It would seem from this latter verse, too, that the prophet clearly foresaw both the advantage and absolute necessity of restricting the prince and his posterity to their own prescribed inheritance, lest the scattering of the people from their possessions, should be, as he well knew, the infallible consequence of the sovereign becoming general or universal proprietor of the soil; and as is so clearly exemplified in most of the modern Governments of India.

* In Travancore, Canara, Coorg, Bednore and Bullum, we have at this day recorded knowledge of

of the existence of the same individual right of property in the soil, as in Malabar; and probably the same usage formerly prevailed in respect to taxation, though there is always this difference between the two; viz. that the right of property is more likely to be permanent, being only tangible under great revolutions, whereas the rates of taxation may be ever varying, according to the necessities of the prince.

† "Il y a des préjugés" (says the eulogist of Descartes, in allusion to this very subject, the then rising science of physiocracy) "non moins puissans qu'universels, et il y a des coutumes et des opinions funestes, et qui n'ont cessé de paroître telles que par l'empire d'habitude. Les hommes réfléchissent si peu, qu'un mal qui se fait depuis cent ans leurs parôit presque un bien."

But the payment of rent is a contribution for actual value received, it is the return in value for the use or loan of a valuable property; or it is the interest of a capital sum either paid in the original purchase, or subsequent improvement of an estate, and which sum has been actually sent abroad, or distributed in promoting the comfort, the industry, and the wealth of the society at large.

Secondly, The aggregate amount of revenue is chiefly divided into small stipends or salaries, the expenditure of which has very little influence on the industry, and consequently on the comforts and wealth of the society. Of those deriving large salaries, from which they still only accumulate fortunes in a long series of years: few or none remain to expend them in this country.

But the aggregate amount of rent contributes immediately to the elevation of a class of wealthy proprietors in the state, whose expenditure, as has been already repeatedly shown, is the only natural means of stimulating general industry, and of promoting the general wealth and comforts of the society.

Thirdly, The amount of revenue is often expended on purposes foreign to the promotion of industry, and at a distance from the place of its collection; not unfrequently, in foreign and even inimical countries.

But the rent of resident landed proprietors is always expended in the promotion of individual and domestic industry, and chiefly on the spot.

Fourthly, Proprietors and their tenantry are left to a reciprocal view of their own interests in arranging their respective terms of tenure. In the natural order of things, both the one and the other would of necessity be equally consulted.

But the division of produce between a Government and its cultivators, must as necessarily be almost always arbitrary; whence we find the interests of one party only considered, and those of the other almost wholly neglected.

Fifthly, The local experience of resident landed proprietors, and their own private interests, naturally suggest the most advisable measures for improving the produce of their estates, which is most effectually accomplished by improving the condition and resources of their farmers; and the natural impulses of humanity establish an intercourse of kindness and assistance between a lord and his dependants, which the latter can never experience or expect from personal intercourse with a government. Its local officers have no interest in local improvements, but a manifest one in local exactions for their own benefit: in the first case, the interest of the proprietors and tenant are co-operative to the same useful end, and the public good is promoted; in the latter case, the interests of the local officer and tenant are decidedly at variance, and the public good is effectually frustrated.

In short, it would seem to be impossible for a government in any way to occupy lands to any useful end; both the possession and the cultivation of the soil is the exclusive business of subjects, and should be surrendered to them, unrestrained interference on the part of the prince, is an infringement on their rights, their privileges, and their duties: in India it has even extinguished a class in the order of society, without which no society can materially improve*: it is foreign to the object of protection; a clear violation of the order of nature; and we need be no longer surprised at its militating no less against individual prosperity, than against the amelioration, when required, of the resources of the state.

Under the Permanent Settlement (I speak with deference to the distinguished and acknowledged abilities of its authors,) the case does not appear to me to be much altered; the lands are divided into private estates, and of the former gross collections, or of the Government's share of produce, an eleventh, a tenth, or some other minute portion, is either given up, or sold to a proprietor: on this principle no proprietor can be rich, without possessing an estate equal to a principality in extent. Those who have estates only suited to their own capacity of superintendence and controul, must still be poor, and poor proprietors can neither improve present cultivation or extend it to the waste lands of their estates, the more especially if the demand for produce be already fully supplied. The miserable modicum of a proprietor's share, will naturally drive him to seek the improvement of his own circumstances, by trenching on the portion or rights of his helpless cultivators; the proprietor may often be a harsher task-master to his tenant than even the local officer of Government; his object will be to gain the utmost farthing from his estates, that of the tenant to oppose it: there can here be no communion of interest, or any thing better than the cunning of weakness struggling against avarice and power; and instead of that confidence and mutual assistance, which a satisfied dependence on each other would inspire, we may too often find nothing but distrust, aversion, and hate.

That this is the case in districts where the Permanent Settlement has been introduced, I have seen vouchers of unquestionable authority to prove. The barramah, for example, is represented to be in this state. In Bengal the same effects are also stated to be experienced. The land-holders paying ten-elevenths of the rent of estates to Government, rack-rent their lands to tenants, to the great injury of agriculture, and ultimately indeed of themselves; and that this is owing to the heavy land tax, can hardly be doubted, when we are informed by the same valuable author, that the tenantry of the "free lands, in the same provinces, are considerably better off.†"

* "En épuisant les riches vous affamez les
"pauvres, que les riches seuls font vivre."

Phil. Rur. vol. 1. page 321.

† Vide work already quoted, chapters iv. & v.

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808.)
by Mr Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

That Bengal may be in a state of slow progressive improvement, is very probable, and the respectable authorities from which this assertion has often proceeded, leave no room to doubt the fact; but it may be more difficult to admit the Permanent Settlement, on its present footing, as the efficient cause. The long-continued tranquillity of the Bengal provinces, their great fertility, the general security to property, and, in some cases, the freedom of its employment; a moderately taxed commerce; and though last, not least, the great extent of free lands in Bengal, said to be one-eighth of the whole cultivated area,* and the wealth thence produced; are all sources of energy that would lead to partial good, in despite of the restraints and obstructions arising out of a heavy consolidated land tax. But that the prosperity above admitted, is at all owing to the introduction of a permanent tax, averaging 10-11ths of the rent of estates, is utterly inconceivable to me.†

Indeed the reverse, from personal observation and experience in the revenue affairs of this country, is the impression of my mind; and it is the conscientious conviction thereof, and no other motive, that leads me to covet the present discussion. Under the heavy land taxes now in force, I repeat it to be impossible, in my humble opinion, for wealthy proprietors ever to arise in sufficient numbers to constitute a source of general prosperity. The system not only extinguishes one necessary class in society, but materially affects the condition of the other cultivators, who, reduced to a bare maintenance, are deprived of every spark of enterprise. Poverty, without a prospect of relief; bad husbandry, without the possibility of improvement‡; are the natural consequences. Tenants disheartened and depressed, yet prompted by necessity to the cultivation of the soil, naturally content themselves with portions of land sufficient, after the discharge of rent or revenue, for their own and families support: hence the origin of small farms, or tenures, and the deplorable subdivision of lands amongst a wretched inefficient population, to whom increase of numbers is only increase of misery. Here we may also see equality of condition exemplified, as perhaps it only can be, in equal poverty; a people of few wants, and those nearly supplied to each individual by his own exertions; of little use, and therefore as little dependent on each other; a poor and languid internal commerce, few comforts, little satisfaction, indifference to life itself, and no attachment to the Government, under which the far greater part may be said to drag on an approximation even to brutal existence.

Whatever may have contributed to this complication of evil, Government has at all events the power to remove it. It would be erroneous to say, that the natural indolence of the people is the cause of their degradation, for we have ample proofs, especially in the free commercial towns, that this imputed degree of indolence is not characteristic of their nature. If they are habitually idle, drunken, lying and deceitful, these qualities, it should be

* Vide same work, page 17.

† The numerous advertisements contained in the Calcutta Gazette, of estates to be sold to discharge revenue demands, cannot be deemed a proof of the prosperous progress of the Permanent Settlement, however much Bengal may be admitted to prosper in other respects.

According to the elements of the French economists, a "Nation Agricole," as Bengal certainly is, of 120 million arpens (Bengal, including Benares, contains, I apprehend, about 105 million acres) and containing 30 millions of inhabitants, as Bengal is supposed to do, ought, in a state of prosperity, to yield a gross produce (at 24 livres per pound sterling) of £. 265,300,000, of which £. 83,333,330 would be product net, or the net rent of landed proprietors and two-sevenths of the latter sum, or £. 23,809,524, would be the public revenue.

Whether Bengal, under the present system, is in a fair way of reaching this possibly attainable degree of prosperity (for the calculations of the economists have been too much respected for the last 50 years, to be now deemed altogether visionary,) those who are best acquainted with its local means, will best judge. In the work already so often quoted (vide, pp. 24, 25) the gross produce of lands in Bengal is estimated at Rs. 329,130,000, whether siccas or current is not mentioned; if the former, at 2s. 6d. we have £. 41,141,250 sterling; and if the latter, £. 32,913,000 only, as the gross produce of what is always represented as one of the finest countries on earth. The revenues of the same territory are, I believe, about eight million. According to these data, the gross produce of Bengal, supposing it at thirty-two millions sterling, is not one-eighth part, and the revenues about one-third of the sums calculated upon by the economists.

What is still more remarkable is, that on these data, the whole annual gross produce of the lands in Bengal, does not equal even the annual revenue of Great Britain, a tract not half the size of the former; inferior in natural fertility, and not containing probably more than one half of its population.

‡ There is no principle better established, than that agriculture is most effectually improved and promoted, both as to quantity and species of produce, by means of enterprising farmers possessing adequate capitals of their own; of men in short capable of making those primitive and annual advances, according to the language of the economists, which a perfect cultivation necessarily requires. The vast observable difference between the cultivation of rich farmers, and that of the wretched metaying system in Europe, has been so often elucidated, as to require no other notice here, than merely to bring to recollection, that the system of India bears a resemblance to the latter, as before noticed; and that the similitude holds among other points, in the annual advances required to be made to the poor metayers and cultivators, who are often in this country alike unable to cultivate without them. In some districts, these advances are made by money-lenders, and are of a most ruinous description; cultivators have been known to borrow money for the season at 30 and 40 per cent. to be paid principal and interest out of the coming crop. The tuckavy advances of Government, to be returned with common interest, is another species, and proves likewise the want of adequate means to cultivate with due effect. The state of our cultivated lands exhibits in consequence, very generally, but a poor and imperfect husbandry, which cannot be expected to be improved under systems thus tending to confirm the poverty of the cultivating class.

be remembered, are the peculiar vices of poverty, the natural consequence of helpless debility reduced to the daily necessity of opposing fraud and cunning to the unjust and unreasonable extortions of power. In morals as in physics, there is no effect without an adequate cause; and we have no authority from reason, from experience, or the history of the human mind, to ascribe vices, the apparent consequence of a vicious system, to innate and irremediable depravity. From contemplation of the Indian character, particularly that of the Hindoos, there is on the contrary every reason to anticipate their moral improvement, with the improvement of their physical situation, and the refinements both in manners and education, which this happy change would superinduce; but the first step towards this improvement must be taken by Government itself. Let the field of industry be thrown open to all: let the sovereign withdraw from all interference in the rights, or participation in the proper functions of his subjects, and patiently await the acquired wealth of the latter, ere he attempts to enrich himself: let him revert to the original dignity of his intended office, which consists more in protection than interference; and in estimating the nature and duties of his tutelary authority, let him remember, that the children of his care require no other protection than the security of their rights and properties, no other encouragement than the utmost possible freedom; and that the surest road to universal prosperity, is the most unrestrained course of nature's laws.

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

“ La justice divine qui reprouve les méchants, n'a accordé qu'une autorité tutélaire aux puissances qui gouvernent les nations. Si elles sortent des bornes et du ressort de leur institution, elles violent l'ordre naturel de la loi suprême, et ne sont plus que les instrumens du disastre general et de leur propre dommage, toujours englobé dans le dommage public.”—(Phil. Rurale, Vol. 2. p. 106.)

Bombay, 7 July 1808.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

Appendix (A.)

From the following view of the internal commerce of Bengal, an accurate judgment may be formed of its nature and extent in other parts of India:—“ The languid state of internal commerce, inferred from the circumstances above mentioned, is confirmed by the review of the commodities which it exchanges, and by the estimate of their amount. The exportation of grain from ear districts, and the return of salt, constitute the principle object of this trade. The importation of cotton from the western provinces, and the exchange of tobacco for butternut, together with some sugar, and a few articles of less note, complete the supply of internal consumption. Manufactures are almost limited to the wants of their immediate neighbourhoods, excluding from this consideration the provision of the public investment, and the calls of foreign trade; piece-goods, silk, saltpetre, opium, sugar and indigo, pass almost wholly through the Company's hands, excepting only what foreign commerce, and the traffics of various ports in India, export of such among these articles as the Company do not monopolize.” (Remarks on Husbandry and Corn.—Bengal, page 168.) In a subsequent paragraph, this commerce is estimated at about 8 or 10 million per annum, we may add million for the external commerce, and this constitutes the state of productions and of wants of about 27 or perhaps 30 million of people, in avowedly the richest provinces of the British dominions in India.

It might lead to very useful results to compare these amounts with the estimated value of English commerce and produce, and more in detail than I have the means at present of accomplishing. One record states the value of exports and imports of Great Britain, in 1802, at about 79 millions; another record values the annual produce of the lands (which may give some idea of the value of the internal commerce of the country) at 70 millions. In India the annual revenue collected from at least 50 millions of subjects, is about 14 millions sterling; whilst in England the annual and permanent taxes of 1804, raised from 14 or 16 millions of people at the utmost, yielded upwards of 33 millions sterling. Even this imperfect picture exhibits a striking difference between a poor people of overgrown numbers and fettered industry, and an efficient population far less comparatively numerous, enjoying freedom of exertion, though still not altogether unobstructed in the course of nature's laws.

In viewing the progressive political state of both countries, the contrast is equally striking. The History of Great Britain, from the Revolution to the present day, exhibits a nation advancing in efficient population, in commerce, in agriculture, in arts, in science, and in the accumulation of vast wealth, in despite of the bloody and expensive wars of King William, Queen Anne, and the Georges, and in opposition to a heavy load of public debt, increasing in each reign with the national resources, till in our own times, exceeding 600 millions: it still leaves Great Britain the richest country of the same extent on earth, a population nearly doubled, and a revenue raised from 2 millions in the reign of King James, to more than 16 times that amount in present times, as the following Statement will evince:

STATEMENT.

	Value of Exports.		Revenue.	National Debt.	
	£.		£.	£.	
In - - - - 1669 - - - -	2,043,043.	{ King James II. }	2,061,856.	King Wm. borrowed -	44,100,793
Revolution - 1688 - - - -	4,086,087.	{ Income up to 1688 - }	4,249,759.	Repaid - - - - -	34,034,018
Last year of William III. 1700-1-2 -	6,045,432.	{ Average of King }	4,415,360.	Remained in 1702 - -	10,066,777
Wars of Queen Anne, 1709, 1712 -	6,868,840.	{ William's Income - }			
First of George I. 1713, 1714, 1715 -	7,696,573.	In 1707 - - - - }		In 1711 first funded -	9,471,323
First of George II. 1726, 1727, 1728 -	7,891,739.	In 1708 - - - - }	5,272,758.	On 31st Dec. 1714 -	50,644,306
Peaceful years, - 1736, 1737, 1738 -	9,993,023.	In 1709 - - - - }			
		In 1710 - - - - }		In 1728 - - - - -	51,028,431
War of - 1739-1740-1741 - - - -	8,870,499.	- - - - -	- - -	In 1738 - - - - -	46,661,767
Peace - 1749-1750-1751 - - - -	12,599,112.	- - - - -	- - -	In 1749 - - - - -	74,221,686
War of - 1755-1756-1757 - - - -	12,371,916.	- - - - -	- - -		
First of George III. 1760 - - - -	15,781,175.	- - - - -	- - -	In 1762 - - - - -	146,682,844

In 1783-4, the whole Revenue paid

- - - - - 1770 - - - -	15,996,569.	Into the Exchequer	12,995,519.	In 1775 - - - -	135,943,051
War - - - - 1780 - - - -	12,624,372.	1785-6, D° - D° -	15,397,471.	In 1783 - - - -	212,302,429

1792, Net Produce of Annual

- - - - - 1790 - - - -	20,120,120.	{ and Permanent Taxes about }	17,000,000.	In 1793 - - - -	227,989,148
- - - - - 1800 - - - -	43,152,019.	1800 - D° - D° -	25,000,000.	In 1801 - - - -	400,709,832
- - - - - 1802 - - - -	48,500,663.	1803 - D° - D° -	31,000,000.	- - -	- - -
		1804 - D° - D° -	33,000,000.	In 1804 - - - -	434,162,622
				In 1807 - - - -	640,756,000

Whole Value of the Kingdom, according to Gregory King, in 1688 - - - -	£. 650,000,000.	Estimate Value of the Capital of the Kingdom in 1804 - - - -	£. 1,200,000,000.
Yearly Income of the Nation - D° - D° -	43,500,000.	Mr. Pitt's Estimate of the Annual Income of Great Britain - - - -	102,000,000.
Population, according to - - - D° - D° -	Souls 5,500,000.	Latest Enumerations - - - -	Souls - 9,300,000.

The preceding Statement is compiled from various records, but chiefly Chalmer's Estimate. In the intervening years, which I have not given, it is both curious and satisfactory to remark, that whenever wars occurred to depress the exports of the kingdom, they invariably rose on the return of peace, to an amount exceeding that of former prosperous years, a fact that may be admitted to prove that the sources of prosperity pervaded every branch of industry, agriculture, manufactures and commerce, which thus rebounded, after every pressure, with redoubled strength of spring into fresh and increased vigour. Mr. Chalmer's Chronological Table of Exports is of itself an interesting and instructive document, not only from the striking contrast which it exhibits of the opposite effects of war and peace on national prosperity, but from showing also, when compared with the principles of national government, what incalculable wealth and strength are capable of attainment by a people of free exertions and pursuits, of free and unrestrained industry.

In India the scene is different, and the result less brilliant; a series of wars, far less expensive than an European contest, leaves nothing to the boast of pride beyond a dangerous, if not ruinous extent of overgrown dominion. In provinces long possessed, or subsequently acquired, no material improvement is observed of any thing deemed advantageous in civil polity; and no increase of resources, except what may be said to result from extended conquest: but increased revenues, still alarmingly short of that indispensable expenditure which conquest never fails to entail, can neither be esteemed a public or a private benefit; and a debt of 30 millions only, threatening the Government of at least 50 millions of people with irretrievable ruin, is certainly a proof of want of due encouragement, in other words, of sufficient freedom, to industrious pursuits; a proof that the land and labour of our Indian possessions have not been rendered so productive as those of the mother

mother state at any given period here adverted to, and that the fault is not ascribable to nature, since our population is comparatively more numerous, and the fertility of our lands not to be exceeded by any other equal extent of the habitable globe. It is therefore inferable, though we have possessed extensive provinces for half a century, that a new era in India yet remains to be commenced, in which, as Judge Blackstone pronounces of the epoch of the Revolution, "prerogative and liberty may be better defined, the principles of Government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of subjects more explicitly guarded by legal provisions." (vol. 1. page 213.)

So true also is the remark of another celebrated author, that "by means of industry, the heaviest burthens seem light; by the influence of sloth, the slightest duty appears intolerable."

But if commerce, according to the economists, is nothing more than an exchange of the productions, natural or manufactured, of the earth, how can it be extensive when these productions are limited? Or, considering commerce to be regulated, as it really is, by the state of human wants, what internal commerce can there be amongst a people who have scarcely any wants at all? An agricultural population, paying a tax of half-produce, will dispose of their annual surplus to realize funds for payment of their revenue; the remainder, affording them a bare maintenance, requires but little aid from internal commerce, for being fed from their own cultivation, they have but little, very little left to exchange. This is evidently a state of very limited wants, in which commerce can hardly be expected to thrive.

The surplus produce, however, of cultivation, wherever it exists, constitutes wealth, and that wealth is yearly renewed; the question at issue, then, is, whether it be most for the public good, that this wealth should immediately pass into the hands of rich proprietors, or be distributed among the poor stipendiaries of a still poorer Government, overwhelmed with difficulty and debt. In the first case, it is evidently capable of incalculable increase, of incalculable improvement of the public revenue, and of incalculable advantages to the community at large, from its universal distribution and expenditure. But in the latter case, the wealth that is produced passes in its expenditure through various less useful and less productive channels, and is accumulated in certain proportions into the hands of commercial agents, where the aggregate amount, though it will continue to circulate and enrich various individuals, seems incapable of useful increase or advantageous distribution, with regard to India, and for these reasons; viz. because that class in the society through whom alone productions and consumption can be most effectually increased, is utterly extinct; much, probably the major part of the surplus wealth accumulated in commerce, quits the country never to return; and even the channel to the increase of productions, by means of that which remains, is obstructed.

Indeed, under the peculiar system here discussed, it is even probable that if the exported surplus were, from other circumstances, compelled to remain in India, it would absolutely stagnate from wanting means of lucrative employment; in other words, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find employment, under the present state of things in India, for all the capital which a profitable external trade is capable of accumulating; and as this one fact, if true, may tend to elucidate more fully the various checks to progressive improvement, which are conceived to be in existence and in force, a little further digression on the subject may not be misplaced.

Doctor Smith has observed, that the principal improvements of agriculture, in all the modern states of Europe, though contrary to the natural order of things, owe their birth to the surplus accumulations of merchants, manufacturers, &c.; and the same effects, it may be inferred, ought to be produced in this country, from the similar overflowings of commercial gain; but there is this wide difference between the commercial and political state of Europe and India, separately considered. In Europe, the course intimated by Doctor Smith, is perfectly correct and clear, for, as he himself observes, "in all the great countries of Europe, much good land still remains uncultivated, and the greater part of what is cultivated, is far from being improved to the degree of which it is capable. Agriculture therefore is almost every where capable of absorbing a much greater capital than has ever yet been employed in it." As the policy of Europe does not, moreover, positively obstruct such employment, it follows that there has ever been a channel open for all, and even more than all the surplus capital of European commerce, to force the increase or improvement of agriculture. All the countries of Europe can boast a class more or less numerous of wealthy landed proprietors; they have all been more or less in a state of progressive improvement, the demand for labour has consequently increased, consequently efficient population, consequently consumption, consequently productions, consequently commerce and commercial capital. The freest and most industrious commercial nations (England and Holland for example) have been the greatest accumulators of the gradually increasing wealth thus produced either at home or abroad: their prosperity and resources have gone on to flourish, because there has been no positive obstruction to the employment of their increasing accumulations in any of the different branches of human industry; and the prosperous state of these, increasing the demand for productions, has of course forced agriculture to supply it. There has been no positive obstruction (although certainly more advantageous in some states than in others) to the direct employment of capital in agriculture itself, in which line it is admitted and proved that the same sum of capital will put in motion a greater quantity of

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

No. 3.
Farther Remarks
(7 July 1808.)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

of productive labour, will add more to the annual produce of the land and labour of the society, than in any other. There has therefore been no positive obstruction to its employment in that very channel in which it is capable of promoting efficient population, consumption, productions and commerce, wealth and revenue, human wants, and the means of supplying them, in the highest possible degree.

This seems to be a clear connecting chain of causes and effects; but in India it must be kept in mind, that none of the different branches of human industry, external commerce excepted, either in our own countries or those around us, are in a state of progressive improvement, or if they are, it is so very slow as to be imperceptible; there is therefore, as far at least as regards those countries generally, no greater demand for labour in one year than in the former, therefore no increase of efficient population, or amelioration of the circumstances of that which exists, therefore no increase of consumption, therefore no increase of productions. Now if productions are not increased, commerce, which only circulates them, must in the aggregate be equally limited: it cannot circulate commodities which are not brought into being; the sum total of the capital employed in it, will therefore remain stationary also; the sum total will not increase, although the private capitals of individuals will, in those few, free, and industrious commercial towns where the productions that are annually brought into being, continue to be more and more accumulated: but in these few towns, it may be added, and must be admitted, that the demand for labour, efficient population and consumption, all increase; so far means are afforded for the employment of increased capital, and so far also may it indirectly force an increase of productions to supply extended wants, and doubtless does so: But these are very narrow limits, compared with the possible augmentation of wants throughout the whole extent and population of the territories of India; yet to these narrow limits is our increasing prosperity apparently confined, and consequently the means of employing increased capital, for the impediments to its employment beyond these bounds, would seem to be absolute, to be almost, if not wholly insuperable.

It cannot, for example, be employed in countries where the public tax absorbs all the produce of land, except what is barely necessary for the maintenance of the cultivating class: in such countries capitalists will not even attempt to force agriculture, at all events beyond the limited extent above adverted to, for they would rather bury their wealth than employ it to a loss. It is therefore evidently checked, if not wholly obstructed, in that very channel which of all others is most conducive to private and public prosperity.

They cannot employ it either in the increase of home manufactures, beyond the very limited increasing consumption of wealthy towns; the Indian demand for these manufactures being otherwise, I apprehend, as stationary as the apparent state of their annual produce and of the industry employed therein; while the European demand is supplied through other hands, and, according to the published statements of sale in Europe, is likewise stationary, or nearly so. Indeed in this branch of industry there would seem to be a deplorable want of capital every where; with clumsy wretched machinery, its commodities are almost universally supplied on advances from the immediate purchaser to the labouring manufacturers; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the poverty of the whole manufacturing class, if not of the internal traffic and population of the country generally. This too, be it remembered, is the second most advantageous channel for the employment of capital, which in India seems almost incapable of attracting any.

It has been already shown, that increased capital is unlikely to find employment in the internal trade of the country, or of the retail trade, except within the limits of the aforesaid commercial towns; for all without is stationary, and unconquerable poverty.

There only remains, then, the external commerce of the country, which is admitted to flourish partially; and if the capital accumulated therein should increase, as I apprehend it must do, beyond what is requisite to support the increasing prosperity of the few towns which engross this branch of industry, the overplus must, as before observed, either stagnate or seek employment in more distant and less fettered regions. If the obstructions to its domestic employment were removed, the same reasons which Doctor Smith gives for the capability of agriculture to absorb a much greater capital than has ever been directed to it, would apply with more force to this country than to any part of the European world; and if the agricultural channel only were but once freely opened, all the others would of themselves naturally and necessarily expand.

Should this reasoning thereof prove correct, it will satisfactorily account for a gradual increase appearing in the returns of the external commerce of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, &c.; the result of wealth annually and locally accumulated therein; while the stationary state of our agriculture, manufactures, and internal traffic, proves the accumulation to be of little use to the community at large, from want of internal employment and expenditure, and of as little use to the state; which is still unable to relieve itself from the pressure of a comparatively trifling amount of public debt. It tends to verify another observation of the celebrated author above referred to; that capital, employed in the trade of exportation, has the least effect, of any of its aforesaid employments, in supporting productive labour, or adding to the amount of annual produce. It is peculiarly the case in this country, where the exported surplus produce of our different provinces, is not chiefly, as in European states, exchanged for other commodities more in demand: were it an exchange of commodity against commodity, it would be here, as elsewhere, beneficial in the support of productive industry to the extent of this exchange, and employ a proportionate extent of capital: but in India a very considerable proportion of this surplus, consisting principally

principally of rude produce, is exchanged for money, wherewith to pay the Company's revenue; and this money, constituting for the most part a bare subsistence to a horde of poor public servants, is chiefly expended to procure the same rude produce for daily nourishment and support. So far therefore as this branch of commerce only goes to the exchange of rude produce for money, and of this money for rude produce again, it only sets in motion half as much industry (or perhaps less) as it is evidently capable of in other free countries; it gives employment only to a single, instead of a manifold capital, and exemplifies another striking check to the production of commercial wealth, and the consequent improvement of national resource, wholly ascribable to a vicious revenue system.

Here then again is a state equally adverse with the former to the increasing prosperity of our internal affairs. Commerce, wealth, industry, agriculture and the public revenue, have a stationary limit, a barrier of most difficult, if not impracticable passage, and which plans, expedients or regulations, will in vain attempt to remedy, save only the simplest and best of all regulations,—entire freedom to every branch of individual industry, re-established at once the class of landed proprietors, effectually, not nominally; and when productions, the real riches of all countries, are thus freely called into existence by the wants of a wealthy people, and allowed at the same time the utmost liberty and facility of exchange, commerce, as the natural agent in the business of distribution and supply, will be found to require neither rules, prohibitions, or privileges, to promote its increase.

Bombay,
7th July 1808.

(Signed) *R. Rickards.*

No. 3.
Further Remarks
(7 July 1808)
by Mr. Rickards,
on Taxation and
Revenue.

The Governor delivers in the following Minute, with three Accompaniments; on the subject of the Papers above recorded from Mr. Rickards.

PRESIDENT'S MINUTE.

1. THE letter from Mr. Rickards, of the 24th of September last, together with that gentleman's Essay on Taxation, have lain by me thus long, chiefly because it became in consequence necessary to enquire into the progress of the settlement that had been authorized in the island of Salsette. Such have occupied during several months the short intervals of time I had to devote to that object, and which not being got through before the departure of the last ships, it was understood that the papers on this important subject, should certainly proceed to our superiors by the first ensuing dispatch, for which purpose they are now delivered in; at the same time that from the speedier departure of the present convoy than had been expected, I can by the present opportunity submit only a few general observations on those by Mr. Rickards, reserving the further remarks I may have to make respecting the means of improvement to Salsette, for the purposed departure of the Teignmouth.

2. The impression I have received in perusing Mr. Rickards's Essay on Taxation is, that it purports to apply the rules of European, to the widely different state of Indian society, such as may in many points of view be found difficult to assimilate, if not hazardous to treat of, as depending on a common principle.

3. Thus, in his 58th paragraph, this gentleman shows, that in England, from barley alone, and its modified products, a revenue was not many years since derived to the British Government, of £. 3,503,422 sterling, whereas the whole land-tax of England does not, he observes, produce annually more than about £. 1,900,000, of which no great proportion can be considered as at all referable to the produce of barley; admitting which to be the case, it does not follow that in India any like circumstances could ensure the same result, until at least the tastes and nourishment of Englishmen became those of Indians. There is no want of barley cultivation within the Company's territories, but the natives do not convert it into the products on which the excises are established in England, and the cases admit not therefore of accurate comparison, farther than to evince that the taxes noticed in the 60th paragraph cannot be, in India, carried even to the height to which this part of Mr. Rickards's argument adverts, unless the manners of the great body of the people be first entirely altered.

4. Whether or not the principle of the French economists, of laying all the taxes on the land, be, as noticed in Mr. Rickards's 61st paragraph, erroneous or otherwise, it is certainly conformable to the prevalent system in India, nor is that theory supported by the French alone, but by respectable authorities in England, who contend, that all taxes fall ultimately on the products of the soil, and that in advancing a different doctrine, the eminent author of the Wealth of Nations, is at variance with himself, inasmuch as his previous data lead to that conclusion.

5. With respect to Mr. Rickards's application of the principles in his Essay to the present state of Salsette, I refer to the printed regulation on that subject, entered on the proceedings of the 24th of February, which will show, that some alterations have immediately taken place, particularly in the abolition of the several farms, whence, exclusive of the article of mothurfa, which may perhaps still require revision, I am not aware of any remaining head of collection that presses with undue weight on the inhabitants, provided the experiment last year introduced of a new administration for the late tobacco and liquor-farms, shall be found to answer their object; which remains to be determined.

No. 3.
President's Minute,
(7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

6. With respect to the alleged objectionable clause in the cowles, or proposed deeds of property, as adverted to in Mr. Rickards's 67th paragraph, by which I understand to be meant, that they are (though erroneously) supposed by the natives to be revisable every ten years, with a view to an increase on the rentals, I rather impute more of them not having been taken out, to the causes adverted to in the clause 3d of Section XLV of the above-mentioned Regulation, and particularly to the last of them, as seems also supported by the petition presented by several of the natives of Salsette to Mr. Rickards, forming the voucher D. among the accompaniments to his plan: added to which, the Secretary's fee established on these deeds was, I am now convinced, by far too heavy for the slender means of this numerous body of agricultural peasantry, and should therefore be either altogether abolished, or reduced, in due proportion to the extent and value of their respective occupancies or estates; but under any modification, these deeds of property will probably never prove palatable to the majority of the cultivators, for experience indicates that we have thereby been attempting to obtrude on them a system which, how congenial soever in its aspect to our possessions, proves but little acceptable to their limited estimate of its benefits, which they consider more than counterbalanced by the contingency it involves of despoiling them of their patrimonial tenancies, of which dread they are relieved, by adhering to the customs of their forefathers, in sharing with Government the greater or less product of each year's harvest; a rule, the origin of which is nearly as untraceable from its antiquity, as in its application it must have always been peculiarly suitable to the periodical rains of India, that will ever prove the prime regulator of the abundance or scantiness of the general crops.

7. In considering the question propounded in the 68th paragraph of Mr. Rickards's Minute, I beg leave to premise, that the introduction of English terms into Indian finance, leads, as in all other instances of verbal inaccuracy, to incorrect ideas. Thus we have translated zemindar by landholder or landlord, although the more accurate version would perhaps have been landkeeper, in the sense that the same Persian affix "dah" is applied to the viceroy of a province or soubah; viz. soubah-dar, a term to which the obvious absurdity of the inference has guarded us from attaching, as in the former case, any notion of property; but having once translated zemindar by the English term landholder, we have thence been led, too inconsiderately, to annex to it our general idea of a proprietor of land, and to yield to the consequent benevolent idea of raising them to that condition, whether with their will or against it: but the present race of cultivating peasantry in Salsette can be expected to aspire to nothing comparatively higher than that of rural yeomanry in England, who would not hesitate to pay as farmers, to a landlord or superior, the third of the agricultural produce of their labour, although this be in fact a higher proportion than is rendered by not a few of the inhabitants of Salsette; nor am I aware of any taxes being continued so as to affect this net residue of two-thirds at the least of the gross paddy or rice produce remaining with the coorumby or cultivating ryet, after the discharge of his public rental.

8. Would not the laying on again a tax on shopkeepers, as proposed in Mr. Rickards's 72d paragraph, operate as an additional burthen on the coorumbees, and other inhabitants, by an enhancement of the articles in which those shopkeepers deal: it was at least in that view that this tax was taken off, as noticed in the thirty-ninth section of the already cited Regulation I. 1808.

9. I own I am not aware of the intrinsic advantage of removing the tax from the land to the houses: and it seems also objectionable, on the mere ground of so important an innovation, such as ought not to be lightly adopted in any case affecting the general rights of the community; but it is needless to enter much into argument on this part of the subject, as, under the orders of the Court of Directors of the 24th of August 1804, approving of the present system, as being in conformity to the principles of the Permanent Settlement throughout India, it would be exceeding our powers to introduce so great an alteration, unless sanctioned by the Supreme Government, to which, under another order from the Honourable Court of the 21st of April 1790, this Government is authorized to refer on points respecting the fiscal economy of Salsette, or of the vicinal districts.

10. With reference to the 75th, 76th, 77th, and 78th paragraphs of the Minute from Mr. Rickards, it may be proper to notice that it has already been made fully known that persons undertaking to bring waste lands into cultivation may, as several do accordingly, hold the same at a fixed rent in perpetuity, which appears to be an old and well-established rule in the island of Salsette, as specified in the 2d clause of the fourth section of Regulation I, 1800. Few or no instances have, I fancy, yet occurred where the parties have desired to set free in such lands for so long a term as Mr. Rickards has suggested, but it may in general be affirmed that as long a period has in this respect been granted as solicited or deemed in anywise necessary; nor am I aware, as seems implied in the last of these cited paragraphs, that the exaction of revenue is consentaneous with the extension of batty or rice; tillage from lands not already perfectly arable, and in a state of due cultivation: neither can any thing be clearer than that the principle of the system in Salsette, as expressed in the proffered deeds of property, precludes any additional tax for either improvement or extension of cultivation, whether on low or high grounds within every possessor's own limits, all which he or they are expressly declared to be at full liberty to apply to the growth of what products they prefer, without affecting thereby their fixed rental to Government; and had not Mr. Camac's proposed tax on fruit trees been altogether given up, for the reasons assigned in the eighteenth clause of the 36th section of Regulation I, 1800,

it is difficult to suppose that the mere planting of trees could be attended, as set forth in these paragraphs, with any immediate exaction of revenue; the genuine object of all territorial taxation in India being, that Government should share proportionally in its actual produce, without anticipating thereon; a principle which must of course continue in force, in as far as the major part of the present occupants of Salsette may prefer its contingent, but regulated operation, to the more precise limitations which have offered to them in the deeds of property.

No. 3.
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

11. With respect to the doubts expressed in Mr. Rickards's 80th paragraph, that the true sense of the present deeds of property will never be understood in respect to that clause thereof which renders the money value of the perpetually fixed grain tax decennially liable to alteration, it seems that after the expiration of the first ten years, the degree of obscurity thought to be involved in the clause in question must, by the future practice, become sufficiently elucidated; but this I consider, either way, of no great moment, since, if deemed requisite by our superiors, this defect may be cured by announcing to the cultivators that the money value of the settled rent in kind is also fixed, so as not to be liable to future alteration.

12. Not clearly comprehending the inference in the 82d paragraph of the Essay, I pass it over without remark.

13. On the 85th paragraph, I shall only say, that whatever terrors the cows or deeds of property hold out, none of them have been left; the Company's Government not having hitherto proceeded, to my knowledge, to the length of selling either lands or other property for arrears due to the state.

14. With respect to the liquor farm, as adverted to in the next following paragraph, it has been already mentioned to have been abolished, and a system ordered to be introduced, since October last, founded on the Bengal abkary Regulations, which, when matured, may, it is hoped, answer the object of suppressing that inordinate use of spirituous liquors, such as in no part of India has probably produced such baneful effects, in debasing the minds and weakening the bodies of its deluded votaries, as among the Christian part of the inhabitants in Salsette, who form so considerable a part of its population.

15. The tobacco farm has likewise been discontinued from the same period, and a system substituted in pursuance of the experiment previously made in Caranja, of which Mr. Rickards has, in his 89th paragraph, expressed a better opinion, such as it will be very agreeable to me to find it ultimately to merit.

16. Mr. Rickards having adverted in the 93d paragraph of his interesting Essay, to the remarks by Dr. Scott, in reply to certain queries which I had on the 25th of July last addressed to him, and to others, the most qualified from local knowledge to pronounce on the state of Salsette; I shall annex those queries and Dr. Scott's answers to the present remarks, and leave the whole to make their own impression with those who may peruse them.

Nos. 1. & 2.

17. The result of Dr. Scott's, as well as of Mr. Ashburner's exertions, and of all the large capital they are said to have laid out on their respective estates, must I fear appear by the latter's, and Dr. Scott's agents joint late address, and the present state of the former's premises, to have fallen very short indeed of the expectations that Mr. Rickards seems to entertain of both in this part of his Essay.

Vide
Mr. Ashburner's
and Dhackjee's
Letter of the 14th
June R. D. 17th D^o.

The observations by Mr. Rickards, in his 98th and following paragraphs, might open a wide field for remark; but as more immediately connected with the subject under discussion, I shall only express a doubt whether the peasantry in India, under the genuine Moghul system (such for instance as is still upheld in Broach, in the manner delineated in the Report from the Commission of Revenue at that station, of the 31st May 1807) be not, as many of them, in a state of comparative ease in their circumstances, by sharing with Government, according to ascertained rules, the product of their agricultural industry, without the fear of dispossession from their hereditary tenancies, than can fall to the lot of the harassed commonalty of the same description in too many parts of Europe, these latter having over them lords, proprietors, with reference to whose severities to the more helpless classes of their rural fellow subjects living under their sway, the governments in that part of the world can exert but a slight degree of corrective power; whilst in India, its right and duty are in this important respect as well understood, as frequently and beneficially exerted, insomuch that the great body of cultivating peasantry in India, would probably be disposed to reject, if tendered to them, the offer of being placed under our European constitution. Such as the system for the permanent leases granted throughout the greater part of British India, although approximating to, has yet found it necessary to guard against this eventual abuse of, by a variety of checks and provisos; leaving the Company's ryots in a state still materially different from the relative insecurity of the like classes, in the region from which Mr. Rickards has drawn his principal data. In as far therefore as that system may seem the most conducive to individual happiness to the greatest number of human beings, and specifically, in providing a state of relative security to that most numerous and valuable class of mankind, the body of husbandmen, by conferring on them—not indeed riches, (which is often very distinct from happiness) but a medium state of permanent quiet and contentment, will it not remain in some degree questionable how far the balance may in these respects be in favour of European or Asiatic economy, a consideration which may contribute perhaps to make us hesitate in hastily making use of our power for the introduction of speculative

No. 3.
President's Minute
7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

lative ameliorations, such as the legislature appears to be jealous of, by requiring that the revenue rules of the country shall be maintained and respected in favour of the natives.

19. The fiscal system now in force in Salsette, has that of India for its basis, in like manner as at Broach, but with this difference, that its inhabitants have suffered more from the successive conquests, not singly of Mahommedans, (which in common with the last cited district it has undergone) but by those of the Portuguese, Marhattas and British, each of whom have left the stamp of some part of their respective administrations. That however the natives of Salsette were the happy people under the Portuguese, that is apparently supposed in Mr. Rickards's 104th paragraph, appears doubtful from the accounts of that island by such travellers as visited it during their dominion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all of whom appear to represent the Indians under that nation, in a state of absolute and debased villanage (as per extracts in the accompaniment) whence the gay appearance of the Portuguese churches and buildings of that period, may stand no more in proof of individual prosperity and happiness, than the similar aspect of one of our West India islands, without retrospect to the number of slaves that compose the great majority of its population.

20. But in howsoever degraded a state the inhabitants of Salsette may heretofore have been, from their former oppressions, or continue still under, the unhappy disposition of so many of them to the excessive use of spirituous liquors; the introduction of capitalists into that island, as adverted to in the 106th paragraph of the Essay, may be perhaps attended with less success than could be hoped for, in as far at least as may be judged from the recent disappointments experienced by those who have had time to estimate the result of their having, subject to the payment of one single tax, entered on such undertakings, combined with the necessity of such adventurers procuring, as in the last instance of Ardeshere Dady, the good-will of the present occupants, before we can, consistently with what has from the highest authority been announced to the people of Salsette in general, proceed in the plan of placing over them more real landlords, in the European sense of that expression, or rather perhaps zemindars, in the more qualified modern acceptation of that term, in the British part of Eastern India; for under the engagements in which Ardeshere stands bound towards those who on such conditions consented to become his tenants, his power over them, and his estate, approximates much more to one of the latter, than of the former description; but yet it was not without a considerable degree of precaution, and with some jealousy evinced on the part of the ryets on his estate, that they yielded to Ardeshere's becoming at all their superior, as must be inferred from the conditions they exacted for their own security, as briefly enumerated in the fifty-fifth section of the Regulation already noticed.

21. Neither might our being able to introduce into Salsette the plan proposed in the Essay, constitute much proof of its easy extension into our other territories. We may, from the local and peculiar circumstances of the natives of that island, act towards them, or probably those of the smaller island of Caranjah, as we please, without risk of active resistance, but such is not the case with our far more extensive possessions in the vicinity of Surat, and still less in the north-western parts of Guzerat, in which, innovations on the customs and habits of the people will for years, and perhaps for ages to come, expose the Government that attempts them to a very undefined and vexatious series of evasive or more open opposition.

22. I concur entirely with Mr. Rickards in all the benefits to which that gentleman adverts in the 107th, and other parts of his Essay, as connected with the most plentiful supply of water for the purposes of irrigation in Salsette, and I have collected some information on this part of the subject, which will shortly be submitted to the Board, in time for any measures that may in consequence be undertaken on the commencement of the fair season, such as will, I hope, be found to be in general concurrence with the several able suggestions of Mr. Rickards in this part of his work.

23. The lands adverted to in Mr. Rickards's 113th paragraph, are not under the Company's authority, as that gentleman supposes. the perguannah of Gundavie appertaining to the Guicawar; but this is of no consequence to the argument, as we possess other districts in the same vicinity, from which the ascertainment of the facts alluded to can easily be made, or obtained from Gundavie itself, by a reference to the Resident at Beroda.

24. In Mr. Rickards's 119th paragraph, he defines the advantage of a house or reservoir-tax, over one on land, to consist in its "not interfering with the immediate pursuits, or "sharing in the immediate benefits of industry;" but does this amount, after all, to more than a verbal distinction? since, whether the tax be laid on the house, or on the lands, or on their product, it is this last alone that can pay the tax, which must therefore interfere very nearly as much in one way as the other with the husbandman's pursuits, and with the profits of his industry; such fixed tax inferring, whether rated on land, or deriving from whatever other real or nominal source, much the same requisites and consequences.

25. The estimate of square miles assumed in the 74th section of the already mentioned Regulation, differing considerably from that in the 124th paragraph of the Essay, it may be proper to notice, that the former is taken from the Report of Captain Brookes of the Engineers, after a local ascertainment thereof by that able officer.

26. It thence follows, that the relative population of Salsette is considerably more numerous than as noticed in the Essay.

27. The

No. 3.
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

27. The contents of Mr. Rickards's 125th paragraph, are well calculated to arrest the attention of political economists; but I cannot say that the same results thence present themselves to me as to that gentleman; which is perhaps because I contemplate the subject more on Asiatic or Indian, and he (as already observed) with a greater view to the European principles of rural economy. Prosperity, in its true sense, must bear material, and even chief reference to individual happiness, which is not always necessarily connected with what is in the Essay alluded to, under the term of "active industry," in a greater degree than is frequently to be found in the undisturbed and easy life enjoyed by the majority of Indian cultivators, who (for a nearer approximation to English ideas) may be considered as the Government's soccage tenants; and is it not somewhat repugnant to Mr. Rickards's data, that Salsette, if so wretchedly an impoverished country, should nevertheless exhibit a relative population not far short of the double of the two most populous divisions of Great Britain? for it is one of the leading maxims of European statistics, that "where there are the wisest institutions, and the most happiness, there will also be the most people."

28. The general argument in the next following paragraph of the Essay, seems not, by this rule of judgment, very applicable to Salsette, inasmuch as in its present state it upholds from its agriculture a very numerous body of inhabitants, among whom, and yet in a greater degree perhaps amongst the peasantry of India in general, there are but few under really necessitous circumstances, enjoying, as they do in this respect, most of the requisites for comfortable existence in their relatively humble spheres; whilst in Europe many a peasant is (if I be rightly informed) pinched for meat, clothes, and fire, for his family.

29. It does not appear to me that, as stated in Mr. Rickards's 130th paragraph, the applications occasionally made in Salsette (as in all other countries similarly constituted) from ryots to circumscribe their cultivation according to their circumstances and convenience, form any definitive proof of increasing general poverty, inasmuch as cultivators for these grounds, or their equivalent, are generally found, so as on the whole to maintain from year to year the cultivation at about its usual standard, whilst on the other hand it is obvious, as noticed in section 36, Regulation I. 1808, that some parts in Salsette (and that too where Mr. Rickards's favourite experiment, or one approximating to it, by introducing capitalists, on a singly rated system of taxation, has not been attempted) are of late years decidedly improved in their cultivation, internal industry, and exterior commerce.

30. The 135th Paragraph, which closes the general plan of the Essay, is replete with truisms, which no one will undertake to impeach, but I am at the same time not aware of their peculiar applicability to Salsette, from not perceiving the advantage that Mr. Rickards views in the substitution of a house tax for one equally definite on land, my reasons for which I have already assigned.

31. Mr. Rickards having, in his letter of the 24th of October, adverted to the situation of Caranja, it seems allowable here, and may prove useful, to contrast the state of that fully cultivated vicinal district with the relatively different condition of Salsette; although, in point of favour from Government, the latter has been abundantly more cherished than the former. It is not thence reasonable to conclude, that in the insalubrity of the air, and greater natural sterility of Salsette, are to be found the causes of its more tardy progress in bringing into culture the waste and jungles that yet cover too large a proportion of its extent, some of the central parts of which will however appear, from the evidence in the Accompaniment No. 3, to have subsisted throughout the best times of the Portuguese administration.

32. An experiment is now however making in that island towards the clearing of the jungles, and the application of those wastes to the rearing of hemp, teak, and other produce, such as, if attended with success, may diminish the regret that so much of the soil of Salsette remains still at the public disposal; but on this subject it would be premature to enter farther at present. By the dispatch of the next ships in February or March 1809, a decisive opinion may be formed of this operation.

33. With respect to that part of Mr. Rickards's plan that relates to the reduction of the expense of the revenue establishments in Salsette, Caranja, &c. I beg leave to assure him and the honourable Court, that I will most willingly place immediately in his hands the realization of this saving, to be continued from our proceedings on that head, under date the 4th of September last, which have brought them to the lowest state that the collector represented to be compatible with the realization of the public rental: comparatively with their amount of revenue, it must be admitted that these districts, as well as the island of Bombay, may appear to have always been disproportionately burthened with extensive collecting establishments; but in apology for this, it need scarcely be noticed, that small collectorships having also very minute parts of revenue to realize, are apt to exhibit, to a certain degree, this unfavourable contrast, when compared with much larger ones, in which the payments are more in gross sums; but however that may be, no one will rejoice more than I shall at the largest practicable reduction of the present charge.

34. In thus desiring to commit the more immediate direction of this important branch of the public administration to Mr. Rickards, in the hope of his being able to operate several desirable reforms in it; I would wish to be understood, that these should be effected with as little prejudice as possible to the income of the present Patells in Salsette, who, though too many of them unworthy and useless, as sufficiently appears by Regulation I, 1808, possess, nevertheless, with their families, such an interest in the immunities hereditarily

No. 3.
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

attached to their situations, that to deprive them thereof, without some equivalent, would amount to a severe hardship.

35. It appearing from Mr. Rickards's communications, that the inhabitants of Caranja have announced their consent to the new system proposed by that gentleman, it is known to him that I have (in view to that circumstance, and to the smaller interests involved in that comparatively flourishing island, combined with the less formal sanctions respecting its existing revenue constitution, than have been passed regarding Salsette) expressed a disposition to his proceeding to make the experiment on it, of which the principles are unfolded in the Essay.

36. The subject of the Petitions from Salsette and Caranja, which accompany Mr. Rickards's Essay, have, with respect to the particular grievances set forth in them, occupied my attention; the result of which I hope soon to be able to bring before the Board.

37. It may however be satisfactory to notice, that although these Petitions are professedly collections of every thing which the subscribers considered as remaining evils, and wished to be relieved from, any alteration in the rate of assessment on the lands of Salsette, or in the system for their territorial or grain rental, is not even glanced at: whence it follows, in concurrence with all the other information I possess, that in this essential point they consider themselves as too well treated to desire a change.

38. Mr. Rickards having included among the Accompaniments to his Essay, a general state of the revenue establishments throughout the limits of this Government, it may be satisfactory to our honourable superiors to know, that they have since undergone considerable reduction; whence, upon the ground of information from the Accountant General, I may safely state, that upon the whole, they are now under nine per cent. on the landed jumma or rental, which is, I conceive, within the proportion of such charges at the other presidencies.

Bombay, }
7th July 1808. }

(Signed) *Jonathan Duncan.*

SUPPLEMENT, added on the 8th July 1808.

1. HAVING, since writing the preceding remarks, had an opportunity of perusing very summarily Mr. Rickards's Minute of yesterday, I beg leave (under a natural anxiety to stand as little as possibly in the way of an experiment, purporting to teem with so much public benefit) to express my acquiescence to give immediate effect to the terms of the plan as therein adverted to, by acting on the announced intended proposals of "several natives of the first wealth and respectability, who are it seems desirous of taking waste lands in Salsette, and employing capital in their improvement," which need not interfere until the experimental progress of clearing the jungle, and rearing of hemp for the Company, there being room for both operations concurrently; nor should I have ever demurred to such an object as is now announced, had I understood it to be limited to lands not already under cultivation, or of which there are not occupants in possession, who would not probably be willing to have landlords placed between them and the Government, of which they consider themselves as now immediately holding.

2. With reference to Mr. Rickards's doubts as to the source whence the system of Indian finance could have originated, I may here notice a very modern publication, entitled, "Patton's Principles of Asiatic Monarchies," wherein the source of it is attempted to be traced, and contrasted from that European one, of which proprietary landholders constitute the main prop.

3. It is not to be inferred, from any remarks that I have offered, that I presume to decide which of those two systems is on the whole to be preferred; but as that of India is interwoven into all the habits of so extensive a population, I would only wish to recommend caution and deliberation before it be finally abolished. Were India to be populated by Englishmen or Europeans, their own system would certainly be for them the best: whether it be so for men differing from them entirely in religion and manners, is a momentous question, which nothing less than the united wisdom of our superiors, should be perhaps allowed finally to appreciate and decide.

4. Proceeding with the sequel of Mr. Rickards's Remarks of the 7th of this month, I have further to notice, with respect to his mention of the Portuguese Governments not having adopted in Salsette the Indian system, that the European landlords, among whom they divided it, did so; whence it was the same thing, or, on the whole, probably worse for the aboriginal inhabitants, who appear (as already observed) to have been reduced and held by those foreign superiors, in a state of very abject servitude.

5. It is remarkable that Mr. Patton deduces from the Sacred Records the very converse of the doctrine thence inferred by Mr. Rickards, as to the property of the soil being, according to this author, throughout the East, in the sovereign, and not in landholders, as Mr. Rickards judges thence to have been antiently the case. Whilst engaged in this subject, I took the opportunity of a visit this evening to poor Dondoo Punt, the late Marhatta killadar of Lohgurb, to ask him whether among them the land or soil was understood to be private property,

property, or to belong to the sovereign. And he answered without hesitation in the latter sense, adding, that the Marhattas had a common saying, that "the daughter belongs to her parents, but the land to the king."

6. Yet, although this may be the true and most generally established theoretic definition, the practice perhaps in India, as now constituted, will be found (as truth does, in the greater part of contests) between the two aforementioned extremes, by individuals holding a qualified possessory property in the soil; the nature and precise description of which, should not be reduced to the level of our habitual notions, but received, and admitted to operate, according to its own genuine import, varying, as it a good deal does, through the several great divisions of Hindoostan, the Deccan, the Carnatic, and Malabar; and being, for instance, much more sensibly felt and acted on in the provinces of Bengal, than in that of Guzerat, the Grassia tenures in the latter excepted. In short, this is a subject that might require much time and consideration to discuss with entire accuracy, but meanwhile it may involve the least hazard, that the Company's servants should uphold the genuine import of the settled customs of the natives, provincial or general, as they find them, without adventuring to innovate on them without due authority, or endeavouring to compress them into their own meditated forms of amelioration.

7. With respect to the situation of Malabar, its whole constitution, civil as well as fiscal, was so different, till after the middle of last century, from any other in India, that I scarcely consider it as furnishing an apt criterion for general comparison. By those who are of an opposite opinion to Mr. Rickards, (such as the well-known Mr. James Grant, who has with wonderful assiduity developed the whole Moghul constitution of India, or Mr. Patton, the author already quoted, or the honourable Mr. Greville, who is understood to be the author of "India Analyzed,") no term equivalent to that of a European landholder, is acknowledged to exist among the natives of Hindoostan, or the Deccan: and if the Portuguese Government constituted landholders in Salsette, they stood towards the former hereditary tenantry, in lieu of that Government, and made the same collections that it might have realized; but out of which his most faithful Majesty was satisfied with reserving a light quit rent, such as in many places is paid by agmadars in Bengal at the present day, and by grassias in their wanta tenures on this side of India.

8. The just decision of the question thus at issue, may accordingly still seem to depend upon a thorough ascertainment of the first principles on which it rests; as to which, however, the differing advocates for either conclusion, continue unhappily at entire variance. I have already intimated my own impressions, and I shall here take leave, for the present, of a discussion on which the unexpected urgency of existing circumstances, with respect to the departure of the convoy for England, having obliged me hastily to commit so far my sentiments, that considerations may, I trust, apologize for the desultory order and imperfect tenor of the several remarks, that, pursuing the order of Mr. Rickards's observations, I have, as a point of duty, and not of choice, and with a diffidence proportionate to the great interest of the objects in view, been thus unavoidably called upon to submit.

(Signed) *Jonathan Duncan.*

(No. 1.)—ACCOMPANIMENT to Mr. Duncan's Remarks of 7th July 1808.

QUERIES addressed to Doctor Scott and others, respecting the state of Salsette, in a letter from the Governor in July 1807.

1. WHAT proportion of Salsette do you think remains now waste, one half or one quarter part, or how much, with reference to what is already in cultivation?

2. Do you think the population has increased, or diminished, in this island, during the last ten years?

3. Do you consider the island to be in a progressive state of improvement, or decline; or as stationary?

4. What improvements do you conceive would the island now admit of, with respect to its government, the redress of grievances, or the security of the cultivators and landholders?

(Signed) *Jonathan Duncan.*

Dear Sir,

I SHALL not fail to the best of my judgment to answer every part of the Queries with regard to Salsette. I certainly do consider the island as in a state of improvement. A man who thinks otherwise, must be blind and prejudiced at once, for nothing in my opinion is more certain and obvious.

Dear Sir,
Yours, &c.

24th July 1807.

(Signed) *H. Scott.*

No. 3.
Supplement to
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay.

Queries referred to
in the
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
relative to Salsettes.

(No. 2.)—ACCOMPANIMENT to Mr. Duncan's Remarks on Salsette.

No. 3.

Answer to Queries
referred to in
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
relative to Salsette.

Bombay, August 1807.

THERE can be little doubt but that under the Portuguese, the island of Salsette was in a very flourishing condition; the lands were then private property, and many of the landholders were wealthy: some remains of their buildings and public works give us an idea of considerable opulence, and it is fully confirmed by tradition, which is not yet very remote. I have seen a man nearly 100 years of age, who died lately at Pasparely, who remembered the time when no less than 40 Europeans assembled every Sunday in the church of Trinidad. After the conquest of the Mahrattas, all was destroyed; the landholders fled precipitately from the island, and the conqueror introduced his oppressive and degrading system on the ruin of that of private property.

After a period of about 50 years the island was taken by the English, and for about 30 years past it has remained in our possession. The English chiefs appeared to have had no better views of right policy than their predecessors the Mahrattas: they adopted all their methods of raising money from the people, and some of them, (among whom Mr. Farmer deserves particularly to be named) invented new, and I do think very hurtful methods of taxation. Under us, the people certainly found themselves in no better a situation than under the Mahrattas: our chiefs never understood well the language of the country; the system of letting out the lands under the management of natives, was continued, and some exceptionable means of raising money were over and above adopted by us.

The first attempt at improvement by the Government of this Presidency, was, I think, made under the chiefship of Mr. Camac. Several very exceptionable taxes were then relinquished, the lands were let out in a more equitable mode, and their rents, which were too high, were somewhat diminished. To these salutary changes, Mr. Duncan added the Court of Justice as it now exists, and which is certainly a great improvement on the former system. Other means were gradually adopted to promote the cultivation of Salsette, and to encourage the people to industry. It was signified to the inhabitants, that their lands would be transferred to them as private property, if they chose it, and without any addition to their present payments: a few accepted of this offer; but such was the debased state into which mankind had fallen by long oppression, that the rest rejected it. They looked on the proposal with sullen distrust and indifference. The property of the land had never entered into their minds, nor had they the means, nor the energy to extend, or to improve their cultivation.

With the same view of increasing industry and cultivation, Government was pleased to encourage the undertaking of Poway and Bandoop. Before those estates began, the universal cultivation of Salsette was rice, nor had those rich articles which give so high a value to the tropical countries been attempted there, although the soil and climate of Salsette are extremely favourable to most of them. I may truly say, that independently of personal advantage, the proprietors of those estates had a sincere wish for their success. They entered on their undertakings with enthusiasm, and under many losses they have to this hour never relinquished the animating hope of success. They have certainly effected a good deal. Their cultivation of canes and other articles is extensive: they have sunk many wells for the purpose of irrigation, and they have established a numerous population where some years ago there hardly existed a human being. They ought not perhaps at the outset to have expected that they could clear and cultivate a large tract of land and settle inhabitants on it, without some personal loss. This they have severely experienced, and at one time a state of bankruptcy stared them in the face.—I allude to the time of the great famine, which in spite of the active vigilance of Government, was felt severely in Salsette; but by none so much as the proprietors of Poway and Bandoop, where a large capital was embarked, and where cultivation at one period was nearly stopped. Since that time more favourable circumstances have occurred, and among others, those estates have derived an essential benefit from their spirit contracts. Government could certainly by no other means have given so cheap, or so appropriate an encouragement to Poway and Bandoop. Indeed I may say that this encouragement has not lost the public a single rupee, for we know from past experience that those who deal in spirit would not have supplied it to Government at a cheaper rate, and it was often procured at a dearer rate. The best spirit is the product of the sugar cane, and I think Salsette will soon keep, by these means, a large sum of money among us, which has hitherto been annually sent to foreign nations. A great advantage must arise, too, to Government, from the supply being at hand, for distant supplies are constantly attended by ill effects: the stores in such cases are too full of the article, or deficient in it, and the price is always most irregular. As soon as the present contracts expire, I further expect that Government will get their supplies here at a much cheaper rate than elsewhere, and in as small or as great quantities as they require. All those are advantages which a foreign market cannot afford.

Among the advantages that have already arisen from Poway and Bandoop, I may notice the rents now paid for those estates, which are very considerable. This is a permanent gain to the Company, for those lands had fallen into such a state, that they, twelve years ago, yielded little or nothing. Population is always a farther gain to the public, and the great increase of it on those estates, may fairly be reckoned among the late improvements of Salsette.

The estates of Poway and Bandoop have at times, and chiefly in the beginning, suffered severely from disease: they were over-run with trees and underwood; and the luxuriant grass that

No. 3.
Answer to Queries
referred to in
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
relative to Salsette.

that the fields produced uneaten by cattle, rotted on the ground, and spread fatal fevers over the country; this is too much the case at this moment in many parts of Salsette. The change on those estates is now surprising, for such is the effect of cultivation, that those lands, formerly so destructive to mankind, are as free from disease as any part of Bombay, and we no longer see the labours of the year disappointed in a moment by the morbid consideration of our cultivators. The natives have now lost their terrors, and they at last are convinced that they can live at Bandoop or Poway with perfect safety: I consider this fact as highly important; for the sad effects of disease in the beginning, not only exposed us to great pecuniary loss, but had almost induced us to relinquish hope.

I think a man must be very full of prejudice who does not in many respects see a great improvement in Salsette within the last ten years. The causes detailed in the beginning of this Paper, have greatly contributed to that effect, but many no less important remain still to be mentioned.

The building of the causeway at Scin, and the new road to Tanna, have been of the greatest utility. A few years ago a traveller in Salsette, on the most frequented road of the island, met with nobody besides a few passengers on foot; the high road is at present covered with carts, which transport to Bombay, Tanna, or other parts, the grain, straw, and other products of husbandry. There is not a moment that people do not pass the bridge at Lion, with a variety of provision, &c. where formerly a solitary traveller but now and then made his appearance; not only has the bridge and the great road facilitated this intercourse, but it has been promoted by various regulations. The ferry, at the time I allude to, was ill managed, and a system of pilfering prevailed which it is very difficult to prevent with the natives. Severe regulations have been made against such abuses, and with excellent effect. With regard to duties, &c. &c. it has been ordered, that Salsette and Bombay shall be on an equal footing, that the intercourse shall be perfectly free, and that in almost all respects they shall be considered as one island. This regulation, adopted several years ago, gave very high satisfaction to the people of Salsette, and has been of very material benefit to that island. It has given a security to the husbandman and the trader, which they knew not before.

It is not alone the agreeable appearance of increased activity that makes me conclude that the improvement of Salsette is so considerable of late years; many other circumstances confirm it; of late some respectable natives with capital, have with permission of Government, settled in Salsette. Such people deservedly meet with encouragement; but the disposition that men of this description now show to embark their property there, is a proof of the change of public opinion with regard to Salsette, for some years ago no man of property would have entered on such a speculation. Settlers of this kind will bring a new spirit with them, and will soon effect what the poor, indolent and long oppressed natives never could have done. I observe that even the purvoes of Bombay have dug some wells in Salsette, and made inclosures of stone.

I had long wished at Poway to induce the natives to take my lands from me on almost any terms they pleased. I had become convinced that no other method would ensure the general cultivation of the island, and that the West India practice of proprietors cultivating the whole of their estates, was not applicable, for many reasons, to the state of things in this country. With this view I offered the natives wells, cattle and lands, for a trifling consideration, and even gratis, but I could get nobody to venture on such an enterprize; I was almost in despair, when to my astonishment I found this season that I could let out much of my land to adventurers in agriculture, by giving them cattle and some other kinds of encouragement. I now soon expect to see the whole of my ground in cultivation, and producing various articles for the Bombay or foreign market, while I shall relinquish all immediate income in agriculture; employing myself only in aiding or directing those who are immediately concerned in it. This is the state of things which I have long anxiously wished to see, for this alone can render permanent and useful all that we have hitherto done in Salsette.

As a further proof of the improving state of Salsette, I may observe, that about three years ago I got from Government the village of Tankey. For a long time its population had been diminishing, and in Salsette, the immediate consequence of a diminished population, is an increase of jungle, or what is still worse, of grass, which give rise to fevers and dysentery, and waste, in a proportion rapidly decreasing, the people who still remain. When I took Tankey not a single habitation remained, and the few people who had escaped from disease had gone to other parts. I have already collected a considerable number of people; not less I think than thirty houses; and half of the lands are now in cultivation. Such is the present spirit, that I believe that every foot of the village will be occupied in ten or twelve months more. Among my adventurers in Tankey there are two Bombay purvoes, both men of some property.

Some things still exist in Salsette of the ancient establishment, which I think might be altered with advantage, and which are not consistent with the general spirit that has of late years regulated that island.

There are some small farms, which produce yearly to the public but a few hundred rupees, while they harass and injure the inhabitants. I can affirm from experience, that it is impossible to authorize the servant of a tax-gatherer of any kind to wear a livery, without making him a little tyrant. To this moment the poorest classes of the people know us not sufficiently. They have been used to Mahratta oppression, and will seldom venture to resist,

No. 3.
Answer to Queries
referred to in
President's Minute
(7 July 1808)
relative to Salsette.

resist any body who comes in the shape of authority. Two of those farms I shall mention, the farm of Jungars, which is a tax on the husbandmen of Salsette, and unknown even to the Mahrattas; 2d. the farm for cattle, sent from Bombay in the rains, to graze in Salsette: the farmer pays for this a mere trifle, and I have known him commit very unwarrantable actions.

It must be allowed that the lands of Salsette are let too dear, although something has already been done to lighten the burthen. The difference of rent would, I think, be amply made up by the quantity of land let.

A Marhatta practice still prevails in Salsette, which greatly impedes the progress of agriculture. When a man has once rented a piece of land from the Company, he can never again leave it, nor even relinquish a part of it; there he must remain; and if all of his children or relations, whose assistance only he was able to cultivate, were to die, he must continue to hold and pay for the same quantity of ground. Even the widows of the deceased are obliged after the death of their husbands or children, to engage for the usual amount of ground. This is a great bar to the letting of the Company's lands to strangers, who would otherwise be disposed to settle, and who look with terror at this unavoidable condition.

It might be useful to change the patells of villages yearly. They at present hold the office for life, and thus acquire a great influence among the people, which they sometimes apply to bad purposes, both with respect to the public and individuals. In a village near to Poway, I know a patell who has amassed a great deal of money; he turns to his own account all the unoccupied lands, for which he pays nothing. These lands have now become a considerable proportion of the whole village, and are constantly on the increase. As he feeds cattle, cuts hay, &c. &c. on those waste lands, it is highly for his interest that they should increase; and I fear patells in other situations may have a similar interest.

Another circumstance seems in Salsette to impede the progress of cultivation. As few villages are fully cultivated, the inhabitants make choice of the finest spots, allowing the rest to become waste. If any person wishes to settle in such a village, he finds it impossible, for the inferior grounds that are left are so intermixed with those of the first quality, that confusion would ensue, and the new settler would be harassed and ruined. This is a general evil, and exists to a great extent over much of the island; when new settlers offer, they should be put in possession of a sufficient quantity of land annexed with the lands of others: but this will meet with a vigorous resistance. When I took part of the village of Paspaully it was with the greatest difficulty, and after every impediment they could devise, that I could get what I required unmixed with occupied spots. I procured at last a third part of the village, and in spite of the difficulty that I had, one third of it to this moment still remains uncultivated, producing nothing to the Company.

It would be difficult to find in any part of the world, a spot better situated for cultivation than Salsette. It one day may be of greater value than the large island of Trinidad in the West Indies, for in the one case a perfect state of agriculture will be acquired and supported with great difficulty, while in the other there is every desirable facility. Salsette is contiguous to Bombay, and may be said to embrace it for above half of its circumference; on the other side it is separated by but a small channel from the continent of India. It has thus every facility that can arise from the neighbourhood of an immeasurable population and great wealth. The riches of the mercantile community of Bombay are extremely considerable; to possess the soil seems to be a natural passion of all mankind, and it is felt on this island by every class of the community. Even the bora quits his shop on his holidays, and flees to his little garden in the country. When we have fully convinced the wealthy inhabitants of Bombay that it is possible to cultivate the lands of Salsette to advantage, and that his property in the soil, and his property of every other kind is there as secure as in Bombay, the riches and the industry of this island will take that direction, and I have no doubt but that at last every corner and nook of Salsette will be as eagerly bought up and secured as it is here. The wealth of individuals is that of the state, and thus a comparatively small tract of land may become to Government of infinitely more importance than extensive provinces, where an imperfect agriculture does little more than feed a needy population. Of late years much has been done for Salsette, and the effects that already appear, are flattering; to amend a degenerate people, or to improve a wretched state of agriculture, is not the work of a day. I am very sensible that I am speaking to a far better judge than myself on matters of general policy, nor should I have ventured on the subject but at your desire; but I may have observed some circumstances, from being on the spot, which have escaped your observation at a distance.

(Signed) *H. Scott.*

ACCOMPANIMENT to Mr. Duncan's Remarks on Salsette.

Extract from the voyages of John Francis Gemelli Barere, descriptive of the state of Salsette, as it was in the year 1695 of the Christian era.

"THE island of Salsette, in which the aforesaid pagod is seated, is about seventy miles in compass, twenty in length, and fifteen in breadth; being very low, it is cut by several channels running in from the sea; but there are high mountains in it covered with trees. The soil is very fruitful, and produces abundance of sugar-canes, rice, and fruit; such as mangos,

mangos, cocoas, transalins, giacharas, tamarinds, ananas, papas, and other sorts, which shall be described elsewhere. There are in it several villages of poor wretched gentiles, moors, and christians, living in houses built with wattles, crusted over with mud, and covered with straw, or palm tree leaves. They go naked, both men and women, covering their privities with a clout, and their breasts with another, or else with a short jerkin, that does not reach below the navel, leaving the arms, thighs, and legs bare. On their arms they wear bracelets of silver and glass, and thick silver rings about the legs. The peasants are worse than vassals to the lords of the villages, for they are bound to till the land, or to farm as much as may put them in a condition to pay the landlord: thus, like slaves, they fly from one village to another, and their landlord brings them back by force. They generally pay for their land, four, six, or twelve morais of rice, so called when the husk is off, and vate when it is on, which is the way they usually deliver it. A morai is twenty-five paras, and the para twenty-four pounds Spanish; measures the Portuguese use for provisions, as they do the covedo for long measure. If the peasants take the land to till, in the place of their abode, they pay no other duty to king or landlord, (though some exact some days of personal service;) but those held in fee, pay an imposition according to what they are worth, every four months, to the kings, factors, or treasurers residing in all the northern cities. These villages are given in fee to soldiers who have served long, or to other persons that have well deserved of the Crown, for three lives, after which they generally endeavour to renew; but to the church they are given for ever."

The author adds, that he travelled in Salsette "eight miles through a thick wood," in the vicinity of the Canara caves; after passing, as he notices, "over a mountain full of monkies, tygers, lions, and other wild beasts and venomous creatures." See pages 195 and 198 of Church M. Vol. V.

EXTRACT of a farther Account of Salsette: Written by Mr. Hamilton about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

"SALSETTE is an island about 25 miles long, and in some places 10 miles broad. It is fruitful in roots and fruits, but not in corn; it is stocked with villages and churches, but has no city in it but an old one called Cama, hewn out of the side of a rock, but by whom I could never learn. It is near a mile in length, and many antique figures and columns curiously carved in the rock, and has several good springs of water to accommodate it. At present it is inhabited only with wild beasts and birds of prey. The island is almost cut in two by a narrow river, that bisects it at a town called Werwa, which lies on the sea shore, and has a little narrow harbour, deep enough to receive ships of the greatest burden, and is secured by a small fort standing on the north side; but the town is on the south side of the river. It drives a small trade in dry fish, made here and transported to the inland countries and villages that want the benefit of fishing. The fishers here catch their fish in long nets fastened to stakes placed in the sea, the outward ones, most of which are driven in the bottom in nine fathoms water, and they appear to strangers like a wood in the sea. There are several villages standing between Versua and Bombay, on the sea shore; but Bandara is the most conspicuous, which fronts Mahim in Bombay, about a mile distant. The Portuguese have some great guns planted at Bandara, but they have no trade, because the river belongs to the English; and all customs of goods, either imported or exported, are paid to the custom-house of Mahim. The mouth of the river is pestered with rocks, that forbid entrance to any vessels of burden."

In anno 1694, the Muskat Arabs made a descent on Salsette, and committed great depredations, in plundering and burning villages and churches, killing the priests, and carried about 1,400 captives into irredeemable slavery.

EXTRACT from Dr. Fryer's Travels:—Begun 1672, and finished 1681:

"CURIOSITY led me a second time to visit the island Canorein (another name for Salsette,) having obtained leave for a longer stay; nor went I alone, some of the best quality on the island being led by the same desire: joining themselves with me, we carried a train of servants, horses, and palankeens, which were ferried over before us; and we coming soon after, were met by the fraternity (of the Jesuits,) and conducted to the fathers, who detained us till the afternoon by a stately banquet; showing us the curiosities of the church and college, diverting us with instrumental and vocal music, and very good wine.

"After which, we were dismissed; and four miles off Bandora, were stopped by the kindness of the padre superior, whose mandate, wherever we came, caused him to send his recorders (a term of congratulation, as we say, "our service"), with presents of the best fruits and wines, and whatever we wanted.

"Here, not adjoining to any town, in a sweet air, stood a magnificent rural church; in the way to which, and indeed all up and down this island, are pleasant aldeas, or country seats of the gentry, where they live like petty monarchs; all that is born on the ground being theirs, holding them in a perfect state of villanage, they being lords paramount.

"From hence, when we had baited, the same night we travelled early to Magatana, using our fowling-pieces all the way, being here presented with rich game, as peacocks, doves, and pigeons, chitrels, or spotted deer."

See Fryer's Travels, printed at London in 1698, page 71, wherein he adds, that on his way from Magatana to the Caves of Canara, he passed half a mile through a thick wood "peopled" (to use his expression) "by apes, tigers, wild buffaloes, and jackalls."

The

No. 3.
Historical Extracts
relative to Salsette.

The Travels of Carrere show that he approached the Caves of Canara from the northward, by Gorabunder, and the village of Deinse Dina, whilst Mr. Fryer's route was from the south and west. Hence the difference, as to the extent of the wild tracks they passed through, such as are generally traceable in those localities to this day.

The above recorded Papers not having been yet perused by Mr. Lechmere, no decision can be immediately passed on this subject; but copies of them are in the meantime to be transmitted by the ships under dispatch, noticing to the honourable Court of Directors, that our further proceedings thereon, together with such resolutions as shall thereon be passed, will be communicated to them by the shortly expected dispatch of the honourable Company's cruizer Teignmouth.

EXTRACT of BOMBAY REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, the 22d July 1808.

Mr. Lechmere delivers in the following Minute:—

Mr. Lechmere's MINUTE.

Mr. Lechmere's
Minute
(16 July 1808)
on Mr. Rickards's
Essay and Minute.

I HAVE perused with much attention the Essay and Minute delivered in by Mr. Rickards, as well as the Minute and Accompaniments by Mr. Duncan, and should be happy, were it in my power, to state any thing that could further elucidate either side of the question under debate.

This point having been so ably discussed on both sides, leaves it for me only to observe, that I concur in the opinions expressed by the President; and that I conceive the question to be of such importance, that no material alteration ought to take place in the present system, without a previous reference to the honourable Court of Directors, who, on the arrival in England of the lately departed ships, will be in full possession of the subject, and no doubt will give us the earliest notice of their sentiments on the subject.

The question appears to me to be, how far it may be politic and prudent to introduce a new system of taxation to the exclusion of local forms, customs, and usages, among the natives of this country, who, from their infancy, have been bigoted to them; any deviation from which, we all know, they look upon with a most tenacious and jealous eye, even supposing that deviation be evidently for their good.

I agree with Mr. Rickards, that it would be a most desirable thing to construct reservoirs for water, as well as to have all the tanks cleared out, a subject, I know, Mr. Duncan has had for some time past under his consideration, as well as some police regulations; but how far it may be proper, just at this time, to make so large an outlay as will be requisite of the Company's money, is a question for serious consideration.

It is more from this want of water that I conceive the cultivation on Salsette does not more rapidly increase, than from any cause of excessive taxation, the inhabitants only paying one-third of their produce, which I cannot call excessive.

The paper given in to Mr. Duncan by Dr. Scott, who has for many years been in a manner living on Salsette, ought to have much weight; and I am happy in having it in my power to say, that during a circuit I made of the island by desire of this Government, in the year 1803, I perceived with much satisfaction the very improved state of the inhabitants in general, when compared with the situation I saw them in some years before.

Since the period I made the tour of the island, I have almost the whole time acted as the Judge of the Provincial Court of Session, and consequently have had very frequent opportunities of seeing the general state of the people and country, both of which have impressed me with a conviction that the situation of the inhabitants was much improved, and that cultivation was increasing.

This improvement may not have been perhaps so rapid as might have been expected from the various reliefs afforded the inhabitants by this Government for some years past; yet I have not a doubt but it will continue gradually to increase, and the more particularly so if there should be a more abundant supply of water procured.

Whether this improvement would be accelerated by the introduction of a new plan of management, must be a mere matter of speculative opinion, on which it may be hazardous to pronounce; but as the island undoubtedly is, under the present arrangements, advancing in cultivation, I am not for interrupting that certain progressive amendment, by the introduction of a system that may lead not only to undo what has already been done, but may tend much to alarm the inhabitants, and which may ultimately not prove at all to answer any of the good purposes intended by it.

If it is possible to decrease the expense of the collections, the measure will have my most hearty support and approbation.

Should the honourable Court be inclined to try the plan brought forward, and so ably supported by Mr. Rickards, they will communicate their directions to us, when the Board will afford every facility that may lie in their power to the successful issue of the undertaking.

Bombay, 16 July 1808.

(Signed)

Thomas Lechmere.

Resolved, That according to the sentiments of the majority, no innovation be made by this Government, without a reference to their superiors on the system and principles of settlement for the island of Salsette, which, having been originally sanctioned by the Supreme Government, has since been approved and confirmed by the honourable the Court of Directors.

No. 3.
Rev. Cons.

Resolutions of the
Board respecting
Salsette.

This Resolution does not, however, extend to such part of the island of Salsette as is not under cultivation, and, as such, occupied by tenants to whom a proprietary title has been conceded.

In the event, therefore, of Mr. Rickards finding it practicable to make trial of his financial system in those parts of Salsette that lie thus open to experiment, the honourable the Governor in Council will very readily concur in such measures as Mr. Rickards may, in consistence with the preceding general exception, suggest for that purpose.

And, inasmuch as the inhabitants of Caranja appear to have requested Mr. Rickards' system of finance to be introduced among them, the Governor in Council is very willing that Mr. Rickards should immediately proceed with the experiment in that island, which will also facilitate the beneficial object that Mr. Rickards views as practicable in making a large reduction in the charges of collection.

Resolved also, that Mr. Rickards be invited to bring forward, for the consideration of the Board, those reductions of expense in the island of Bombay and Salsette, and generally throughout the Company's possessions under this presidency which have occurred to him to be available, and which the present exigencies render most expedient to realize to the utmost limits of prudence, sound policy and justice, with reference to which this Government has been engaged in such reforms for these twelve months past, and having not yet closed their proceedings, each member of the Board will, more particularly in view to the recent call of the Secret Committee, as communicated from Bengal under date the 24th June last, be prepared to contribute whatever may appear to either of them to constitute remaining sources of admissible retrenchment within the limits aforesaid.

EXTRACT BOMBAY REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, 29th July 1808.

IN delivering in the following Minute, Mr. Rickards begs leave to observe that he had completed the rough draft previous to his seeing the letter from Bengal of the 24th ultimo, with its enclosure from the honourable Court of Directors. The remarks have, therefore, no reference to any other than the vouchers mentioned in the first paragraph of his Minute; on the very important contents of the Bengal letter, he proposes to submit his ideas and suggestions separately, and shall be most happy to co-operate with his colleagues most cordially and zealously in any measure likely to relieve existing difficulties, or promote the public good.

Mr. Rickards's
Minute
(23 July 1808)
respecting Salsette.

Mr. Rickards begs to request his present Minute may be transmitted to the Court of Directors by the first dispatch which may leave India, as a necessary sequel to the papers on this subject already submitted to the honourable Court's consideration under date 9th instant.

MINUTE:

ON the propositions contained in the honourable the Governor's Minute of the 8th instant confirmed in Mr. Lechmere's of the 16th, and the resolutions of Government of the 22d, tendering to my management the proposed reduction of native establishments on Salsette, and the settling of wealthy capitalists on the waste lands of the island, I beg leave, in the first place, to express my acknowledgments of the Board's acquiescence so far in the suggestions I have had the honour of submitting in this respect to public consideration, but to decline having any thing to do in a partial execution of my proposed experiment. From a trial by piece-meal, and particularly of those parts of the experiment likely to be least relished by the present inhabitants, failure and discredit could alone be anticipated. Neither can it be desirable to run the risk of the whole experiment in opposition to the decided opinions of the first local authorities, and their consequent influence. I have no personal wish, or motive whatever, to interfere with the administration of Salsette; my reasons for selecting the spot for an experiment need not be repeated; and, as the whole proceedings are referred to the Court of Directors, I prefer to abide by their decision. If they are pleased to view without offence a humble attempt to promote the public good, to order the experiment, and that it should receive that entire and cordial support on the part of Government which a new undertaking of this nature may very possibly be found to require, my utmost exertions shall still gladly be contributed to give it effect. In this case, however, I could respectfully submit to the honourable Court the expediency of authorizing such eventual sacrifices of present land revenue as particular cases of hardship, or views of useful encouragement, may seem to require; these may not be necessary; but even if they are, portions can only be trifling where the whole revenue of the island is in itself but inconsiderable. If, on the other hand, the honourable Court are pleased to deem the whole scheme inexpedient, I shall bow with patient submission to the decree, and feel personally no other regret than that of the unnecessary trouble it has occasioned. It is on public grounds only that I have proposed it;—for public purposes alone that I should wish to prosecute it; and with no other personal motives or expectation than that of public benefit; but, if the scheme be finally proved and adjudged to be a vain speculation, far be from me the silly vanity of urging it into further notice.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards's
Minute
(23 July 1808)
respecting Salsette.

The honourable the Governor has correctly stated his having offered the island of Caranja for the experiment proposed. I believe the offer was repeatedly made, but he, no doubt, also recollects it was as often rejected from the total unfitness of the spot. Its situation in respect to Bombay affords no attractions to wealthy settlers; it is divided from the presidency by a considerable extent of sea, always inconvenient, and often extremely tedious to cross, being very small, its valleys are already fully peopled and cultivated; it has, therefore, no waste lands of sufficient extent or natural fertility to induce new settlers to occupy them; and the wastes that are there consist chiefly of high hills of barren rock and slender soil, which nothing but a superabundant population of the utmost efficiency and industry would ever attempt to cultivate. The honourable Court will, therefore, I trust, not impute to me a fastidious rejection of the honourable the Governor's offer, when it would seem to be but too certain that nothing again but failure and discredit could result from the attempt in so limited and altogether ineligible a district.*

In composing the Essay of the 24th September 1807, subjects occurred, and are therein noticed, which it was impossible fully to elucidate without protracting that paper to a most inconvenient and tedious length. I therefore determined to enlarge on those particular subjects in subsequent supplemental Minutes; that recorded under the 9th instant is one of them; others will also be submitted in support of other parts of the argument, as I may have leisure to complete them, and these, from the particular subjects thereof, will contain my ideas on some of the general principles adverted to in the honourable Governor's Minute. Indeed, it is to these general principles I could wish the discussion to be confined; questions of a particular tendency I sincerely deprecate.

There is one argument, however, adduced by my colleagues against the general propositions I have taken the liberty of submitting to them, part of which at least, from its apparent plausibility, may, in the scrupulous breasts of English judges, be considered of more weight than it really merits, if not properly sifted, and therefore requires a few immediate observations. Its apparent plausibility, however, is only my present opinion; I may be mistaken; and if so, shall be thankful for the communication of such lights as would convince me of my error; an additional inducement for noticing it here. The argument alluded to is the objection that seems to be preferred generally against the propositions I have at different times advanced; that they are only calculated for Europeans, and totally inapplicable to Asiatic polity; and the great danger and impolicy of interfering with the established usages and existing systems of the natives.

Although the greater part, and all the reflecting part, of my life has been passed in India, and though a mind constantly employed in various departments of its administration cannot be supposed to be devoid of Asiatic impressions, yet, independently of these considerations, I must certainly have taken pains to very little purpose, to instruct myself in the principles of my present profession, if those principles have any other limits than that of the earth itself. The habits, the manners, the prejudices, of the inhabitants of different countries, are all of human institution; their varieties are of course subject to local regulation, and justly claim the attention, though not the primary attention, of practical politicians; but the principles of natural law have their origin in the divine will. That law is immutable; it is not only the same every where, but the best every where; and instead of conceiving the genuine principles deduced therefrom to have a mere local use and application, I should rather be disposed to question the authenticity of such as were not generally useful and applicable in every region of the civilized world.

It is but natural for the sciences to be most improved in countries where learning is most cultivated; all the other branches, astronomy, chemistry, &c. &c. have also been brought to their present state of refinement among the most enlightened nations of Europe, but their local origin or progress does not affect the prevalence of their doctrines; these must be universal to be true; and is that which its most distinguished professors proudly boast to be the noblest and the most useful of all, to be a solitary exception; must it be degraded to the level of a mere district regulation?

On what grounds, moreover, of experience or practice, these principles are admitted to be applicable, but only applicable to the national intercourse of Europe, I cannot clearly discern, for I know of no nations in that quarter which act up to them. Those few which approach nearest in practice to the best economical principles are certainly the most flourishing; whilst the widest deviations from these prescribed rules involve in Europe, as in Asia, the greatest checks to national improvement, and consequent political debility.

The universality and immutability of the great laws of nature, in respect to civilized societies, may however be inferred, among other proofs, from the invariable similarity of structure and constitution of the latter; we find every where the same classes of labourers, cultivators of the soil, manufacturers and mechanics, commercial agents of different denominations. Wealthy proprietors, where their existence is not suppressed, ministers and princes, or ruling authorities; different customs, laws, or religious prejudices, may subject these

* I do not mean by this to say, that that part of the experiment would not succeed in Caranja which regards the present inhabitants; but, for the reasons given in the Essay, little could be expected

pected from these alone; and the effect might, for a long time to come, be so little perceptible, that sceptical minds would still question its success, not because proof did not exist, but because it was not sufficiently striking.

these classes to different modifications or restraints, may even require different methods of carrying the same principles into execution; but these do not affect the origin, or the relative uses of the respective classes, the causes, or the consequences of their reunion in the great social body. Since labour, therefore, every where supplies wealth, and wealth supports labour: since there exists universally the same dependence of the different classes on each other, it is but reasonable to infer, that their mutual comforts and advantages, their happiness and prosperity, are alike promoted by the same rules, and dependent on the same principles, *hic et ubique*.

Considering too, the other more immediate objects of my remarks, is agriculture, permit me to ask, any thing in India but the cultivation of the soil? or commerce any thing but the distribution and exchange of its productions? or manufactures any thing but the preparation of commodities for the supply of human wants? Do not mankind live by agriculture, commerce, and manufactures in India as in all other, though not quite so preposterously to be sure as in some parts of the civilized world? Are the love of gain, the desire of enjoyment, or the sense of self interest, different passions in Indian and European breasts? Is wealth a different thing in the Asiatic and European world? Is its source or its mode of acquisition different? or the purposes, after acquisition, to which it is applied? Are not the freest and lightest-taxed communities among us the most industrious, the most prosperous, and the most wealthy*? And is not the greatest multiplication of individual wealth the most effectual method of conducing to the resources, the strength and permanency of the state. These are matters, I humbly presume, which depend much less on the habits and prejudices of men than on principles of a far higher origin. It is remarkable that the means of prosperity in these branches are perfectly consistent with all the varieties of national manners, except under the very worst of existing governments; and it will probably be found on due investigation that those fundamental rules and principles for the promotion of prosperity are the best, whether in the East or in the West, in the North or in the South, which are most conformable to the immutable laws of natural order.

But the argument of innovation should not, at all events, be used merely to answer the purposes of objection: if it is admissible in one instance, it must be in others. Now I apprehend the history of our administration in this country will be found to contain a long series of innovations to the full as striking, and some far more obviously, and decidedly repugnant to long-established habits, than what I have lately ventured to propose. The records of every Government in India exhibit numerous examples thereof: the Permanent Settlement itself is an instance; but to say nothing of the various others, has not the Bombay Government very lately sanctioned one, and the supreme Government most highly approved of it? And in a quarter too where innovation is alleged to be most dreaded, where the habits of the people have been officially represented to be "so vigorous and firmly established as to be most difficult to overcome." I allude to the abandonment by the Guzerat and Kattywar chieftains of the old and prevalent usage of Muluckgeery, which the Resident at Baroda was authorized to negotiate, even under the co-operative influence and presence of a large military force, and which, with his usual ability, he at length brought to a successful issue. But can any man for a moment doubt the advantage of this abolition of an old custom; or conceive that the chieftains and inhabitants concerned in it will not be equally satisfied when they have experienced its benefits? The argument, therefore, is wholly inapplicable, unless the proposed innovation can be first proved to be mischievous, instead of beneficial: where the latter object only is in view, we have recorded proof, and the most confirmed experience †, of its being unobjectionable in cases not connected with the religious or superstitious sentiments of the people; and, from long personal intercourse with the natives of this country, I can confidently affirm that their attachment to their own agricultural or commercial economy is not of a nature to render partial changes either

* On a late excursion into the Deccan I was exceedingly pleased and surprized to observe the great appearance of prosperity which the city of Poonah exhibited, and which was the more remarkable after the scenes of desolation, plunder, and famine, it had been so lately subjected to: all the principal streets and bazars were crowded with people, whose dress and general appearance displayed symptoms of comfort and happiness, of business and industry, not to be exceeded in any of our own great commercial towns. The whole, indeed, was a smiling scene of general welfare and abundance. On noticing this to the Resident, he informed me that the Paishwa, since his return, with a view of promoting the prosperity of Poonah, had exempted it and the surrounding country from every description of tax; and, to prevent the possibility of exactions unknown to himself, had even abolished the office of cutwal. This fact is at least one proof, among various others, of the practicability of introducing what are termed the European principles of economy into Indian societies, with the same happy effects as have been experienced elsewhere.

† In a late Letter from the Collector of Kaira, to whom a part of the above-mentioned muluckgeerie negotiation was intrusted, we have an additional proof of what is here advanced. He reports as follows: (Letter, 29th June 1808.) "Al-though I found it necessary to have several personal interviews and negotiations with the Gago Zemendars before I could surmount the effects of their naturally inherent suspicions at any change in the administration of circumstances connected with their pecuniary payments, still their judgments were not at length inaccessible to the great advantages to be derived from the permanent system of amelioration negotiated for their good by the Resident at Baroda." We have pretty plain proof, indeed, in the whole of the late negotiation, that native Indians, (not the most remarkable for civilization, and not very firmly subjected to our control,) may be persuaded to sacrifice many of their civil and military habits to views of personal benefit.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards
Minute
(23 July 1808)
respecting Salsette.

No. 3.
Mr. Rickards'
Minute
(23 July 1808)
respecting Salcette.

either dangerous or impracticable, provided the people to be subjected to the change are only first convinced by plain arguments, and clear demonstration, that it is calculated to promote their own benefit. Attempted changes without this previous conviction, or by means of actual force, have frequently been attended with evil; but the case is widely different which receives the entire concurrence and unreserved co-operation of all concerned. To urge, indeed, the inviolability of human laws and customs, is, in fact, to maintain the impracticability of amendment, and supposes the passive doctrine of its being better to suffer existing evil than to make even the most virtuous efforts to remove it.

After all, the proposed experiment differs essentially from a general innovation: a very simple change in the mode of revenue payments, confined to a very small district, where similar changes have been repeatedly and safely made, without an idea of compulsion; or even wish of extending it beyond these limits, except on confirmed proof of its benefits, and consequently its probable acceptability, can scarcely be deemed hazardous, or likely to prove generally offensive. Or can it be justly said to intend the abolition of existing systems in any district, otherwise than as local circumstances may appear to render advisable, and under such precautions as shall ensure the approbation, by consulting the prejudices, and local usages of the inhabitants? In all conversations on this particular subject, in official papers, and once very lately on these records, I have uniformly expressed an aversion to the execution of any public measure affecting the private interests of Individuals, except with their full approbation and consent; and it was under this impression that I proposed myself to conduct the experiment; but, in the hands of a collector he might conceive any thing short of the full execution of the measure, or of its enforcement, if necessary, an imperfect compliance with the wishes of Government. I had also another motive, and that is the conviction that theories, when reduced to practice, are seldom found to accomplish the fulness of their promise: modifications are often necessary, without affecting their original principles, to adapt them to particular circumstances; and I was desirous of satisfying my own mind that nothing was attempted which should not afford a reasonable probability of success. The Court of Directors, I humbly hope, will hardly conceive that success to be at all dependent on a total change in the manners and tastes of the natives, or ascribe any such inference to a plain fact avowedly advanced, for no other purpose than to show the advantage of moderate and divided taxation, not over the French system of economy*, but over the widely-different land-tax of India;—to show, in fact, whether taxes be or be not ultimately paid by the land; that it is infinitely more advantageous and productive to allow wealth to circulate, and enrich a community, previous to its contributing to the public impost, than for Government to absorb that wealth before circulation, or as soon as it is annually produced.

Bombay, }
23 July 1808.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

Ordered, That the preceding Minute be circulated for the consideration of the Board.

EXTRACT REVENUE LETTER to BOMBAY, dated 10th January 1810.

Letter from 9 July 1808.
(Para. 3, ad fin.) Referring to an Essay on Taxation, delivered in by Mr. Rickards previous to his taking his seat in the Council, accompanied with Documents and Explanations, Minutes by that gentleman; and likewise to a Minute delivered in by Governor Duncan, and illustrated with Documents containing his sentiments upon Mr. Rickards' proposition.

Para. 156. General discussions upon subjects of science, when conducted with temper and moderation, have, we are inclined to think, in all cases, a beneficial tendency. In the observations, therefore, which we may think it necessary to make upon Mr. Rickards' Essay and Minutes, so far from wishing to be understood as meaning to discountenance any attempt to throw light upon a subject both intricate and important, we shall always feel disposed highly to approve of and encourage this species of disquisition, even when, as in the present instance, we are not prepared to adopt the conclusions which may be deduced by the inquirer from principles which he may deem incontrovertible in their nature, and of invariable application. To the zeal and talents of Mr. Rickards, of which, on the present occasion, he has given unequivocal testimony, we are willing to do ample justice; and though we cannot avail ourselves of this exertion of them in its full extent, he will not on that account, we trust, show himself less ardent or less active to promote the interest of his employers.

157. Mr. Rickards' financial project, though he only now proposes to make an experiment of its practical utility in Salsette, has no particular reference to the actual circumstances of that island; but seems equally applicable to any or all of our other territorial possessions. It is founded upon defects supposed to be inherent in the constitution of our whole revenue system, and professes to be a general remedy for the numerous evils resulting, not from necessary causes, but from an unnatural, mistaken, and perverse policy.

158. The

* Although the French economists proposed to draw the entire public imposts directly from the land, yet I apprehend the revenue systems of India would be found on comparison to be perfectly abhorrent to their liberal principles. The great proprietors

proprietors deriving the utmost possible product net from their estates by the means therein explained; and whose expenditure constitutes the most important features of the French scheme, are here entirely wanting; the very source of prosperity remains yet to be created.

158. The leading features of Mr. Rickards' plan may be described in very few words. Its objects are to relieve the land from all immediate burthens, and at the same time to preserve to Government a revenue equivalent to that which is now derived from the produce of the soil. For this purpose its author would make over in perpetuity the land in full proprietary right to the present occupiers, leaving them to cultivate and improve it without any control or interference on the part of Government; the house of each occupier to be assessed with that portion of revenue which he now pays to Government from the land; the rate of this assessment on houses to be fixed in money, never to rise, but on the contrary, gradually to decrease, in proportion as it may be found practicable to transfer part of the burthen to shops, or to commute this source of revenue into taxes upon articles of consumption, such as tobacco, arrack, &c. till it be reduced to what is termed an uniform and moderate standard. The advantages of this arrangement are stated to be a simplification of the collection of the revenue, a strong encouragement to industry, consequent improvement, and a rapid increase of general prosperity. The plan also provides for the cultivation of waste lands, by a proposal to grant them free of all tax to any persons who may undertake to reclaim them; the houses of the occupiers of such lands at the end of fifteen or twenty years, and not until then, to become liable to the general house-tax, which it is supposed will, before that time, be every where reduced to the uniform and moderate standard already mentioned, that is, when a general tax *ad valorem* shall have been imposed upon all houses in the island, without any reference to the produce of the land. And lastly, Mr. Rickards proposes that Government shall establish tanks and reservoirs upon the island for the purpose of irrigation, subject to a tax sufficient not only to reimburse the expense of construction, but also to compensate for the reductions made in what may be called the representative *house-tax*.

159. Mr. Duncan having in his minute entered into a detailed examination of the merits of the financial project, of which we have just stated the outline, and the general scope of his observations meeting our concurrence, it will not be necessary for us to expose at any great length the objections to which it seems liable; objections which we should think must appear even to its author, on further reflection, to be quite insurmountable.

160. The principles of taxation, as developed in the beginning of Mr. Rickards' Essay, are unquestionably just. All the institutions by which the economy of states is regulated or upheld, may be considered as more or less perfect, in proportion as they are conformable or incongruous with the established and immutable laws of nature. But it must not be forgotten, that these laws, though invariable in their principles and tendencies in every clime and country, and among every race of men, are liable to be impeded, and sometimes obstructed in their operations, by the ignorance or perverseness, the prejudices or passions, of those whose welfare it is the object of the lawgiver to promote. It is as much the intention of Providence that we should be wise and virtuous, as that we should be prosperous and happy: nay, the possession of wisdom and virtue has, by an eternal and immutable law, been rendered necessary to the attainment of any considerable portion of happiness and prosperity. The obvious way, therefore, to make a wretched people happy, is by improving their moral habits; and the way to make a poor nation rich, is by enlightening it.

161. It is undoubtedly the duty of Governments by their institutions to come in aid of the laws of nature, to endeavour to invigorate their action where it is languid, and to restore it where it has been suspended. But this never can be a sudden and momentary operation. As the declension of states is generally gradual and slow, so also must be the progress of their renovation. Hence the necessity to which legislators are reduced in framing their judicial and financial systems, of consulting not only the order of nature as originally established, but the actual situation of the people to whom they give laws. Hence also the distinctions universally acknowledged to exist, though frequently lost sight of in the warmth of discussion, between the theoretical and practical fitness of forms of polity.

162. There thus arises a strong presumption *à priori*, that a system of finance which might be well adapted to a nation highly enlightened, and far advanced in the career of civilization, would be unsuitable to a people, who, though not barbarous, are certainly ignorant; and whose poverty is the result not of a faulty and short-sighted administration, but of deep-rooted prejudices and habits; which, while they remain unshaken, must by limiting their wants, for ever restrain their industry, oppose the accumulation of wealth, and are indeed altogether incompatible with the existence of a prosperous and flourishing country. It is inattention to this circumstance which must have led Mr. Rickards astray; though it does to us appear surprising, that a gentleman of his experience and observation should so far have mistaken the nature of the evil for which he has attempted to propose a remedy. The artificial and unnatural division of a people into casts is perhaps the most effectual method that could be devised by the ingenuity of man to check their improvement and repress their industry. It is so diametrically opposed to the strongest principles of our nature, that wherever such a distinction exists and is rigidly observed, it is impossible for enterprize to thrive; and it is altogether vain to talk of counteracting its mischievous tendency by any code of fiscal regulation. Did it ever occur then, to Mr. Rickards, when he was recommending a system of taxation founded upon the established order of nature, that this order has been so much disturbed in those countries where he wishes his system to be introduced as to render it wholly inapplicable to their present situation? Or if this did not escape his observation, is it possible

No. 3.
Revenue Letter
(10 Jan. 1810)
on Mr. Rickards'
Essay and Minute.

he could imagine, that an alteration in the revenue system now in force would have the effect of completely changing the character and habits of the people, and new modelling the whole mis-shapen structure of society, in defiance of a strong host of prejudices of every description, arrayed against innovation, and resolute to maintain what from age to age they have been accustomed to venerate.

163. Without meaning to lay it down as a maxim of invariable application, that in no conceivable circumstance there should be any deviation from the principles and views which have influenced the formation of the permanent settlement of our territorial possessions, it is desirable, for very many reasons, that the system adopted for their administration should be as uniform as possible; and particularly that where it has been once proclaimed it should not be lightly abandoned. Were we to innovate upon our own institutions, our measures would assume an appearance of fickleness and levity, little calculated to obtain that respect which is necessary to the stability of the Government.

164. In the present instance, the change proposed does not in our opinion offer so much as a contingent prospect of advantage. For what is it? Mr. Rickards wishes to transfer the tax from the land and to lay it upon houses, still the change is only nominal; the tax must, as before, be paid from the produce of the soil, and the land in reality would not be relieved of the smallest fractional part of the burthen to which it is at present subjected. There is indeed a very strong objection to a commutation of this sort, though it be merely specious and nominal; which is, that a people of circumscribed notions like the Hindoos would feel much more reluctance to pay a large revenue from a subject which yielded them nothing but imperfect shelter, than they would to admit the Government to a reasonable share of the profits which they derive from cultivation.

165. It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion of the opinions of the French economists; they, like most of the advocates for favourite theories, probably went too far: Certain it is, however, that their system was very ably supported, and that it still has a numerous class of adherents even in this country. The existing revenue system in India, while it resembles it more than any that ever has been acted upon in Europe, is free from one of the chief objections to which Mr. Neckar considered that of the economists to be liable in practice, namely the impolicy of a government deriving its revenue from any single source. But though in no European state an attempt has been made to reduce to practice the doctrines of these very ingenious speculators, neither on the other hand has any government so far testified its aversion to them as to abolish a land-tax where it had previously existed. Mr. Rickards, therefore, has against him not only a class of the most acute, and as some people think, of the most profound, reasoners on matters of political science that ever existed, but the practical financiers of every country in that part of the world, upon the history and observation of which his notions seem to be chiefly founded.

Book. v. Chap. 2.

166. We are willing to concede to Mr. Rickards (but by no means to the full extent of his argument) that considerable inconvenience does arise from Government absorbing a large proportion of the revenue of land before it has time to circulate and reproduce. But what tax has not its inconveniencies? Would not a tax upon the bushel of corn, or a tax upon the loaf of bread, equally effect improvement by raising the wages of labour as a tax upon the acre of ground? We have indeed the authority of Dr. Smith, that a tax on land has no such effect,—“When,” says he, “instead either of a certain portion of the produce of land, or of the price of a certain portion, a certain sum of money is to be paid in full compensation for all tax or tithe, the tax becomes in this case exactly of the same nature with the land-tax of England” (and we may add of the same nature with the tax imposed under the permanent settlement in British India). Then, says the doctor, “it neither rises nor falls with the rent of land. It neither encourages nor discourages improvement.”

167. Had our revenue system been the same with that which obtained under the Mogul and the Marhatta Government, and that which is in force in Guzzerat at this moment, then indeed Mr. Rickards would have just reason to complain of its paralyzing effect upon the active powers of the mind, and consequently upon the general prosperity of the empire. But the great object of our policy has been, and still is, to subdue the original vices in the character of that system, and so to modify it, that, according to the high authority just now quoted, it may have no tendency to discourage improvement.

168. Mr. Rickards has founded much of his reasoning upon a division of society into two classes, the one of which is supposed to be productive, the other unproductive. The justice of this distinction, though it can boast the support both of the economists and the enlightened author of the Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, has been very ably combated, by objecting the utter impossibility of drawing any line by which it can be marked. For example, what possible reason can be given by the followers of Quesnai, for, considering the man who drives a plough as a productive, and the man who makes a plough as an unproductive, labourer? Nor is it easier to conceive why Dr. Smith should have ranked a person who sings a song in the latter, and a person who writes a song in the former, class, merely because the one produces something tangible, whereas the other does not. Governments are necessary to the protection of subjects, as subjects are to the support of Governments. The soldier who shields the peasant while he is cultivating his field, from the annoyance of the foe, performs his part towards the improvement of the land; and the Magistrate, whose duty it is to give security to property after it is ac-

quired, contributes more even than the capitalist himself towards the public prosperity. Let it not be imagined, therefore, that the revenues of a state lose all powers of reproduction from the moment that they pass into the chest of the Collector.

No. 3.
Revenue Letter
(10 Jan. 1816)
on Mr. Rickards'
Essay on Minute.

169. It may also be observed upon this branch of the subject, that capital is much less necessary to promote cultivation in India than in Europe. The soil, owing to its extreme fertility, produces with less labour; and the implements employed in agriculture are so simple, that farming is carried on at a comparatively trifling expense. It is worthy of remark also, that in Salsette, where more capital perhaps has been expended than upon the same extent of territory any where else, its effects, according to Mr. Rickards, are scarcely perceptible, and must be allowed on all hands not to have been very considerable.

170. Neither is it irrelevant to the present subject of discussion to inquire, whether, in the Guzzerat, the grassia lands, which pay only one half or three quarters of a rupee per bhegha, are better cultivated than those of the Sirkar, which pay from three to four rupees. The grassia proprietor seems there to be nearly in the situation of an European landlord, who derives a rent from the land, and pays a very moderate tax to Government. Yet we do not find, from any of the reports of our servants employed in that quarter, that this difference of circumstances has produced an effect either upon the face of these districts, or the condition of the inhabitants, such as Mr. Rickards' speculations would lead us to expect.

171. From every point of view, then, in which the subject can be contemplated, we are compelled to return to the observation with which we set out,—that the project supposes a state of things which does not exist, and which it could in no way be instrumental in creating. Mr. Rickards is himself aware of the impossibility of raising the revenue, in the first instance, from articles of consumption, and therefore he proposes to raise it from dead stock, till industry and wealth, and consequently consumption, so far increase as to yield a revenue equal in amount to that now derived from the land. And all this, he calculates, may be brought about in the course of fifteen or twenty years! As if people whom it is difficult, if not impossible, to convince that there is any value in a simple arrangement, by which security would be given to property, and stability to the relations subsisting between them and the Government, would all at once comprehend abstract and metaphysical deduction; as if religious prejudice, the long-established order of society, and ancient and rooted habits, would suddenly yield to reasoning, however persuasive, however forcible; as if, in short, a financial theory could possess virtue to call into being desires, wants, the means and the power of gratifying them, in a society enthralled by ignorance, indolence, and superstition.

172. The comparison instituted by Mr. Rickards between our system of Indian finance, (if by that is meant the system practised under the permanent settlement) and the *taille*, or tax upon the profits of stock employed in agriculture, formerly levied in France and other countries of Europe, is wholly unfounded: no two things can be more unlike. The *taille*, one would think, must have been copied from the old Mogul practice, so closely did it resemble it in all its details. In France, the assessments were made by elections and generalities, as they are made by villages and districts in the Guzzerat at this day, varying from year to year, according to the reports delivered in to the council in the former instance, as they are to the collector in the latter, concerning the respective abilities of these villages and districts, founded upon a survey of the state of the crops. In France also the deficiencies of one parish were made good by the other parishes in the election, just as a whole village in India was under the Moguls held responsible for the revenue payable by all its members; this coincidence is very remarkable; and when Doctor Smith, speaking of the *taille*, reprobated it as tending to discourage cultivation, and consequently to dry up the principal source of the wealth of the country where it obtained, he did not apply to it stronger language than we have employed in this very dispatch, in treating of the financial system established by the Mogul Government in the Guzzerat. It is neither our wish nor intention that this system shall endure; and when the revenue system now in force in Bengal shall have been introduced into Salsette and the other territories which have been lately annexed to the Bombay presidency, many of the evils for which Mr. Rickards proposes a remedy (indeed all which it is practicable to cure by any code of financial regulation) will be found no longer to exist.

Smith's Wealth of
Nations, Book v.
chap. 2.

173. That some time may elapse before this change can be brought about is probable from the indifference hitherto manifested by the inhabitants of Salsette, and also, perhaps, from a doubt on our part whether it would be safe to give up that security for realizing the revenue which we now possess by watching the crops and keeping them in our possession till it is paid. But Mr. Rickards's plan is still less likely to suit the taste and wishes of the inhabitants than that which we propose to them, because it is more difficult of comprehension and diverges farther from the line of their present habits, while at the same time it offers no additional security to the revenue.

174. From all these considerations we are decidedly of opinion that no advantage could result from Mr. Rickards' financial project, in so far as it proposes a commutation of the revenue from land to houses, which may not be better attained under our Permanent Settlement, and that the former is even liable to some weighty objections from which the latter is exempt.

175. There does not seem to be any thing in the plan proposed by Mr. Rickards for improving waste lands, when separated from the other branch of his scheme, deserving particular

No. 3.
Revenue Letter
(10 Jan. 1810)
on Mr. Rickards'
Essay and Minute.

cular notice. We hope, indeed, that means will be found of rendering them productive in a shorter period than fifteen years.

176. Of his suggestion to establish tanks and reservoirs in Salsette, with a view to promote the improvement of cultivation, we highly approve. We are happy also to find that a measure of this sort had engaged the attention of our Governor, and that he is employed in collecting information which may facilitate its execution. From his exertions, united to those of Mr. Rickards, we participate a result highly beneficial, not only to the agriculture of Salsette, but generally to our territories situated on the western continent of India, and placed under your administration. For any expense, therefore, which Government may be at in constructions subservient to this object, we have no doubt that we shall be able amply to reimburse ourselves by a reasonable assessment, after leaving to the cultivator a proportionate share of benefit. This source of improvement therefore we particularly recommend as fit matter to employ your utmost industry and zeal.

Letter from 14 October 1808.

(Para. 2 a 6.) Referring to a Minute delivered in by Mr. Lechmere, containing his opinion upon the Essay and Minutes of Mr. Rickards, and communicating the Decision of the Board thereupon.

178. We observe that Mr. Lechmere coincided in opinion with our Governor upon Mr. Rickards' proposal. We certainly should have strongly disapproved of your proceedings had you attempted, without consulting us, to introduce a revenue system into Salsette, founded upon the principles already discussed. We are far from regretting even that Mr. Rickards declined availing himself of the latitude which you left him, to make an experiment of his system upon the waste lands of that island, or upon Caranja, convinced as we are that it would be attended with no advantages which may not be better attained by other means.

A general retrenchment in the present revenue establishment is certainly very desirable, but we know no way by which this can be so well effected as under the Permanent Settlement, which when once introduced will, we trust, in great measure supersede the necessity of employing the long retinue of native agents now attached to the collector's cutcherry.

Para. 7. Adverting to Proposals received from some wealthy inhabitants of Bombay to become landed proprietors in Salsette.

179. You are already in possession of our sentiments respecting the general policy of arrangements of this sort, which we shall always be ready to sanction when formed upon an equitable basis.

No. 4.

Copy of a MINUTE recorded by Mr. Colebrooke, on the Revenue Consultations of Bengal, the 20th June 1808;—respecting the Extension of the Permanent Settlement to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

EXTRACT BENGAL REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, 20th June 1808.

Mr. Colebrooke's Minute.

No. 3.

THE final Report of the late Board of Commissioners for the settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, dated 15th April, contains propositions of so much importance and so greatly at variance with the previous resolutions of Government, that in recording my opinion, I think it necessary to go at some length into the consideration of the reasons which have been urged by late Commissioners in support of their propositions. Those reasons, as far as they relate to the question of a permanent settlement, correspond so precisely with arguments which were fully and repeatedly discussed upon the occasion of the Permanent Settlements of Bengal and Behar in 1789-90, and the territories on the coast of Coromandel in 1799, that my task will be nearly confined to show their exact correspondence, and to refer to the former proceedings of this Government for the ample discussion which they underwent, and for the final decision which was passed on the merits of the question by the honourable Court of Directors.

2. I trust that arguments which were not suffered to weigh against a measure recommended by wise and enlarged views of policy, but not then promised to our subjects, will not be allowed greater weight at this momentous period against a similar equally recommended by liberal considerations of policy, and solemnly promised by an express declaration in a legislative act.

3. Govern-

3. Government is pledged by the proclamation of 14th July 1802, 15th September 1804, and 11th July 1805, to conclude a permanent settlement with the landholders at the expiration of the periods there specified, for such lands as may be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on fair and equitable terms. It was judged expedient on full consideration of the subject, and with ample knowledge of the circumstances now alleged, to anticipate those periods; and accordingly in June 1807, the Governor General in Council notified to the zemindars and other proprietors, by Regulation X. 1807, that the jumma assessed for the last year of the ensuing settlement, shall remain fixed for ever, if they be willing to engage, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Court of Directors.

4. The pledge which has been thus solemnly contracted, cannot be forfeited without such a glaring violation of promise, as would indeed lose us deservedly the confidence of the people. I do not mean to intimate that the obligation which has been voluntarily contracted is so indispensable, that no exception can on any consideration be admitted; some exceptions must unavoidably be made, and the postponement of the measure is not a matter of choice, but of necessity, in various instances which have been already under consideration, and which must become the subject of further deliberation. But exceptions should be admitted for only such reasons as are clear and intelligible even to the persons whom they concern. The general postponement of the measure, a twelve months after it was solemnly announced, and when so many steps have been publicly taken for carrying it into execution, would demonstrate a degree of fickleness which would be far from creditable to Government, even independently of the higher considerations of public faith.

5. The late Governor General, than whom no man was more conversant with the subject of a permanent settlement, which had indeed engaged a large portion of his attention within the last twenty years, deliberately resolved on accelerating the highly beneficial measure of a permanent settlement of the land revenues in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, upon a comprehensive view of the interests of the Honourable Company, and of its new subjects. There is room for regret, that the gentlemen to whom the execution of that measure was committed, should have put into deliberation, not the best means for carrying it into effect, but the expediency of the measure itself, which they were selected to execute. Giving them all credit for their good intentions in the call which they made upon the collectors to canvass a legislative enactment of Government, I feel it my duty to say, that the attention of the revenue officers would have been better directed to the requisite preparation for the settlement which had been ordered, than to the discussion of its expediency upon partial views of a most important question, which had been already decided by the Governor General in Council.

6. The objections alleged by several of the collectors, as well as by the late Commissioners, against the immediate conclusion of a permanent settlement, are principally the imperfect knowledge yet acquired of the resources of the country, the inequality of the present assessment, the great proportion of uncultivated lands, estimated generally at a fourth of the arable lands, the deficiency of population and want of capital to extend the cultivation, the existing restrictions on commerce, the want of opulent consumers, the extent of resumable land yet unascertained, the necessity of continuing certain farmers in possession of their farms, the general uncertainty in regard to the proprietary right either at present contested or not ascertained, in respect of extensive tracts of waste land, the doubtful value of the standard coin, the risk of disappointment should the settlement be disapproved by the Court of Directors.

7. Lest this brief abstract should inadequately convey the reasons alleged, I beg that reference may be made to the recapitulation in the 210th and the following paragraphs of the late Commissioners letter, where they are stated at full length.

8. All these circumstances it will be remembered existed in Bengal. They were alleged partly as reasons against the conclusion of a permanent settlement, and partly as arguments for the immediate adoption of that measure, though now all marshalled against me.

9. The argument on which, if I mistake not, the late Commissioners chiefly rely, is, that the right of participating in future improvement ought not to be relinquished, because Government is in a manner the landlord and proprietor of a vast estate, the resources of which are not yet fully brought forth, and because no other productive source of revenue exists to supply the place of the future revenue, which would be abandoned by an immediate permanent settlement. The late Commissioners therefore propose the postponement of a permanent settlement for four years, after the expiration of which period mocrerry grants to be made to the proprietors of estates which have attained a high state of cultivation. But where the resources have not been brought forth, the settlement to be made on a rissud or increasing jumma, and the assessment of the last year, whenever circumstances may permit, to be declared fixed for ever.

10. The motive of this proposition is explained, where the late Commissioners estimate one quarter of the arable lands to be yet uncultivated, and conclude that 75,00,000 rupees per annum would be relinquished, if the demand of Government be now limited to the present available jumma, of 2,25,00,000 rupees.

11. It appears from instructions issued by the late Commissioners to the collectors, as well as from several passages in the Report now under consideration, that they consider 10 per

No 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

Minute,
the 18th June 1789.
p. 109.

Minute
of 18th Sept. 1789.

cent. to be a sufficient allowance for the landholder, both for income and charges of collection, and that the landholders are not at present supposed to realize more.

12. Without offering any opinion on the correctness of those estimates, I shall contrast them with the declared intentions of Government, in regard to the landholders of Bengal, when the permanent settlement was concluded in this province.

13. Mr. Shore, (now Lord Teignmouth) whose diligence of research, and whose thorough knowledge of the revenues of Bengal are universally acknowledged, and need not the tribute of praise, estimated no less than a third of the amount received from the cultivator, for the charges of collection and intermediate profit between Government and the raiat. This estimate is quoted and confirmed as corresponding with experience on the coast of Coromandel, by the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, in the very able Report of that Board, dated 2d September, 1799.

14. It was with the belief that a third part of the collections made from the cultivator were applicable to the charges of collection, and the support of the zemindar, that the assessment in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel was fixed for ever. At the same time Lord Cornwallis estimated no less than a third part of the Company's territory to be a jungle, and the researches in which I was engaged at that period, furnish me with grounds for the opinion that the estimate may, with great approximation to accuracy, be understood as applicable to lands fit for the cultivation, and totally exclusive of lands barren and irreclaimable.

15. With this opinion as to the extent of the uncultivated lands, Lord Cornwallis, far from desiring to reserve any right to participate in future improvement, argued strenuously against the pretension, and in these memorable words: "If the idea of permanency is to be withdrawn from the settlement now in agitation, of what avail will the power of Mr. Shore's arguments be to the zemindars, for whose rights he has contended." "They are to have the property in farm for a lease of ten years, provided they will pay a good rent for it; and this property is then to be again assessed, at whatever rent the Government of the country may at that time think proper to impose. In any part of the world where the value of property is known, would not such a concession of a right of property in the soil, be called a cruel mockery."

16. The sequel is no less forcible and convincing; but it may be sufficient to refer to that important document for the powerful arguments by which Lord Cornwallis demonstrated the propriety of declaring the settlement permanent. His observations on the power reserved to the Court of Directors, of confirming or annulling the settlement, are no less important, and bear directly upon the subject now under consideration.

17. The power of making a perpetual and irrevocable settlement of a great empire, without being subject to the revision of the controlling authority at home, would, in my opinion, have been too great to delegate to any distant government. I cannot, however, believe, that the Court of Directors would hold out the flattering hopes of a permanent settlement, which alone, in my judgment, can make the country flourish, and secure happiness to the body of the inhabitants, unless they had been pre-determined to confirm the perpetuity, if they found that their servants here had not failed in their duty, or betrayed the important trust that had been reposed in them. Nothing, I am persuaded, but our expressing doubts and fears, can make them hesitate; and as I have a clear conviction in my own mind of the utility of the system, I shall think it a duty I owe to them, to my country, and to humanity, to recommend it most earnestly to the Court of Directors to lose no time in declaring the permanency of the settlement, provided they discover no material objection or error, and not to postpone for ten years the commencement of the prosperity and solid improvement of the country.

18. Before I quit the subject of the Court of the Directors sanction, I must be indulged in one more quotation from the same Minute. It is not for the purpose of taking shelter under a great and revered name, that I shall quote from Lord Cornwallis, instead of arguing on new grounds, or in new words; but because the answers by him given to the objections which are now revived, have received the seal of the approbation of the Company's administration at home.

19. Mr. Shore had stated, that if after the notification that the settlement, if approved by the Court of Directors, would be declared permanent, the Court of Directors should not declare the permanency, the confidence of the natives in general would be shaken, and those who relied on the confirmation would be disappointed, and conclude that it was meant to deceive them. Lord Cornwallis replies, "I can only say in answer to this objection, that I cannot believe any people to be so unreasonable as to accuse Government of a breach of faith, and an intention to deceive them, for not doing what Government in express terms assure them it is not in their power to promise to do, as it must depend on the approbation of their superiors."

20. Entirely concurring in the sentiments here expressed, and in the conviction that the uncontrolled power of fixing an irrevocable assessment ought not to be delegated by the controlling authority at home to a distant government, and that the ratification of the Court of Directors will not be withheld from the permanent settlement which may be concluded, unless they discover material error in it; I can see no sufficient reason for the
previous

previous reference recommended by the Board of Commissioners, were it even still a matter of choice, and the question now for consideration were, whether the intended permanency of the settlement should be notified or suppressed.

21. But the subject of participation in the future improvement to be expected from the cultivation of waste lands, is not new to the Court of Directors. A doubt was expressed by the honourable Court, in their general letter of 19th September 1792, on this point: "If the different proprietors should be allowed to avail themselves exclusively of the whole benefit to be derived from the land, (at present left uncultivated) in the improved state of cultivation which the new system has an evident tendency to promote, such a circumstance may in process of time add very considerably to the value of possessions already too large. It is besides to be considered, that if it can be effected without counteracting the principal object of encouraging industry, Government may fairly expect in due time some reasonable participation in the wealth arising from such a source." The honourable Court afterwards remark, that the subject is connected with points of considerable delicacy; and add, "nor should we be inclined to adopt it, if it should on due consideration be thought to break in upon the principle of permanent property in the present landholders, or should appear likely to discourage or retard the progress of cultivation."

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

22. It was among the last duties of Lord Cornwallis's administration to reply to the Court's letter. The general letter of 6th March 1793 expresses, "with respect to the suggestion concerning waste lands, we do not hesitate to offer it as our opinion, that any attempt to stipulate for a proportion of their produce, would greatly counteract, if not wholly damp that spirit of industry and improvement, to excite which is the great object of fixing the tax upon each estate."

6th March 1793.

23. After distinguishing two sorts of waste land, 1st. those in the level country, interspersed in more or less extensive tracts among the cultivated lands; and secondly, the sunderbunds and the foot of the vast range of mountains which nearly encircle the Bengal provinces, it is observed:—

24. "The first-mentioned description of waste ground will be easily brought into cultivation when the zemindars have funds for that purpose, and provided they are certain of reaping the profits arising from the improvement. These lands, however, are not wholly unproductive to them at present; they furnish pasture for the great herds of cattle that are necessary for the plough, and also to supply the inhabitants with ghee and milk, two of the principal necessities of life in this country. It is true that the lands in this desolate state, far exceed what would suffice for those two purposes; but it is the expectation of bringing them into cultivation, and reaping the profits, that had induced many to agree to the decennial jumma, which has been assessed upon their lands. It is this additional resource alone which can place the landholders in a state of affluence, and enable them to guard against inundation or drought, the two calamities to which the country must ever be liable, until the landholders are enabled to provide against them (as we are of opinion they in a great measure might) by the abovementioned and other works of art. To stipulate with them, therefore, for any part of the produce of their waste lands, would not only diminish the incitement of those great and essential improvements in the agriculture of the country, but deprive them of the means of effecting it. The landholders and cultivators of the soil would continue (as they have hitherto been) little more than the farmers and labourers upon a great estate, of which Government would be the landlord. In endeavouring therefore to obtain an addition to the public income, by reserving a portion of the produce of the waste lands, Government would risk the realizing of the very ample revenue which has been assessed upon the country; and landed property would continue at the very depreciated value which it has hitherto borne."

25. It may not be superfluous to observe, that the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, in their Report dated 2d September 1799, quoted this reply, as equally applicable to the waste lands on the coast of Coromandel, upon which they remark with regret, "that the proportion is very considerable;" and the Governor General in Council on the 31st of December 1799, authorized the Governor in Council at Madras "to adopt the principles laid down in that reply, as the rules of their guidance with regard to waste lands."

26. Thus, upon the important occasions of the permanent settlements of Bengal and Behar, and of the territories on the coast of Coromandel; and after mature deliberation, a claim of participation in the future improvement of the waste lands was relinquished, to a greater extent than the proportion at which they are computed by the late Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

27. The happy result of the measure is now witnessed in Bengal: the reviving prosperity of the country, its increasing wealth and rapid improvement, are unquestionably due to the permanent settlement, the principle of which was so wise, that even the serious errors which were committed in filling up the outline of the plan, could not ultimately disappoint its views.

28. But the Commissioners argue, that we were better prepared for the measure in Bengal; that land is here more easily cultivated, water more readily procured, wells and public works unnecessary, capital seldom required.

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

29. That is not the picture of Bengal, as then drawn: a reference to the minutes recorded by the members of Government will show, that the same representations were then made respecting the deficiency of information, the uncertainty of the proprietary right, the poverty of the landholder and cultivator, the scantiness of population, the decline of agriculture, and the depreciated value of landed property. A permanent settlement was the proposed remedy of those evils; and it must indeed have been postponed for ever, if it waited until they were remedied by other means.

30. Of all the objections which were then urged, the most serious was drawn from the still imperfect knowledge possessed by Government respecting the real resources of the different districts, and regarding the respective rights of the different classes of landholders and tenants, and the consequent extreme difficulty of distributing the assessment on the several districts with the requisite equality, and securing to the great body of proprietors and occupants the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights. A similar objection is repeatedly urged with great earnestness by the late Board of Commissioners, and by the collectors of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; it was urged no less strenuously in Bengal, after twenty years had been employed in successive investigations, and three years had been especially devoted to enquiries preparatory to the decennial settlement. Were the permanent settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces now postponed, the same objection would be again advanced with equal force and truth at the expiration of four years, or of any greater period whatsoever. The deficiency of correct information is the unavoidable consequence of the system under which the revenue is administered; persons of every description are interested, or think they have an interest, in withholding information, and suppressing the truth. Apprised of this disposition to baffle their enquiries, the officers of Government can place no reliance on the information which they receive, though it may happen to be correct. Under a different system, in which the adjustment of the rent demandable from the cultivator would be the immediate duty of the officers of Government, and a first step towards a settlement of the revenues, accurate information would be collected in a long series of patient surveys. But it is not now a question, whether the influence and authority of all intermediate orders of men between the ruler and the cultivator shall be suspended; the settlement, even if temporary, must be made in the first instance with landholders or with farmers; and the intervention of those, and of amils or tehsildars, must prevent the acquisition of accurate knowledge respecting the real resources of the lands. Minute scrutinies would be vainly undertaken; they would harass the people, with no real benefit to Government; and without such minute and vexatious scrutinies and measurements, the same complaints of the insufficiency of information obtained from general enquiries, or from accounts of doubtful accuracy, would be made at a future period as at present.

31. After the lapse of eighteen years, we are now enabled to pronounce with certainty on the solidity of the objections which were urged against the permanent settlement of Bengal. That the distribution of the assessment was not originally equal, is indisputable; that it is now equalized, will not be asserted; but experience has not shown that the inequality of assessment has been productive of those evils which were then foreboded, and which are now again anticipated, in regard to other provinces.

33. I appeal to this experience in preference to any speculative argument. The design of the permanent settlement in Bengal has been fully answered. It was the wish of the Company's administration at home, as well as of the Government in Bengal, to limit the demand of land revenue, and fix its amount on a moderate scale; it was computed that the assessment left, not ten per cent. but fifty, on the sudder jumma, for the charges of collection and income of the proprietors; it was estimated that the landholders income alone amounted to ten or fifteen per cent.; it was expected that the improvement of estates by the culture of waste lands, would enrich the landholder by the increase of his usual income, and enable him to meet the variations of seasons and temporary calamities of drought and inundation, without needing remissions of revenue.

34. Those expectations have been realized; and if the persons whose benefit was immediately intended, have not generally profited by the beneficence of Government; if a great change have taken place in the property and occupancy of the lands; this event, though much to be lamented, has arisen from extrinsic causes; and it remains an undoubted truth, that the landholders of Bengal are now in the enjoyment of an aggregate income, not indeed greater than the author of the measure contemplated, but exceeding their former profits by more than the amount which the late Board of Commissioners think too great reward of future improvement in the hands of the land proprietors of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

If a permanent settlement on a moderate scale of assessment, leaving to the landholder the whole benefit of future improvement from the cultivation of waste lands, was in Bengal a judicious measure, which justice called for, which the policy dictated, and which the interests of the Company countenanced, how much more is a similar measure recommended by like considerations in regard to our new territories. It is of the utmost importance; it is essential for the safety of the state, to conciliate the great body of the landed proprietors, to attach to the British Government that class of persons, whose influence is most permanent and most extensive; to render it their palpable interest to uphold the permanence of the British domination; to give them a valuable stake in the present administration of the country. This can be in no other way accomplished but by creating for the proprietors or possessors

possessors of the soil, a beneficial interest, which emanating from the British Government, would increase with its duration. The landholders enjoying their estates under a moderate assessment fixed in perpetuity, are not ignorant that a change of Government would be followed by the exaction of an enhanced assessment: love of novelty may blind some, dissatisfaction with the local administration may indispose others, some may be turbulent by inclination, others may be restless by habit. But the greater number, sensible that they benefit by the continuance of the British authority, would be little disposed to listen to the suggestions of disaffection. If on the contrary the utmost revenue be exacted, the landholders have nothing to fear and every thing to hope from a change, and the consequent impulse to promote the event, will be permanently added to the other causes of indifference or disaffection which have been portrayed by the Board of Commissioners.

No. 4.
Mr Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

35. This has been viewed in a very just light by the late Commissioners when the settlement of Zillah Agra was under their consideration. And though there be no inconsistency in their taking a different view of the subject as relating to other districts, I cannot think that the distinction is well founded. At this period especially (could there have been at any time a doubt) every part of our Indian possessions must be considered as exposed to the same hazard and the same means of conciliation tending to ensure internal tranquillity; what are expedient in a frontier district are advisable in all; and a limitation of the demand of revenue, from which salutary effects are expected in the one, cannot be less productive of good consequences in the others.

36. This point, as of the highest importance, deserves ampler illustration. It may be drawn from past experience.

37. During the late war in Hindostan, the necessity of retaining a large force within the Company's territories, left but a small portion of a great military establishment applicable to active operations. It will be remembered that the safety of the state was thought to have been more than once hazarded in engagements fought under great disadvantage of numbers against an enemy essentially inferior, but who was able to bring his whole force into action, while a small part only of the British strength could be put forth against him. In future wars, the same necessity must again recur (I need not say how much to be deprecated) if the internal tranquillity of our provinces have not in the mean time been placed on a securer basis than that on which it then rested. But it is only by conciliating that class of men, whose conduct and disposition, whose influence and example must determine the character and condition of the people, that the tranquillity of the country can be secured. I allude to the zemindars, who are unquestionably the persons possessing most natural influence and effective power over the minds of the people: it is only by conferring on them the benefit of a permanent assessment of the land revenue, that that great body, consisting not of a few individuals, but of the numerous landholders of the country, may be suddenly and effectually gained.

38. It appears to be a very prevalent opinion, that the British system of administration is not generally palatable to our Indian subjects. Admitting this opinion to be not unfounded, it follows, that while they taste none but the unpalatable parts of that system, and while the only boon which would be acceptable to them is withheld, the landed proprietors, and with them the body of the people, must be more and more estranged from the Government, in proportion to the expectations which they had formed, and the disappointment which they will have experienced.

39. In Bengal, where the national temper is indeed less turbulent; in Behar, and in Benares, where the popular character and disposition are the same as in the western provinces, the permanent settlement has been long since tried with ample experience of its benefits; no disaffection, no discontent, are there supposed to prevail among the landholders and peasants. Is it credible that the zemindars, who have the experience of a moderate and fixed assessment, should be so insensible to the advantages which they enjoy, or so ignorant of the consequences which would follow, as to desire or in any way promote a change?

40. In fact no apprehensions have been entertained for the public tranquillity, on withdrawing the military force from those provinces. And whenever the internal peace of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces shall be as well secured, nearly the whole military establishment will be available for the purposes of active warfare. No measure would more essentially contribute to this very desirable end, than that of a permanent settlement; and even if it be attended with some sacrifice of future revenue, that would be more than compensated by an increased efficiency of military strength, giving a greater disposable force in war, or permitting greater reductions of expense in peace.

41. Neither can it be admitted that the relinquishment of a claim to participate in the future improvement of landed estates, is an entire sacrifice of the revenue. Though concurring in many of the observations of the Board of Commissioners on the subject of transit and excise duties, I cannot think it would be unreasonable to attribute the productiveness of the salt revenue and abkaree in Bengal and Behar, to the increased opulence of the country, ascribed to the permanent settlement as the principal cause of its general prosperity. In the increase of the revenue from unexceptionable sources, the Company have ample compensation for the doubtful expectation which was abandoned. In these observations I do not mean to hint a proposition for renewing the attempt, which was unsuccessfully made to establish a salt monopoly in the Ceded Provinces. The form of it was injudicious,

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

Para. 226.
D° - 151.

and the attempt to obtain a large revenue from salt, was premature. But it does not follow that, at a future period, a judicious plan may not be devised for levying a large revenue upon that necessary of life. In most countries it is heavily taxed; and it is almost the only necessary that can be taxed with propriety and effect, in the present state of society in India. Where the opulent indulge less in personal enjoyment of luxuries, than in maintaining numerous attendants, no productive source of revenue can be looked for, except an impost on an article of primary necessity.

42. I shall only state one further reason for a decided opinion in favour of persevering in the proclaimed intention of immediately concluding a permanent settlement for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. I allude to the abuses to which temporary settlements are liable, and which indeed have been usually attendant on them. The Board of Commissioners express themselves as aware that temporary settlements are harrassing, and afford opportunities of frauds. They describe the possible misconduct of public officers, in language which has greatly the appearance of pointed allusion; Government has not before it the grounds of judging whether abuses, which are possible, and indeed probable, have been practised to a great extent; there certainly is no sufficient preventive, nor any effective remedy, against abuses, without a permanent assessment of the revenue; and the purity of the civil service of the Company on this establishment, which was fixed in a basis apparently secure, by the system of administration established by Lord Cornwallis, would be inevitably lost in the long continuance of temporary settlements of the revenue in the extensive provinces above Benares.

43. For this and for other reasons, which have been here imperfectly stated, but which are fully set forth and amply illustrated in the copious minutes which were recorded on the settlement of Bengal, I am clearly of opinion, that the proposition of the late Board of Commissioners, for the general postponement of the permanent settlement for a period of four years, which upon the same ground on which it is proposed, would lead to a further and indefinite postponement, should not be adopted, and that the measure should be carried into effect in every practicable instance, conformably with the provisions of Regulation X. 1807.

Para. 227.
D° - 261.

44. The proposition of the Board of Revenue, next in importance, is for the continuance of the tehsildars on the former footing; this proposal is stated contingent on the postponement of the permanent settlement. It will consequently be unnecessary to discuss the reasons of it, under a contrary resolution respecting that question.

45. I am glad however to observe so strong testimony borne by the Commissioners in favour of the general character of the present tehsildars. From the knowledge which the course of judicial functions had given me of the tehsildars of Benares, Allahabad and Goruckpore particularly, and of the western Zillas in general, I had a less favourable impression of their character and conduct; but independently of this consideration, the power with which they are invested was unnecessarily great, and inadequately controlled, and the intervention of such a class of persons between the landholders and the officer representing Government, appears highly objectionable.

46. In regard to the expected economy from the change of system, it will be recollected that the Court of Directors have disapproved the magnitude of the revenue charges under the government of Fort St. George, and that the amount of the charges, as remarked by the late Government of that Presidency, is very short of the expense of collection in the ceded and conquered provinces. A reduction of the charge has been promised by us, and will no doubt be expected by the Court of Directors, and the amount of the saving to be looked for from this source, cannot be rated at less than 10 lacs of rupees.

Sic orig.

47. Another proposition of serious importance brought forward by the late Board of Commissioners, is the rescinding of Regulation XI. 1793, and enacting a law by which estates, not exceeding 500 rupees, shall go to the eldest son to the exclusion of the rest. If the Regulation above cited, which abrogated the special customs of families in regard to the inheritance of land, were now first proposed, I should, without hesitation, vote against that interference with established. But it is late to rescind a law which has been in force for nearly fourteen years. I think it much more objectionable to interfere, as is now proposed, with the general law of inheritance, and in opposition to the usages of the country; we must beware of lifting a rash hand against civil institutions, which are sanctified by their association with the religion and dearest prejudices of our native subjects.

48. Very minute subdivision of landed property is no doubt inconvenient to Government. But other means may be devised of remedying the inconvenience, without interfering with the law of inheritance, and without excluding co-heirs and co-partners from the enjoyment of their several rights. Regulation VI. 1807, does not, to my apprehension, provide the proper remedy. But the consideration of this subject does not press for immediate attention.

49. I am happy to concur entirely with the Board of Commissioners, on the expediency of revising the Regulations concerning different classes of landholders and tenants, and prescribing definite rules for determining claims to property in the soil. Instructions have been issued on this subject to the Board of Commissioners, and information from them may be early expected. It may however be proper to draw their attention again to this very important subject.

50. It would be wrong to prejudge the question of the concurrent rights of talookdars and zemindars. It ought to be decided on considerations of justice and preferable right, and not on those of policy and expediency. But if the scale of justice be so equally balanced as to leave room for the admission of other considerations, I am disposed to think, that expediency might incline the scale in favour of the village zemindars against the superior talookdar.

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

51. The inferior class of landholders in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, appears from such information as is at present before Government, to be precisely similar to the village zemindars of Benares, and maliks of Behar. The talookdars correspond to the pergunnah zemindars of both these provinces. The preference was there given to the village zemindars, but that did not operate to the extent of entirely depriving the superior landholder of his estate. The greater part remained to him, as also happened in the case of the separation of inferior talookdars in Bengal, except perhaps a few instances, or a solitary one, in which nothing remained to the superior landholder, and here the liberality of Government interposed for his relief.

52. Considering the hazard which may attend the measure of depriving the powerful talookdars in zillahs Allighur and Saharunpore, of the farms held by them, the late Commissioners suggest, that the settlement may be made with them as amils, under a stipulation requiring them to grant pottahs to the inferior zemindars at fair and equitable rates, and under a prohibition to the judicial and revenue officers, against interfering on trivial occasions.

Para. 259.

53. It is known to every judicial officer in Bengal, that the provisions in the Regulations for preventing undue exactions from department talookdars, have proved totally nugatory, though the courts of justice are open to them for recourse. The proposed stipulations would not be more efficacious, and would be a very illusory fulfilment of that guarantee of private rights, which in the Commissioners opinion, it would be contrary to all principle in any case to suspend.

54. I am by no means satisfied that any necessity exists for continuing the powerful talookdars in possession of all their farms. They do not pretend to have received any permanent grant of them, or to possess any proprietary right to them. That they will be best pleased to retain them on the advantageous footing which they at present enjoy, cannot be questioned. That they would be provoked to rebellion or irritated to disaffection by the refusal to renew their recent farms, may be doubted. But even if it be necessary or advisable to conciliate these powerful chieftains by so great a sacrifice of public revenue, it would be much more for the interest of Government to grant them their entire estates in Jageer, in lieu of the more extensive farms held by them for an inadequate tribute. Their local influence would be thus restricted to narrower limits; the hazard of irritation from the interference of revenue and judicial officers would be greatly diminished; the sacrifice of the public resources would be not augmented; and Government would be at liberty to fulfil with sincerity its guarantee of the rights of landholders.

55. The late Commissioners propose, that clauses of the Regulations, under which the claims of farmers and landholders to be admitted to the settlement are maintained, should be revised and explained. I am not aware of any objection to this proposal, and considering how much doubt has been entertained, and how desirable it is that no room should be left for misconstruction or for any strain in favour of one description of persons to the injury of another, I think it may be right to introduce into the intended Regulation, a declaration of the true meaning of the clauses in question.

Para. 257.

56. I cannot omit to remark in this place an extraordinary misapprehension of the Regulations, which appears in the Report of the collector of Etawa, transmitted by the Board of Commissioners. He says, that "as the Regulation for the guidance of collectors allowed no discrimination beyond the fulfilment of engagements on the part of the zemindars or farmers, with whom the 2d settlement was in all cases to be concluded, he could not in any case eject the farmers. He could only refer the claimants to the adawlut, but he made it a rule to require an engagement from the farmer, that, if the zemindar should obtain a decree, the farmer should account to him." The collector had here totally lost sight of the 7th section of the Regulation to which he alludes, (Regulation V. 1805) where provision is expressly made for the admission of the zemindars conformably with a former Regulation (Regulation XXV. 1803, section 33) and he had forgotten that the Court at that period had no power to decree immediate possession to the zemindar, and dispossession of the farmer, in any other case but where it was already the collectors duty to admit the zemindars in preference to the farmer.

Para. 42.

57. There is some appearance of a misapprehension of the same kind in the Commissioners observations on the question between the zemindars and farmers, where they argue, that the zemindars, who declined the first settlement, voluntarily submitted to the consequences (of being excluded, not for the three years, but for ten), and especially where the Commissioners cite Regulation XXV. 1803, section 29, as directing the 2d and 3d settlements should be made with the same persons, whether zemindars or farmers, and as holding out the advantages of a long lease indiscriminately to both landholders and farmers.

Para. 134.

D^o - 139.

No. 4.
Mr. Colebrooke's
Minute,
on extension of the
Permanent System
to the
Ceded & Conquered
Provinces.

58. Another proposition of the Commissioners regards a regulation intended for the security of sureties, by giving to them the right of mortgages when they have been compelled to make good the revenue for which they were answerable, and authorizing the collector to give them possession after a summary enquiry.

59. Though consideration be undoubtedly due to sureties whom the bad faith of the landholders has subjected to heavy responsibility, I entertain some doubt of the propriety of creating by regulation a contract not in contemplation of the parties. It may however be advisable that the opinion of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and present Board of Commissioners, should be taken on the proposed enactment.

60. I have felt so much concern in the necessity of repeatedly expressing my dissent from the propositions of the late Board of Commissioners, that I have a sincere gratification in passing to other propositions which have my unreserved concurrence.

61. Sales of land for arrears of revenue, should certainly be avoided to the utmost practicable degree. I entertain a hope, that means may be devised for the recovery of arrears, without recourse against the person of the defaulter, or the property of his estate. The Regulations for Benares, contained provisions adapted to that purpose; and unless it appear on enquiry that they have been neglected for sufficient reasons, I should recommend the revival of them in that province, and the extension of similar provisions to the western provinces.

Para. 262.

62. The Board of Commissioners recommend a more efficient authority in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, to afford security to the people, and guard the interests of Government. This is desirable, not only for the immediate purpose hinted by them, but for the important end of conciliating our new subjects, who are acquainted with their British rulers, in none but the invidious characters of lawyers and tax-gatherers. They see only judges administering obnoxious laws with indiscriminating rigour, and collectors exacting the utmost revenue with uncongenial punctuality. We cannot, perhaps, establish any controlling authority, which is not connected either with the revenue, or with the administration of law. But I am willing to believe, and an incidental remark of the Commissioners authorizes me in the belief, that the Court of Appeal may be less unpopular than the District Courts, and that a permanent controlling authority in the revenue branch, would be conciliatory and useful.

63. I shall conclude by declaring my concurrence in the Commissioners recommendation, that steadiness, moderation, and justice should be the features borne by the administration of Government. But it is not by abandoning a measure deliberately resolved on, and beneficial to our subjects, that we shall approve our steadiness. It is not by grasping at the highest revenue, and wringing from our peasants the utmost rent, that we shall evince our moderation. Nor is it by depriving the sons of our petty landholders of their birth right, that we shall demonstrate our sense of justice.

(Signed)

H. COLEBROOKE.

No. 5.

EXTRACT of a Letter from the Governor General in Council of Bengal, in the Public Department; dated the 30th June 1809:—PARAGRAPHS 109 to 117, both inclusive; together with the Papers referred to therein.

PROCEEDINGS of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, relative to Mr. Rickards's Proposition for establishing a General Bank, and other Financial Arrangements.

EXTRACT of PUBLIC LETTER from BENGAL; dated 30 June 1809.

Para. 109.

ON the Proceedings referred to in the margin, your Honourable Court will find recorded several letters from the Government of Bombay, referring for our consideration, various suggestions and plans submitted to them by Mr. Rickards, at present a member of that Government.

Pub. Cons.
6 May 1808.
29 July —
9 Sept. —

110. The principal measure proposed by Mr. Rickards, is the establishment of a General Bank, whose operations shall extend throughout India; but as we were sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of your Honourable Court on this subject, and as the ideas of Mr. Rickards appeared to us to resolve themselves into mere speculation, without embracing objects capable of being realized, while the machinery proposed by that gentleman for the performance of a very simple operation, was extremely cumbrous and complicated; we thought it sufficient to point out to the Government of Bombay, that no public Bank could be established without the sanction of your Honourable Court: to whose consideration, therefore, Mr. Rickards's plans, if persevered in, must, we observed, be submitted.

111. Connected with the plan of a General Bank, Mr. Rickards proposes the institution of a Sinking Fund; but your Honourable Court are aware that such a fund has long been established, both at this Presidency and at Fort Saint George; although, from the circumstance of the public securities having risen so much in value of late, the Commissioners at this Presidency have been obliged to suspend their operations.

112. Mr. Rickards does not suggest any means of raising, from any independent source, the supplies which might be required for a Sinking Fund; except indeed by retrenchments, which he is of opinion may be made from the allowances of the native officers at the different Presidencies; but if the reductions pointed at by Mr. Rickards can be effected, without injury to the public service, they ought of course to be made without any particular reference to the objects to which Mr. Rickards would propose to appropriate the saving.

113. At this Presidency your Honourable Court are apprised that the public establishments have undergone repeated revisions, and you were lately furnished with the Report of a Committee, who were appointed by us to revise the establishments, with a view to effect every practicable reduction of charge; but with respect to the allowances of the native officers employed under this Government, we are far from thinking that they are, in general, upon too high a scale, or that the expense of this part of the public establishments can with propriety be reduced. We except from this remark the tehsildarry establishments in Benares, and in the ceded and conquered provinces, in which it is expected that considerable reductions will be effected at an early period.

114. Mr. Rickards, in a Minute which your Honourable Court will find in our Proceedings of the 29 July 1808, proposes that the annual supplies required by the Government of Bombay should be obtained by bills on Bengal, rather than by raising
306. Z loans

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

loans at Bombay; and the argument on which that gentleman's proposition is founded, assumes, that a public debt having always the effect of raising prices, it must necessarily occasion inconvenience and disadvantage to every description of annuitants, as well as to the Government itself.

115. But Mr. Rickards, in this proposition, seems to have overlooked, that the alternative suggested by him might have no other effect than to transfer the inconvenience apprehended, from Bombay to Bengal; for unless there should exist at the time a fund at this Presidency quite sufficient to meet all the demands from Bombay, whether for the discharge of debt or otherwise, the drafts from that Government might have imposed upon us the necessity of raising loans under the very same circumstances which Mr. Rickards so strongly deprecates as having an injurious tendency at Bombay.

116. When that gentleman's proposition was first submitted to this Government, it did not appear to us that the whole annual supply required at Bombay could be conveniently provided for in Bengal; but as the state of our finances has since that period greatly improved, and our present resources will enable us to meet any demands which can be expected from Bombay, we have deemed it expedient to recommend to that Government to raise as large a proportion as possible of the funds required by them, by bills upon this Presidency. In recommending this arrangement, we proceeded upon the presumption that there is at present a surplus revenue in India applicable to the discharge of debt, after providing for the public disbursements at all the different Presidencies; nor did we consider it at all necessary to advert to considerations connected with the question of prices. It was simply obvious that it must be to the advantage of the Honourable Company, that any existing surplus should be drawn to that quarter where funds might be required, or where they could be best appropriated to the discharge of existing debt.

117. Mr. Rickards, we are persuaded, was actuated by the most laudable motives in bringing forward his different plans; and although speculations of the kind do not always lead to practical results, the spirit of inquiry should not be discouraged while it proposes to itself useful objects.

EXTRACT of the BENGAL PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS;
dated 6th May 1808.

Government of Bombay, Political Department.
To the Right Honourable GILBERT Lord MINTO, Governor General in Council,
at Fort William.

My Lord,

1st. WE have the honour to forward the copy of a letter addressed to us by Robert Rickards, Esquire, a civil servant on this Establishment, who arrived some months ago from England, appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed to the first vacancy in Council.

2d. This address being, with its accompaniments, so fully explanatory of the very important subject of which it treats, we are persuaded that it will be rendering an acceptable service to our honourable employers, and to the public, to submit it, in the channel of its present transmission, to that superior authority which can alone, if approving of the plan it delineates, give it also due effect.

3d. We have understood that some, or all, of the agency houses, who may be esteemed as at the head of the monied interest of this Settlement, would probably be disposed to promote the object of the proposed Bank, as far as respects the limits of this Presidency.

We have, &c.

Bombay Castle,
the 22d October 1808.

(Signed) *Jo^r Duncan,*
L^t Corkran,
Thos. Lechmere.

To the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, President and Governor in Council,
&c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

AN humble attempt to promote the public advantage, and that more particularly of the Honourable Company's Government in India, will, I trust, be indulgently received by your Honourable Board.

Having, since my re-appointment to India, reflected much on the financial state of the Indian Governments, the amount of the public debt, the difficulties it is likely to entail, and the danger of its increase, a Plan has suggested itself of diminishing the weight of this heavy burthen; connected with other public advantages; which I venture to submit to the favourable consideration of Government, and that of the Court of Directors.

As in the vouchers A to E, I have endeavoured to explain every difficulty, and obviate every objection, it would be superfluous to add any thing on the subject here, further than to hope, that as it involves the most intricate and abstruse part of the science of Political Philosophy, my errors may be pardoned, in consideration to the motives which have actuated the attempt.

(True Copy)

I have, &c.

(Signed) *R. Rickards.*

(Signed)

F. Warden, Chief Secretary to Government.

(A.)

OUTLINES of a PLAN for paying off the INDIAN DEBT.

* This sum is stated more with a view to easy calculation, than to the actual amount of debt.

The debt is considerably more; but if the principles of this Paper are correct, they will be found equally applicable to any other amount.

1. Suppose the debt 20 million*, desired to be reduced to 6 million.

2. Constitute a General Bank, and make over to it, for the security of its issues in notes, territory or territorial revenue to the amount of one million sterling per annum, to be paid in coin: this security to be inviolable under whatever exigency, and to be proclaimed as such in the most solemn terms. Divide this Bank into three; one at each Presidency, with a proportionate share of the above-mentioned security settled on each; the notes of each to have a prescribed local currency; and the amount in circulation to be always limited by the decision of the Bank Directors, independent of Government.

3. Although the Bank be thus divisible into three, one at Calcutta, one at Madras, and one at Bombay, which is an easy after-arrangement, let it, to avoid confusion of ideas, be considered as one General Bank throughout the remainder of the plan.

4. Let the capital stock then of this General Bank be called £.12,500,000, yielding a certain annual income of one million, or 8 per cent. on this nominal capital.

5. Advertise the bank-stock for sale in the market, to be paid or subscribed for either in coin or in the Company's paper now in the hands of their creditors.

6. Bank

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Richards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(A.)

6. Bank-stock yielding a certain net 8 per cent. settled on the best of all securities, will I presume be deemed very acceptable property, and therefore readily purchased, more particularly if the business of the Bank (to be hereafter described) shall be profitable over and above the expenses of it. Of the merchant stockholders, a certain number, both European and native, are then to be elected directors of the Bank, conjointly with an officer of Government, or a member of Council,* as may be thought best, under whose united management, the business of the Bank is to be conducted.

7. But of the bank-stock above specified, *about two-thirds of the whole amount, or £.8,500,000 only*, should be sold: this will dispose of an equal amount of the present debt, supposing the whole to be subscribed for in Company's paper; if any part be paid for in cash, a corresponding proportion of the debt may be paid off: but this is not likely while there is paper in the market; so that we may here consider £.8,500,000 of the present debt to be converted into bank-stock, in the hands of individuals, the remainder, or four millions, will be Government's share, for purposes to be hereafter mentioned.

8. The Bank thus constituted to be conjoined with the Company's Treasury in the receipt and payment of sums on account of Government, to be a Bank of discounts, to grant credit on *unexceptionable security*, and at such times only as the Bank shall in their own judgment deem perfectly unobjectionable, and also to engage in the business of exchange by granting bills at a more reasonable rate than can be procured from individuals, in favour of merchants applying for the same on any part of the Company's territories; and for this purpose to have subordinate banks or offices in different parts of the country, as well to facilitate this business of exchange, as the circulation, if necessary, of the notes; there may hence be fewer demands for coin on the Bank than would be otherwise preferred, less coin exported for the payment of foreign or distant debts, particularly if the great Indian shroffs are concerned in the Bank, and therefore its necessary deposits of specie less liable to inconvenient fluctuations. This operation will be a great convenience to the mercantile body, who will be freed from the losses and inconveniences now suffered in exchange, and from the artifices of shroffs, and therefore find their pecuniary intercourse with every part of British India much facilitated.

9. With

* Were I proposing the establishment of a bank in England, I should certainly not select a member of Government for a director. In free countries of open and extensive commerce, the perfect independence of a bank is perhaps essential to its credit and the general confidence of the public; but in India, local circumstances should also be considered at each Presidency; the chief merchants, who, comparatively speaking, may be said to engross the trade, are few: and were a general Bank intrusted to their exclusive management, these few are just as liable to enter into hurtful combinations to promote their own interest, as a Government is to injure public credit by arbitrary acts to relieve occasional distresses. By the union, these parties will operate as a check on each other; and if after trial it be found desirable for Government to withdraw, the sequel of this plan provides for such a contingency as soon as the debt is paid.

Native directors seem to me of great importance to the complete success of the plan; and the co-operation of the great Indian shroffs in this establishment, would facilitate many of its operations.

Note.—It should be clearly understood beforehand, that the Bank will exercise its own discretion in the granting of credits, in view to the amount of notes in circulation at the time such credits may be applied for, and to other local circumstances.

I do not enter into a detail of the business of the Bank, because it would extend this paper to a tedious and unnecessary length. The nature of the intended business is, I presume, sufficiently manifest in the plan, and it is surely not too much to anticipate, that its profits, arising from these branches of business, may do a great deal more than defray the expenses of the institution.

The granting of bills of exchange on England, on favourable terms, might often be a local convenience to individuals in India, and also to the Bank; it may likewise be an accommodation to the captains and officers of the Indiamen. These latter often bring out specie which might thus be supplied to the Bank if required. This however is introduced as a suggestion, because the Court of Directors can alone determine how far it may be convenient to answer such drafts.

I also pass over the means of supplying the Bank with its requisite deposits of specie, because I apprehend all that may be required in this respect, may be derived without difficulty from the annual income, the revenue, the aid of merchants, proprietors of stock, and in the frequent imports of specie into India; and because the actual amount can only be ascertained by experience, though, from the nature of the Bank business, it is conceived this amount may never require to be considerable.

* This sum is stated in view to the expected extent of capability in the plan. Though a lesser amount be paid off in the manner here proposed, it will still not in the least affect the ultimate grand object (as will be seen in the sequel), which is to liquidate fourteen millions of debt in eight years at farthest, and without any other aid beyond what the Bank and revenues of India can supply.

† The drafts on the Court of Directors will probably be much more whenever the debt comes to be paid off; but this large proportion of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million is purposely stated against India, to show what the plan is capable of.

‡ Not a single note should be offered to any creditor unless he voluntarily desires to receive them; the original compact with the Company stipulates for payment in cash, &c. which is clearly specie, and the clause should be literally executed; the strict and literal preservation of public faith between a Government and its creditors, being always a matter of the highest importance.

§ An objection may possibly here occur, that the associated Directors will not consent to this issue, on the plea of its diminishing other issues in the discount of bills, by which they would benefit, but which they are thus deprived of. In reply, let it be considered, that the major part of this issue of notes to the Company's servants will be made over in the first instance to their respective agents (the principal of whom will be Bank Directors,) or, in ordinary course, find their way back in revenue payments to the Company's Treasury, where, as a certain sum of notes may be supposed to be always accumulated, such sum, together with the amount in the hands of the Directors, may be employed in re-issues to transact the private business of the Bank. These considerations may perhaps obviate the objection, and even be found to give the said directors, agents and merchants, an interest in receiving these notes, and therefore tend to promote their easy circulation.

Indeed both the coin and notes above proposed to be issued, must, in the natural course of Indian circulation, find their way, in large proportions, to the said agents and merchants, who will of course employ the notes in local currency, and in all transactions with the Bank; the whole of the coin, in other profitable pursuits: hence arises a manifest increase of mercantile capital, and in due proportion to the means and credit of each individual merchant, for all may thus partake of as much of the said notes and coin as their trade, or probable expectations of profit, will enable them to employ.

Wherefore, if these premises be correct, the Bank may, at its first opening, commence with the discharge, in notes, of demands on the treasurers at the respective Presidencies for monthly allowances and on other accounts; and as by the supposition these notes will rapidly return to the Bank or Treasury, it would seem to preclude the necessity of any extra issue of notes, or, at all events, greatly limit it; that is, the whole or nearly the whole private business of the Bank may thus, with the

306.

co-operation

9. With the aid of a Bank thus constituted, Government may venture to pay off, say £.4,000,000 of their debt,* after giving sufficient notice, as follows. The present paper contains a stipulation whereby it is to be liquidated according to number on the register, by cash, at the Presidency, or by bills on the Court of Directors: these clauses may, I conceive, be literally executed. The precise amount of the drafts on the Court of Directors, it is not material here to know; but that calculation may proceed on determinate data, we will suppose these drafts to absorb £.500,000,† and therefore $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions to be paid in India.

10. Bank-notes, if as good credit as those of the Bank of England, will readily be accepted by the Company's servants in payment of their monthly allowances, whatever they may be; by the creditors, in payment of debts‡. Let the servants therefore be paid in Bank-notes issued on the responsibility of Government, but with the consent of the associated Bank Directors, § to the amount of all in all of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions if possible, or to any lesser amount, that the general circulation may be locally found capable of receiving, *without depreciation of the said notes*; and in lieu thereof, let Government be previously prepared with an equal amount of coin reserved from the revenues as they are regularly paid in, to be deposited in the Bank, in addition to its annual income as stated in the 2d paragraph. With this coin, when sufficient is accumulated, the creditors may now be paid (after due previous notice) according to the literal and express conditions of their original contract.

11. This issue of notes, whatever be the actual amount, may be made gradually, to avoid unnecessary alarm, and should be proportioned with judgment to what the circulation will from time to time absorb. Three millions and a half being about three or four months ordinary expenditure, may perhaps be absorbed in 6 months; but whether it be so or not, it should be the chief object of the Bank's attention, at its first institution, with which, until duly executed, the other branches of its intended business should not be allowed to interfere, or only be conducted with a proper precautionary regard to the ultimate success of this primary object. In a country yielding 14 millions annually of revenue, it surely will not be difficult to reserve the $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions above proposed, for this grand operation, or more if necessary. The

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annual

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(A.)

annual imports of specie into India, present another source of eventual supply.

co-operation of the merchants, be transacted by means of the very notes, or (which comes to the same thing) the same amount of notes that shall

be issued in the first instance in payments on account of Government.

The amount capable of circulation at the respective Presidencies, will thus be speedily ascertained, and accordingly limited. The subordinate provincial Banks may then be authorized to issue notes in the same way to a specified limited amount from each; these notes will again similarly return through the medium of merchants into the said Banks, and into the Company's Treasury, in discharge of revenue; the Treasury and Bank being conjoined, both at the Presidencies and Subordinates, will mutually assist each other; and as moreover each Bank may, it is presumed, under proper authority, and in cases of necessity, either coin or destroy notes at pleasure, so, on the one hand, there need never be impediment to the private business of the Bank, while on the other, the amount of notes in circulation may always be kept within prescribed limits. (Vide paper (B.) where this operation is further explained.

12. If the credit of the Bank be well established, this proposed $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions in notes, may not be too much for the general circulation of our Indian territories, for according to the plan, this will be the only issue of notes by the Bank or its original landed security; four millions moreover of the capital stock of the Bank is the Company's own share, which, under the operation of the Plan, as shown in the annexed figured statement, will be annually increasing, perfectly free from all incumbrance or engagement, and therefore of itself more than adequate for $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of notes intended to be circulated.*

13. Of the present Indian debt of £. 20,000,000, there will now have been converted into bank-stock £. 8,500,000; paid in cash and by bills on the Court of Directors, £. 4,000,000; and there will remain in the hands of the creditors in promissory notes or bonds, £. 7,500,000 more, which we are now to dispose of.

14. The one third share of Government in this General Bank, or 4 millions, has been reserved to operate as a Sinking Fund, to which may be added the annual million now applied to the use of the Sinking Fund, and this combined fund will buy up £. 2,500,000 stock, and nearly extinguish the $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of outstanding promissory notes or bonds in six years, as exhibited in the annexed figured statement: in other words, it will effectually annihilate in 6 years near £. 10,000,000 of the existing debt.

15. It being desirable to keep up 6 million of debt, which precise amount is now found in the hands of the stock-holders, Government may only be considered as debtor on the £. 3,500,000 of bank-notes supposed to be in circulation; Government may also now determine to continue, or withdraw its concern in the Bank: in either case, the proceeds of the combined Sinking Fund, are sufficient to call in and extinguish, if desired, the whole of the aforesaid £. 3,500,000 of bank-notes in *two* more years as shown in the statement, or in 8 years at furthest, to liquidate fully and effectually the proposed 14 million of debt, leaving the directors at full liberty to proceed with the Bank either on the old or any new footing deemed eligible. In short, the £. 3,500,000 of bank-notes may be considered as a loan, without interest, from the Bank to Government, which the latter are now fully prepared to pay off, or continue to employ in such way, and according to such

* It is perhaps impossible to state the precise amount of the Indian currency, or, until trial be made, how far commercial capital will admit of augmentation, or of a substitution in paper of that part which merchants must always keep by them to answer occasional demands: future circumstances must determine these points; but, independent of the probable conjectures to be derived from the amount of annual revenue which must be kept in view, as hereafter shown, there is one thing certain, that from the existing depressed state of industry in this country, it is capable, under proper stimuli, of incalculable increase, and therefore, of the employment of an indefinite amount of circulating capital, if the common incentives to industry and improvement be not palsied by the immoderate wants and impolitic exercise of arbitrary power.

But whatever may be the immediate effect of a brisker circulation on Indian industry, the Plan, it will be easily conceived, does not propose to overload the currency with useless abundance, but merely to substitute, in the first instance, notes of unquestionable credit, for coin; which latter, in as far as it may then be redundant in the country, will be exported, or employed in foreign commerce. It is at the same time meant to infer, that there is ample room for retaining, or at least for recalling this, and perhaps a greater addition to the circulating capital, through the medium of increased industry and trade, while, in the interim, the substitution of good notes for coin, to the amount of three and a half millions, is not thought to be excessive, in a country which, independent of a brisk trade at the respective Presidencies, now pays annually fourteen millions in specie to its Government; or likely to prevent those lesser annual realizations from the revenues in coin, required for the use of the Sinking Fund, as will be more fully explained hereafter.

such arrangement, as may, under existing circumstances, be decided on between the parties.

16. The advantages of this plan may therefore be said to consist, under prudent management, in the certain reduction of £.14,000,000 of the Indian debt, in a period that we may all rationally look forward to see the accomplishment of, and therefore not so liable to be counteracted by unforeseen accidents or events.

17. In eight years the annual payments on account of interest and Sinking Fund, will be reduced to £.480,000, or £.8 per cent. on the £.6,000,000 of bank-stock debt; viz.

Present interest	-	-	-	-	-	-	£.1,600,000
Applied to the use of the Sinking Fund	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
Total of present payment per annum							2,600,000
Deduct :							
Amount of appropriation to the Sinking Fund, no longer required	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
Interest on 14 millions of debts now extinguished at 8 per cent.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,120,000
							2,120,000
Remains							£.480,000

Whence there will be upwards of £.2,000,000 per annum to be ever afterwards applied to the augmentation of the Company's own *wealth* and the improvement of their India territories. The Company may then, I presume, trade without further aid from loans: their India investments ought then in fact to cost them no more than the expense of transporting to England, which should enable them to undersell every other nation, to the very great benefit of the Mother Country. The outlay of such a sum, in *the support of industry* in India, will proportionably contribute to the improvement of that country, where some such fostering aid is essentially required.

18. The commercial interests of India will be greatly benefited, trade and industry increased, and therefore it is not unreasonable to expect the cordial and zealous co-operation of the mercantile body in promoting the success of the plan.

19. It has also the advantage of requiring no additional tax: it depends for success on no probable reduction of the rate of interest; and it preserves public faith with the creditors. Those who get bank-stock for their present bonds, are likely to be greatly benefited by the exchange, and the remainder are all paid according to the very letter of the original contract; should future wars incur future debts, a recurrence to the same description of Sinking Fund as above specified, presents a certain mode of rapid liquidation.

20. Finally, it has been observed in the Plan (vide notes of 9th paragraph) that the drafts on the Court of Directors in part payment of the Indian debt, have been purposely stated low, to show, or at least to try the extent of capability in our Indian means. Now, to view the Plan in all its bearings and particularly those which may at first be apprehended to press heavily on the Honourable Court in England; let us suppose the drafts, from the favourable rate of exchange, or other circumstances, to be very considerable,—lesser difficulties may be disregarded, when the greatest are capable of easy removal;—let us give this its most formidable aspect, and calculate, for example, that, of the first £.4,000,000 to be paid off, £.2,000,000 at least will be demanded by bills on the Court of Directors, and £.1,000,000 more in each successive year, till the whole be liquidated; it then follows,

First.—That, as no attempt is made to pay off debt until the proposed amount be reserved from the revenues, and in the hands of the Sinking Fund, £.2,000,000 of this sum, or any other portion, may be remitted to England through the medium of investment, or otherwise, to answer the bills so demanded on the Court of Directors.

Secondly.—A cursory view of the figured statement will show, that another annual million, or any other required amount, may be similarly remitted, to answer drafts in each succeeding year; and that the Sinking Fund is still capable of completing its object of final liquidation precisely at the same period: And,

Thirdly.—

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Richards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(A.)

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Richards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(A.)

Thirdly,—There will always be abundant time to provide for the discharge of these drafts, because they are only payable 15 months after date, or 12 months after sight ; or,

Fourthly.—Should the Court of Directors prefer paying these drafts with funds raised in England, and allow the Sinking Fund to accumulate at the same time, by still appropriating to its use the interest of each portion of debt so remitted, the process of final liquidation in India will be most rapidly accelerated, as a short calculation will easily evince.

Lastly.—In proportion to these remittances, there will be so much less coin required to pay off debt in India, and therefore greater latitude for the circulation of bank-notes.

21. Hence it may be confidently added, that in *whatever proportions* the debt be ultimately paid in India, or in England, the resources of our Indian possessions are alone equal to the accomplishment of the object ; and all the advantages of the plan are, in these respects, at least equally realizable.

(Signed)

R. RICKARDS.

(Accompaniment to Letter A.)

STATEMENT, to show how the combined Sinking Fund proposed in the Plan, will extinguish, in 8 years, 14 millions of Debt ; consisting, viz.

Of Bank-stock to be bought up by the gradual accumulation of the Sinking Fund	- - - - -	£. 2,500,000
Of Promissory Notes, D ^o - D ^o	- - - - -	7,500,000
And D ^o - to be paid off in the first instance in coin reserved from the revenues, for which Bank-notes are to be substituted, and by Bills on Court of Directors	- - - - -	4,000,000
Total	- - - - -	14,000,000

1st Year :

Proceeds of £. 4,000,000 of Bank-stock, at 8 per cent. per annum, is	- - - - -	£. 320,000
Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
	- - - - -	1,320,000
	- - - - -	to be deducted - -
		£. 12,680,000

2d Year :

Proceeds of £. 5,320,000 Stock, as above ; viz.		
Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 425,600
Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
	- - - - -	1,425,000
	- - - - -	to be deducted - -
		£. 11,254,400*

3d Year :

Proceeds of £. 6,745,600 Stock and Notes ; viz.		
Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 539,648
Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
	- - - - -	1,539,648
	- - - - -	to be deducted - -
		£. 9,714,752

4th Year :

Proceeds of £. 8,285,248 Stock and Notes ; viz.		
Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 662,819
Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
	- - - - -	1,662,819
	- - - - -	to be deducted - -
		£. 8,051,933

5th Year :

Proceeds of £. 9,948,067 Stock and Notes ; viz.		
Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 795,845
Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
	- - - - -	1,795,845
	- - - - -	to be deducted - -
		£. 6,256,088

Carried forward - - - £. 6,256,088

* It will be observed that the fund, in this year, will have done more than purchase the £. 2,500,000 stock proposed, whence the remainder of the calculation has reference to the promissory notes and bank-notes intended to be extinguished.

Brought forward - - £. 6,256,088

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(A.)

6th Year:

Proceeds of £. 11,743,912 Stock and Notes; viz.

Interest thereon - - - - £. 939,513

Add 1 million - - - - 1,000,000

to be deducted - - 1,939,513

£. 4,316,575*

7th Year:

Proceeds of £. 13,683,425 Stock and Notes; viz.

Interest thereon - - - - £. 1,094,674

Add 1 million - - - - 1,000,000

to be deducted - - 2,094,674

£. 2,221,901

8th Year:

Proceeds of £. 14,000,000 Stock and Notes; viz.

Interest thereon - - - - £. 1,120,000

The full annual million being no longer

required, add only - - - - 601,901

to be deducted - - 1,721,901

And there remains - - - £. 500,000

Which the Plan supposes to have been liquidated by bills on the Court of Directors, or, if no such bills are granted (which however is highly improbable) a very small addition to the Sinking Fund would still liquidate the whole in India in the course of this 8th year.

On this Statement it is further to be remarked, that until the sum of £. 4,000,000 be discharged (which the Plan supposes may be in six months after the establishment of the Bank) the whole debt will be running on at interest, as at present: whence it follows, that all that is contributed in this intervening period, on account of the Company's share of bank-stock, will be an extra charge on the revenues in the first year: this share being 4 million, and the interest thereon £. 320,000 per annum, the said extra charge on the revenues for six months, will bear a due proportion thereto.

Against the additional expense, may be stated the sum minus the annual million in the last or 8th year of the above Statement, or £. 398,099, and indeed all its other advantages, which, for so small an extra sum in the first year, may be said to be cheaply purchased.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

(B.)

STATEMENT, to show how 14 million will be liquidated, on the supposition of four million being paid off in the first instance, in the manner proposed in the 9th, &c. paragraphs, Paper A; but in the proportion of two million in coin, and two million by bills on Court of Directors.

THIS supposes an issue of two million of notes, in lieu of the coin required from the revenues to make the preceding payment, and in this case the annihilation of four millions debt will exactly counterbalance the extra charge of £. 320,000 per annum on the revenues, occasioned by the appropriation of four millions to constitute a Sinking Fund.

That part of the debt which is intended to be reduced, will then consist, as follows,

Of Bank-stock intended to be bought up by the Fund - £. 2,500,000

Of Promissory Notes outstanding - D° - D° - 7,500,000

And - D° - to be paid off in the first instance, as above

specified - - - - 4,000,000

Total - - 14,000,000

1st Year:

Proceeds of £. 4,000,000 of Bank-stock at 8 per

cent. is - - - - £. 320,000

Add 1 million - - - - 1,000,000

to be deducted - - 1,320,000

Carried forward - - £. 12,680,000

* The seven and a half million of promissory notes being nearly bought up by the Fund in this sixth year, the remaining two years are chiefly employed in calling in the bank-notes in circulation: but as these bear no interest, the accumulation in the last of these two years, is calculated only on the stock and promissory notes which do bear interest, and will at this juncture be found in the hands

of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, as follows;

Original four millions of bank-stock - £. 4,000,000

Bank-stock bought up by the Sink-

ing Fund - - - - 2,500,000

Promissory Notes - D° - D° - 7,500,000

Total - £. 14,000,000

No. 5.

Brought forward - - £. 12,680,000

Papers relative to Mr. Rickards's Proposition for establishing a General Bank, &c. (B.)	2d Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 5,320,000 Stock, as above; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 425,600
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 1,425,600
	3d Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 6,745,600 Stock and Notes; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 539,648
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 1,539,648
			£. 9,714,752
	4th Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 8,285,248 Stock and Notes; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 662,819
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 1,662,819
	5th Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 9,948,067 Stock and Notes; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 795,845
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 1,795,845
			£. 6,256,088
	6th Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 11,743,912 Stock and Notes; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 939,513
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 1,939,513
	7th Year:		
	Proceeds of	£. 13,683,425 Stock and Notes; viz.	
	Interest thereon	- - - - -	£. 1,094,674
	Add 1 million	- - - - -	1,000,000
			- - to be deducted - - 2,094,674
			And there remains - - - £. 2,221,901

Of which sum, it will be remembered two millions are proposed, in the preamble to this Statement, to be paid by bills on the Court of Directors; and if the Court are pleased to raise this sum in England, it will only leave, at the end of the 7th year, the mere trifle of £. 221,901 to be finally liquidated.

On this plan, therefore, the whole fourteen million may be positively liquidated in seven years, without any other difficulty than that of the Court of Directors borrowing two million in England, and without subjecting the revenues in this country to extra charge on account of the Sinking Fund.

But in considering the two proposals, which suggest, the one, an issue of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million of notes, and the other, of two million, it is not to be supposed that either proposal infers an absolute necessity for such issue; for an attentive consideration of the Plan, will show that no such necessity exists. The Sinking Fund will notwithstanding perform all its functions with equal efficacy and regularity: but a Sinking Fund, it may be objected, would liquidate the debt of itself, without other aid; then where the use of the Bank? It is true a Sinking Fund would do so, but how establish this Sinking Fund without being an extra charge on the revenues, which the said revenues can ill bear; or without additional taxes, which would most assuredly be oppressive? The union of the Bank and Sinking Fund, obviates this serious and important difficulty.

1st. By the issue of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million of notes, as a substitute for so much specie, intended, with another half million, by draft on the Court of Directors, to pay off four million of debt, a sum of annual interest (£. 320,000) is extinguished, exactly equal to the annual extra sum, or £. 320,000, required to support the Sinking Fund.

2d. By the issue of two million of notes, and the payment of two million more by the Court of Directors, the same effect is produced, and in both cases there is no extra charge on the revenue.

3d. Should the issues of the Bank, in either of these two cases, not reach the precise limit above defined, still every approach to it will be a proportionate diminution of the extra charge on the revenues. The probability indeed is, that it will be no extra charge at all, and therefore certainly require no additional tax; and if this object is capable of accomplishment, as anticipated in the Plan, it affords ample proof of the utility of the proposed co-operative union of the Sinking Fund and the Bank.

4th. Admitting the worst that can occur, viz. that a part of the support of the Sinking Fund do prove a charge on the revenues, still it need only be temporary, for the preceding

Statement shows the Fund to be annually increasing. In the 4th year, for example, it will be upwards of eight millions: at which period even the whole of the original £. 320,000 required for its support, might be surrendered; and it would still proceed in the rapid liquidation of the debt, though not quite so rapid as before.

But all this relates to the advantage derivable by Government, in the establishment of a Sinking Fund free of charge. To estimate the advantages, of which the Plan is supposed capable, to the merchants (independent of those acknowledged general advantages derivable from the institution of an extensive bank) let us, for example,

Suppose 24 lacs issued at Bombay and its subordinates, or any other sum determined on by the Bank Directors, and that a considerable portion passes into the hands of the merchants, and remains floating in circulation, that is employed in payments between individuals, or in circulating commodities locally; and let us suppose, for the sake of the explanation, that ten lacs be employed in revenue payments to Government, *i. e.* to be constantly returning on the Company's treasury.

The first portion is a clear addition to the mercantile capital, as exhibited in note to para. 10. Plan A. to be employed as the said merchants think proper. Even this portion of the issue might be employed in the banking business without loss, probably with some degree of gain.

But of the other portion, which is supposed to be circulating through the different treasuries, does not the union of the Bank and Treasury afford means to the former of employing this amount to their own exclusive advantage? The treasury, for example, lending it, as it were, to the Bank, free of interest. In other words, if notes can be coined and destroyed at pleasure, so as to keep a certain limited amount always floating, may not the Bank employ in its private business, and to its own exclusive advantage, a sum of notes equal to what experience shall ascertain to be the amount always returning on the Company's treasury in revenue payments, where each payment so received, will, for a certain period, lie dead? Would not this be in fact the same thing as allowing the Bank a portion at the first issue on their own account? And would not the numerous points at which notes would be always readily received at par, *viz.* the treasuries, the different agents and merchants, and the Bank itself, tend greatly to facilitate the circulation of that quantity determined to be issued, and lessen, if not obviate, the danger of an inconvenient run on the Bank for specie?

Another View of the same case:

Suppose the circulation to absorb 24 lacs, of which 14 go to the merchants, and 10 return on the Company's treasury. The first 14 is an addition to the merchants capital, to be employed as they think proper.

Suppose the revenue 60 lacs per annum, paid in three instalments of 20 lacs each, *i. e.* once in four months, of which, ten lac in bank-notes; then as ten lac may be supposed withdrawn from the commercial circulation, and to return on the Company's treasuries every four months, could not the Bank employ this 10 lac, or which is the same thing, an equal amount, in the conduct of its private business? In other words, might it not issue *ten additional lacs* into the commercial circulation, destroying a corresponding amount from the payments made daily or regularly into the Bank; still limiting, by such destruction, the amount in circulation to the 24 lacs above specified; and at the same time gain all the advantage of employing the ten lac which it was thus able to send abroad.

By this supposition, the Bank would go on issuing, we'll say, ten lac of notes at its discretion, and according to its own judgment of the probability of their remaining out. The notes cost the Bank nothing, and bear no interest; if therefore we suppose their daily receipts and issues to balance each other, they may surely destroy ten lacs of their receipts, while they have all the advantage of the ten lac at issues, since the notes are of no value, either way, to them, but from the interest they produce.

Let us next suppose this operation to occupy the four months above adverted to, or perhaps six or eight months. By this time, the payers of revenue, who have another instalment to make good, will probably have withdrawn ten lacs more from the commercial circulation. But there is also 10 lacs in the treasury: it is issued to Company's servants, who disburse part, and pay the rest to their agents; and it thus goes to fill up the void in the commercial circulation.

There is now again exactly 24 lac in currency, of which 10 being thus capable of continued employment in the private transactions of the Bank, they of course derive the advantage thereof, and the prescribed 24 lacs is not exceeded.

It would be impossible, on this plan, to define the *precise* amount of notes which the Bank would be enabled to employ; but it is very *certain* that the amount would be *considerable*, as a *large proportion of the notes issued would most unquestionably form a part of all future revenue payments*, and these notes would for a certain time be always lying dead, either in the treasury, or in the hands of the payers of revenue, expecting the day of instalment.

If therefore the advantage here supposed be realizable, it should, including every other profit realizable from the private business of the Bank, be shared by the said Bank, free of all participation on the part of Government; for Government, it must be remembered, have their advantage in the first instance, arising out of the first issue of notes: with this they ought

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Richards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(B.)

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(B.)

ought in justice to be content, and therefore to cede all other profits to the directors and proprietors.

This is supposing always a first issue on account of Government: but as this operation may appear too complicated; and as these two first proposals are intended more as explanatory suggestions than as plans for actual adoption; let us proceed to a third, leaving to future determination, whether either of the submitted Plans, or modifications thereof (of which indeed the principle will be found abundantly capable,) be, or be not ultimately feasible, with the advantages anticipated in favour of Government and the Public.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

PROPOSAL (C.)

In a Letter from the
Government of
Bombay, of 22 Oct.

1. BUT in the preceding Proposals A and B, it may still be objected, that difficulties will occur in keeping a large amount of notes in circulation, or in accumulating sufficient specie in such case, from the revenues, to furnish the Bank and Sinking Fund with, for buying up the outstanding bonds or promissory notes: all of which contain a stipulation to be paid in cash, or by the bills on the Court of Directors; or, finally, that they do not afford a certainty of sufficient profit to the directors and proprietors of stock: To which I answer,

2. That if these difficulties be deemed insurmountable, the Plan may be executed in another mode; viz.

3. Let the Bank, after establishment in the way proposed in the Plan A, proceed with its business of credits, discount, and exchange, issuing notes on these accounts only, proportioned to its actual deposits of cash; and let the Sinking Fund then operate on the whole of the bonds or promissory notes outstanding, which in this case will be equivalent to £.11,500,000 and the bank-stock intended to be bought up to reduce the debt to 6 millions, - 2,500,000

Total - - - £. 14,000,000

The preceding figured Statements show, that the proposed Sinking Fund is still more than equal to the liquidation of this amount in eight years; and this latter mode, if preferred, may therefore be followed.

4. But in this case, it must be remembered that the annual payments out of the revenues, on account of the Bank, will be - - - - - £. 1,000,000
And interest on the above £. 11,500,000 of outstanding bonds at £. 8 per cent - 920,000

Total per annum - - - £. 1,920,000

or, £. 320,000 more than is now paid for interest on the debt, or in other words, an annual extra charge equal to the income derived by the Company from their original share of bank stock, to be appropriated, as above shown, to the use of the Sinking Fund.

5. And it must be further remembered, that in this case the notes in circulation may not differ much, in their aggregate amount, from that of the first or second Plan; for though $3\frac{1}{2}$ million, or otherwise 2 million, is proposed to be issued altogether, yet the Plan expressly limits the amount to what may be always circulated at par, whilst from the immediate return of these notes to the Bank, in the ordinary course of Indian circulation, it merely anticipates the advantage of combining this important aid to Government, with the benefit which its other branches of business are capable of yielding to the directors and proprietors of stock.

6. If, however, this last mode be found to obviate real difficulties in the way of the other, and therefore preferred, there will only remain to provide, from the surplus revenues in India, for this extra charge of £. 320,000 per annum, which, compared to the annual revenue of the country, is but a trifle.

7. In opposition to this extra charge, may be stated the probable gains of the Bank over and above its certain £. 8 per cent. income. They may possibly reimburse the Company in the full amount of the above-mentioned extra charge, or even more, and in this case counterbalance the required extra supply from the surplus revenue, or otherwise, being added to the sinking fund, annually tend to liquidate the whole debt in a proportionately shorter period. At all events, I should anxiously hope that whatever portion of this extra charge may not be counterbalanced by the profits of the Bank, would be met by some practicable reform of present expenditure, rather than by the imposition of an additional tax; which, in the present distressed state of industry in India, particularly agricultural, I should earnestly deprecate.

8. Whichever therefore of the three preceding plans, if indeed either be thought worthy of attention, every objection arising out of deficiency of specie, merits deliberate consideration, for the payment of the bonds or promissory notes in specie, as far as the discharge be required in India, I take to be indispensable to the maintenance of public faith. On the aggregate

gate amount of the coin now circulating in India, we can at best only speculate, or even as to the amount of notes that may be circulated without depreciation, having provided an adequate check against improvident issues, local experience and practical observation must necessarily determine the rest; yet to afford more distinct ideas on this part of the subject, it may be useful to repeat, and even keep constantly in view, that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ million or the two million proposed to be issued in notes, will clearly be an addition to the present circulation, whatever it is; admitting therefore that the circulation may absorb this amount always at par, and that in the manner proposed in the Plan (vide note, para. 10. Plan A. and Plan B.) the other business of the *Bank* may be conducted by means of this issue alone; it still follows that it can only be a substitution in lieu of so much coin, which coin, in as far as it cannot then be employed at home, will necessarily be exported. Let us suppose it all exported; then, deducting the sum which merchants must keep always in hand to answer occasional demands, we may expect the major part of the remainder will be continually returning into the Company's Treasury and the Bank. In proportion therefore to the amount of this first issue of notes, whatsoever it may be, and which ever plan be adopted, we may be assured that *all future revenue payments will be made in paper*; and this is a very material consideration in view to the ultimate success of the plan.

9. It is moreover probable the Bank will soon practically know what portion of the above sum is likely to be absorbed by mercantile capital, and the circulation of the respective Presidencies: there are further considerations required to be duly weighed in the first or gradual issue of notes, for on this must depend the amount to which each provincial bank should then be positively and specifically limited. I have stated this issue altogether at $3\frac{1}{2}$ million, or at two million, in the avowed hopes of the Plan being capable, under prudent management, of circulating notes to this extent; but it remains now to be added, that the issue must be limited to this amount, or to some other prescribed by local experience, until the debt is liquidated, *in view to the annual realization of coin from the revenues required for paying of the creditors, and other indispensable purposes.*

10. The present bonds, or promissory notes, stipulate that the interest, as well as principal, is to be paid in cash, &c. alias specie. It hence follows that Government must continue to pay every particle of interest on their debt in specie; so that the whole annual payments indispensable to be made in specie, after the 4,000,000*l.* shall have been paid off, will stand as follows: The total amount of debt will then be 16,000,000*l.*

The interest of which, at 8 per cent.	£. 1,280,000	These two sums of course include the income settled on the Bank, as per 2d paragraph, Plan (A.)
Government's share of bank-stock interest, or 8 <i>l.</i> per cent. on four millions - - - - -	320,000	
	1,600,000	
The annual million for the use of the Sinking Fund - - - - -	1,000,000	
Total per annum - - -	£. 2,600,000	

11. From this view of the subject, the local authorities may judge of the probability of these sums being realized in specie, in each succeeding year, from the revenues to be paid into the Bank and Sinking Fund; and must necessarily portion the issue of notes accordingly. But *this coin*, it must be remembered, will again return into the currency, and remain there; it cannot quit the country, as the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ million or two million did, because it is not over and above what was in currency before, and therefore not over and above what the circulation of the country requires. There will be here no substitution of notes, as in the other case; for by the supposition almost all the notes in circulation will be continually returning upon the Bank, either in the course of its own business, or on account of payments to Government, and these again will be continually re-issued in the same way; so that after ascertaining what may be absorbed by mercantile capital, and the circulation of the Presidencies respectively, the above annual sum of 2,600,000*l.* as being required in actual coin, will afford a very tolerable criterion by which to regulate the total issue of notes, should the first or second plan be adopted; or should the third mode be preferred, the annual sum in coin of 2,920,000*l.** will be requisite, and therefore form the criterion; for if due provision be made for securing either of these sums annually in coin, according as either plan may be adopted, it seems to me unobjectionable to supply any portion of the remaining currency in paper, as long as that paper is of sufficient credit, and conducted with sufficient prudence to circulate invariably and certainly at par.

* It will not, I trust, be conceived here that either this sum or the preceding one of £. 2,600,000, infer an additional burthen or charge on the revenues to this amount, over and above present expenses. An attentive perusal of these sheets will show that they both

include the interest on the present debt and the annual million to the Sinking Fund, which, from the papers laid before Parliament, I suppose to be easily contributable in time of peace.

The latter sum implies, it is true, an extra charge of £. 320,000, as specified in the 4th paragraph of this Statement, but this (vide 7th paragraph) is again expected to be fully counterbalanced by the gains arising in this case out of the private business of the Bank.

12. In this consideration of the aggregate amount of Indian revenue, it will now be seen that no conclusions are thence intended to be drawn as to the actual amount of current coin; it does not indeed afford grounds for any such calculations; but perhaps it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in a country of depressed industry and languid circulation, a

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

greater proportion of the actual currency must be employed in the annual payments to Government than in those industrious states where a small actual sum, by rapid change of hands, may serve to discharge a large annual amount. This supposition has, I confess, influenced some of the preceding suggestions; but the whole are, with deference, submitted to better judgments.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

(D.)

ALL the preceding Proposals are founded on the supposition of being able to establish a Sinking Fund equal to four million, in the first instance, free of all, or at most but little extra charge on the revenues. But the plan, on the principle proposed, is evidently capable of modification, so as that the amount of the Sinking Fund, in the first instance, be exactly regulated by the advantage or profits which Government may be enabled to realize from the institution of the Bank.

First. Suppose, then, according to Plan (A.) and (B.), that only one million of notes be issued, in the first instance, on account of Government, and one million paid by draft on the Court of Directors, so as to admit of the establishment of a Sinking Fund, free of extra charge on the revenues, to the amount of two million at the first outset: or,

Second, Suppose, according to Proposal C. that in order to establish the said fund, free of charge as above mentioned, the Government in India be allowed to draw on the Court of Directors for two million, with which to purchase bank-stock in India: or, which comes to the same thing, to purchase some promissory notes to be converted into bank-stock; a sinking fund is then established free of all charge on the Indian revenues. The two million will cost the Court of Directors in England 5 per cent. diminished, however, if not wholly counterbalanced, or perhaps more than counterbalanced, by the profits arising in this country from the Government share in the Bank, and which may therefore be annually remitted to meet the said charge in England.

In either of these cases, a Sinking Fund of two million is established, which will have to operate on the following portions of debt; viz.

Bank-stock to be bought by the fund, so as to reduce the said

Stock to six million	-	-	-	-	-	-	£.4,500,000
And Promissory Notes outstanding	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,500,000
							<u>14,000,000</u>

1st Year:

Proceeds of two million of Stock, at 8 per cent. per annum	-	-	-	-	-	£.160,000
Add 1 million	-	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
						<u>1,160,000</u>
						- - to be deducted - -

£.12,840,000

2d Year:

Proceeds of £.3,160,000 Stock, D ^o - D ^o	£. 252,800
Add 1 million	- - - - - 1,000,000
	<u>1,252,800</u>
	- - to be deducted - -

£.11,587,200

3d Year:

Proceeds of £.4,412,800 Stock, as above,	£. 353,024
Add 1 million	- - - - - 1,000,000
	<u>1,353,024</u>
	- - to be deducted - -

£.10,234,176

4th Year:

Proceeds of £.5,765,824 Stock, as above,	£. 461,266
Add 1 million	- - - - - 1,000,000
	<u>1,461,266</u>
	- - to be deducted - -

£.8,772,910

5th Year:

Proceeds of £.7,227,090 Stock and Notes, as above	£. 578,167
Add 1 million	- - - - - 1,000,000
	<u>1,578,167</u>
	- - to be deducted - -

Carried forward - - £.7,194,743

6th Year:	Brought forward - -	£. 7,194,743
Proceeds of £. 8,805,257 Stock and Notes, as		
above - - - - -	£. 704,420	
Add 1 million - - - - -	1,000,000	
	- - to be deducted - -	1,704,420
		£. 5,490,323

No. 5.
Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(D)

7th Year:		
Proceeds of £. 10,509,677 Stock and Notes, as		
above - - - - -	£. 840,774	
Add 1 million - - - - -	1,000,000	
	- - to be deducted - -	1,840,774
		£. 3,649,549

8th Year:		
Proceeds of £. 12,350,451 Stock and Notes, as		
above - - - - -	£. 988,036	
Add 1 million - - - - -	1,000,000	
	- - to be deducted - -	1,988,036
		1,661,513

9th Year:		
Proceeds of £. 14,338,487 Stock and Notes, as above	- - - -	1,147,079
And there remains - - - -		£. 414,434

which is all that will be required of the annual million in this year, to effect a complete liquidation of the *proposed fourteen million of debt*.

This Statement, it will be observed, is calculated on the supposition that the principle of the last Plan C. be adopted, viz. to issue *no* notes in the first instance on account of Government; but if that of either of the other proposals, which infer a first issue on account of Government, be preferred, the process of final liquidation will be exactly the same; for in this case the Sinking Fund in the last year will have to operate on bank-notes, instead of promissory notes, which will cause no difference as to final results.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

(E.)

EXPLANATORY REMARKS on the preceding Plan.

1. SOME material parts of the Plan contained in the preceding sheets, seeming still to require elucidation, a few additional Remarks may be useful.

2. It is already, I apprehend, sufficiently shown how the Bank, in all its operations and decisions, will be independent of Government, whilst still deriving every proper aid from an union with the public treasuries, both at the presidencies and subordinates. The Bank Directors are all independent men, with the exception of *one Government Director*, the others may be at each presidency a member from each commercial house, with a certain number of natives; and as all measures are to pass by majority of votes, it precludes the possibility of undue influence on the part of Government, without an arbitrary and violent breach of the original compact. The advantage and utility of this independence are adverted to in the Plan itself, and are too obvious and well known to require further explanation. The advantage and utility of a certain degree of check on the other Bank Directors, is also adverted to, and will be further manifest in these remarks.

3. Both these are points of importance to require serious and very particular attention in the final arrangement of the Bank, should the Plan be ever carried into effect.

4. The operation of the subordinate banks proposed in the Plan, may be compared in some respects to that of the country banks in England, relatively to that great centre of circulation, the Bank of England.

5. Under the controul of the Bank of England, the country banks are of the greatest use to country traders, who now transact their business with the metropolis through the banker in their own neighbourhood, with greater facility and expedition, at less risk, and a lower rate of commission than when the said traders were obliged to employ their separate correspondents.

6. The advantages thus experienced in the commercial and pecuniary intercourse between town and country, have been compared to those of the economized abridgment of labour which generally mark the growing prosperity of mechanical employments in a flourishing

In a Letter from
the Government of
Bombay.
of 22 Oct. 1807.

No. 5

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(E.)

flourishing country. The labour of keeping accounts, writing letters, receiving and paying bills, is transferred to one house, which had before been divided among many; and a "new" security afforded to the transactions between the metropolis and the country, by the "interposed credit of wealthy and respectable country banks."

7. By the simplification, in short, of pecuniary transactions, they are conducted at less risk, as well as at less expense to individuals.

8. The subordinate banks proposed in the Plan, are evidently capable of all the advantages enumerated or adverted to in the preceding paragraphs; the facility and security which they will afford to all commercial and pecuniary intercourse between the respective presidencies and the subordinates, and between one part of the Company's territories and another, cannot fail to be beneficially felt in the internal trade of the country, and to smooth many difficulties and obviate many hazards now unavoidably experienced.

9. But the subordinate banks will do more. By union and connection with the public treasuries in each district, they are capable of still greater benefit to the commercial community, by simplifying and regulating the business of exchange. At present the exchange all over India is liable to sudden and violent fluctuations, which are inexplicable on any other grounds than the manœuvres and secret dealings of shroffs: these fluctuations are often not to be accounted for by the actual state of the currency, or existing balances of trade; indeed their suddenness, violence and variableness, preclude their being attributed to causes which would naturally produce steadier effects; and no man, I believe, entertains a doubt of the secret mal-practices and artifices of shroffs being the actual cause. The admitted fact is therefore a proof of the undue and pernicious influence of these shroffs over the course of trade, from which the fair and honourable dealer has long sighed to be effectually liberated.

10. It is therefore a principal object of the Plan to effect this liberation, and to free entirely the trade of the Company's territories from this source of difficulty and impediment. The subordinate banks, from their union with the public treasuries, and dependence on the great presidency banks, are the means of accomplishing it. Bills of exchange may be freely given on any part of the Company's territories at a reasonable rate of exchange, at even a lower rate than it is possible for private money-dealers to grant the same accommodation, and without the possibility, as far as I can see, of obstruction from the shroffs within the limits of the Company's territories. That this accommodation may be more cheaply granted by the banks than by individuals, is evident, because the banks having no occasion to transport bullion or specie, or to use the bullion or specie of a correspondent,

N. B.—It may be one of the articles of agreement between Government and the Bank, that in the few cases where specie or bullion requires to be transported, it shall be done free of expense to the Bank. This alone will give the Bank a decided advantage over the shroffs, who never can transport specie without considerable risk and expense.

For this and any other aid it may be in the power of Government to grant, they may consider themselves amply recompensed in the speedy reduction of their debt and the general advancement of commerce. Both parties have a reciprocal interest in the success of the entire plan.

11. In short, the diminished labour and risk, and consequently the diminished charges with which these banks are capable of carrying on this business of exchange and remittance, must necessarily exclude all competition on the part of the shroff, or individual money dealers.

12. When the shroffs are thus driven out of this part at least of the money market, they may not improbably seek, in the gradual course of time, a connection with the banks; it will be their interest to do so; it is the only apparent method by which this connexion can be brought about, and it is highly desirable, from the means which these shroffs, through their money connexions, possess of facilitating and extending the operations of the said banks. In the outset of this institution, actuated by self-interest also, their first attempts will be to obstruct the banks; but these, I apprehend, must be vain, and wholly ineffectual: foiled in these attempts, the next incitement of self-interest may be to co-operate; and if the great Indian shroffs are thus in time either impelled or persuaded to connect themselves with the institution, the same benefits as above described, will be no longer confined to our own territories, but follow the commerce of our merchants over the whole extent of India.

13. Whether this object be accomplished in the whole, or in part, the business of exchange and remittance may at all events, to the extent of its accomplishment, be reduced to clear and definite rules; the rates of exchange may be always fixed and known, and the expense of distant speculations calculated without a possible risk, from this source of disappointment.

14. The first rule to be considered is, the state of the currency in different districts:—A given weight of fine bullion, in the respective coins of any two districts, constitutes the real par of exchange; and this given weight, not the nominal value of current coins in the respective districts, affords the only equitable grounds of fixing the rate of exchange, as far as it is likely to be effected by this cause; even the shroffs themselves must, I apprehend, be guided by the same principle. For let us suppose, merely for the sake of the argument

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(E.)

argument, that a Bombay rupee and a Surat rupee were both ordered to pass at the same nominal value, the Bombay having 15, and the Surat 10 grains of more silver; the Surat rupee is at this rate a depreciated currency, and every species of depreciated currency has the certain effect of raising the prices of commodities. It is evident that a bag of rice would be worth more Surat rupees than Bombay rupees, and no Surat shroff would give a bill at par on Bombay, knowing he received for his bill a coin worth less, by upwards of 30 per cent. than the coin in which it was to be discharged. He would lose all this difference in real value by the transaction.

15. There appears to me therefore no fear of counteraction from the shroffs, in the adoption of this equitable rule, because they could not counteract it without loss to themselves; and a trade that is carried on at a loss cannot be long supportable.

16. The next rule to be considered is, the balance of trade between different countries, or, in other words, the difference between their respective exports and imports. Where the exports and imports are equal, there will be a reciprocal equality of debts and credits; but where the imports exceed the exports of a country, there is a balance against that country; and the excess of imports *must* be paid for in bullion or specie: goods cannot be sent to pay it, because no more are required. The immediate purchasers of the excess of imports may pay their debt by a bill of exchange, but then they must advance to the shroff who grants it, all the expense, added to his own profit of sending bullion to the spot, to answer the draft in question.

17. It is therefore clear, that, all other things being equal, bills of exchange required to discharge an unfavourable balance, ought never to cost more than the expense of transporting bullion to the spot where the debt requires to be discharged, for if they did, bullion would of course be remitted in their stead.

18. But according to the Plan, the subordinate banks, from their connection with the public treasuries, will in most cases relieve the Presidency Banks, and also each other, from the necessity of remittances on this account; and as the cases must be few in which such remittances will be necessary, it follows, in further proof of a preceding assertion, that this branch of business may be conducted at a much cheaper rate by the banks, than is possible for individuals.

19. Indeed, with due attention to these two rules, I do not see why bills of exchange may not pass between all the banks at a very near approximation of the real par of exchange. The difference can only be what is necessary to reimburse expenses, with a moderate profit to the Bank, and possibly this may in no case exceed one or two per cent.

20. Surely then it is not too much to say, a grand and decided permanent advantage is here established in favour of our own commerce, facilitating its operations, and tending to the stability of its profits, without the possibility of successful opposition from the shroffs, at least as far as regards the immediate pecuniary intercourse of our own districts.

21. The generality of the system will prevent any hurtful effect on the aggregate amount of local currencies, as few or no remittances will be required to be made from one part to another to answer drafts; there will be no violent interference in the natural course of the money circulation, though a treasury may be occasionally exhausted by the discharge of drafts; the money remaining in the same district, will again return to it in revenue payments; due credit will of course be given for all advances on account of the Bank, and in the event of local distress any where, a neighbouring district, or the Presidency, will always be at hand to relieve it.

22. Another object in the contemplation of the Plan, is to furnish as many checks as possible against an excessive issue of paper, as prejudicial always in its effects to the public as to the Bank itself. To prevent over-traders (of whom many are found among the secondary class of merchants in all countries) from taking improper advantage of the Bank, it is authorized and even particularly required to use its own discretion and judgment in granting credits or cash accounts; for men of the description above mentioned, on producing undeniable security, might raise funds with a Bank to promote imprudent speculations, and thereby throw an excess of paper into currency; for the inconveniences of which to the public, even the ruin of the speculator, would be no recompense, and the security of the Bank no remedy. This means of excessive issue may therefore, it is hoped, be effectually checked in India, from the accurate knowledge in so limited a community, which Bank Directors may attain of the nature of their neighbours mercantile speculations; whilst it appears advisable to extend this power to the Bank, lest it might otherwise be exercised by the shroffs to the prejudice of this institution.

23. In the business of discount, it is true, a bank is liable to be imposed on by speculators through the medium of bills of accommodation; fictitious drafts may be presented for discount, and a capital or sum of money may thus be obtained from a bank under fraudulent pretences; but in this country, again, as above intimated, where the commercial community is so limited, and its members, generally speaking, so well known, frauds of this description can hardly be practised to any great extent. It would seem to be within the power of vigilance on the part of the Bank, to restrain the evil so as never to produce permanent mischief; for the Bank may narrow its discounts, or in this country raise its rate of interest at pleasure; and it is not a casual and temporary excess of paper that is so injurious to the

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(E)

Public, as that permanence of superabundant currency, which necessarily affects the nominal prices of all commodities.

24. Yet notwithstanding these checks on the speculations of others, experience teaches us that there is a manifest tendency in directors themselves and proprietors of bank-stock, to increase their issues of paper to an extent hurtful to the public, for the promotion of their own private gains. The greatest banks in the world have been guilty of this error, and the Bank of Ireland, and even the Bank of England, are at this day existing proofs of the fact.

25. After the restriction of payments in specie in 1797, the former had, in six years, increased its paper issues from about £.600,000, to upwards of 2½ million; and the latter, from about 10½ million, to upwards of 16 million; and the bad effect is universally felt.

26. It is here, then, that the Government Director may be found chiefly useful, with no other interest in the Bank but what may arise out of an esprit de corps: his chief views will be directed to the successful operations of the Sinking Fund, and to the public advantages derivable from the whole institution; he may therefore successfully interfere, and even exercise a salutary influence in checking speculations tending to promote private advantage at the expense of the public good. It is in this view of salutary check, without the power of undue influence, that utility is anticipated from the services of a Government Director; and in this view, his mind should be familiar with principles enabling him to discriminate between the advantages of the banking system and its abuse; and to prescribe a limit to speculations beyond which Directors should never pass. In this duty, however, he will only point out the rule which is still left to the good sense and public spirit of the conjoined Directors to adopt or reject.

27. It has been observed, that the most perfect and most commodious currency of any great commercial country, consists in a due union of paper with the precious metals, and

N. B.—It is said by one of the ablest writers on this subject, that, when in England, payments under five pounds were made in cash, and larger payments in paper, convertible immediately into specie, the system appeared to unite the conveniences, and exclude the disadvantages of a paper currency in the greatest possible degree. If a similar principle be adopted in India, it is hoped it may never be slightly relinquished in the practice of banks. Experience has proved the evil of deviation from salutary rules.

some of the reasons above given are a proof of its convenience to commerce: the value however of every currency is measured by its utility, and the consequent confidence placed in it, by the concurrent opinion of the world, as a medium of exchange. Divest the precious metal of its worth as a commodity, and it is the general confidence of the world in its immediate convertibility into articles of use and consumption, that gives it value as a money currency: for the same reason, paper must owe its *entire* value (since it possesses none within itself) to confidence: this confidence is complete while it continues a real and useful representative of the precious metals which enjoy the general confidence of the world: but the precious metals themselves have their utility proportioned to the demand for them in any country, as a medium of exchange; their use diminishes with superabundance; in other words, their value lowers, and the currency is then said to be depreciated: if this happens to the metals themselves, how much more

evidently must it be the case with paper? A superabundant currency, therefore, whatever it consist of, is a depreciated one; and in proportion as its own value is lowered, that of every other commodity is raised: a more striking example cannot be produced than the effect of the discovery of the American mines; it threw an abundance of metal into the great money market of Europe, which proportionably raised the money prices of all commodities for which it was exchanged: commodities are now estimated at 15 times the price they stood at the conquest; other causes have contributed to this increase of price; but the abundance of money lowering its own value, is a chief one.

28. It is therefore evident that every currency should be proportioned to the exact demand there may be for its use, as a representative of value, or medium of exchange: gold and silver, if left to the natural course of things, would find their own proper limit; but a paper currency, capable of arbitrary increase, requires to be regulated: it should never exceed in amount the quantity of precious metal a society would otherwise demand, and of which it is only intended to be an useful and cheap representative: its *constant* and immediate convertibility into *specie*, is a satisfactory indication of its being always confined within this, its proper boundary; without this convertibility indeed, it at once loses a portion of that confidence which is its only value: with it, confidence is firmly established; and though at first it may be rather slow of growth, where the institution is quite novel, yet a confirmed experience in this immediate convertibility into cash, must necessarily give at length its just value to paper, in every commercial country in the world.

N. B.—When paper is issued into currency, it will, in its first effect, supersede the use of so much coin. The coin not being required in home circulation, will of course lose a portion of its value in that particular channel; it naturally seeks employment in others; more may be now employed by jewellers and manufacturers in precious metals. Merchants finding the paper answer for the transaction of home concerns, will employ coins in their commercial intercourse with foreigners, or in purchases or payments where

29. It must not however be supposed that discount is the only proof of excess in paper currency: bank paper may be excessive to a considerable degree before it attains this point of depreciation; the first effect of a superabundant currency is, as in the case of the precious metal itself, to raise the price of commodities by being lowered in its own value: this effect not being so plainly perceptible as a positive discount, is the more dangerous from its secret operation, and therefore the more necessary to be guarded against. Every species of depreciated currency produces this effect; and when a known large quantity of paper exists in circulation, it may, with great probability, be assigned to this cause. Bullion being a commodity like others in the market, and, generally speaking, more steady than any other in its price and value, is commonly looked to as one test of this excess; and where its market price for a constancy exceeds the mint price, without being

being explicable by an unfavourable balance of trade, it is generally esteemed a criterion of debased currency. The course of exchange with different foreign countries, is another common test, because the goods purchased by nations from each other, will be ultimately estimated by their bullion, not currency value, and all other things being equal, the exchange will necessarily be, or appear to be, against that country whose currency is depreciated. This test is a good one in countries where the exchange is not under the influence and direction of money-dealing monopolists; but in this country, where shroffs almost exclusively regulate the course of exchange, as their own views or interests dictate, the test may not be so applicable as that of the steady market price of bullion.

no paper issued. This effect is first felt in a rise of prices, because the currency is depreciated by superabundance; but it does not follow that the paper will be at a discount, because gold and silver, possessing intrinsic value, will still find employment at home; the greater loss and charges of exporting it, may prove a certain portion to continue in the home circulation along with the paper currency, and they must necessarily pass (while the public confidence is not impaired) at the same rates in respect to each other; but if the excess of paper continues to increase till the depreciation at home is so great as to render it actually profitable, after defraying all charges of freight, insurance, &c. to export the coin, then it will be forced abroad as it were for exportation sake; it may be said, to shun all further intercourse with the depreciated paper currency; and the latter will naturally bear a positive discount, because it must then pay a premium for retaining gold, &c. at home, which otherwise it would be more profitable to export. In the intermediate gradations of debasement, however, it would seem that paper may continue to circulate in excessive quantity, without this more observable and striking mark of degradation.

30. The state of home currency is, however, a matter of the highest importance in the administration of an extensive or National Bank; for it must be remembered, that every depreciation of that currency is not only a public inconvenience, but equally public injustice.

Whatever lowers the intrinsic value of a currency, is a positive violation of every existing contract in the country. Every creditor finds the amount of the just debt due to him diminished; every income is lessened in value, from inability to procure for its possessor an equal amount of the necessaries and comforts of life. Every description of wages is necessarily raised with the rise in the price of commodities. Every consumer feels it, though he may not be aware of the real cause; and even Government, the greatest consumer of all, have all their expenses increased in the same proportion, and must accordingly have ultimate recourse for relief to increased taxes.

to very heavy distress.—Hence it occurs, that the constant and immediate convertibility of bank paper into specie, is, as a general rule, perhaps the best security that can be adopted against excessive issue, for in the event of excess, the paper will naturally return on the Bank to be exchanged.

N. B.—An excessive issue of paper is not only an inconvenience to the public in the rise of prices, but will be felt by the Bank itself, which is required to discharge its notes in specie on demand. For in the case of the market price of bullion exceeding the mint price, there will naturally be a run on the Bank for specie to convert into bullion, a run which might subject the richest Bank and immediate convertibility of bank

31. An excessive issue of paper, therefore, though not subject to an actual discount, must have precisely the same effect on the community at large, as a proportionate depreciation in the gold or silver currency. It is the same, in effect, as those detestable expedients of the governments of old, in diminishing the intrinsic value, or raising the denomination of their coins for the sake of temporary gain; and which have been the execration of all subsequent writers. It is, in short, a power too extensive, and too important in its consequences, to be solely intrusted in the hands of men who have a manifest interest in abusing it; and it is in this respect, therefore, in particular, that I think a salutary check over the operations of the Bank, should be exercised by the Government itself.

It is this due limitation of paper currency, also, which gives it a stable and permanent value, and stability is a point of the utmost importance in every medium of exchange; an unstable currency must be one of impaired utility, considered as a measure of value; and what stability can attach to paper that fluctuates beyond the limit of that intrinsic value which it is merely intended to represent?

Constant and immediate convertibility into specie is therefore a rule which cannot be too much insisted on.

32. In other respects, and in all useful respects, the Bank will enjoy entire freedom. They will have every aid which Government is capable of affording; and that aid will, as it ought to be, liberally granted. The chief object of Government being the speedy reduction of the public debt, that object attained, its views of collateral advantages, from the establishment of the Bank, will, as they ought to be, proportionably limited.

(Signed)

R. Rickards.

Ordered, That the following Letter be written to the Honourable the Governor in Council of Bombay:

To the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, Esq. Governor in Council of Bombay.

Honourable Sir,

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter under date the 22d of October last, transmitting copy of a Letter addressed to you by Mr. Rickards, with the several Documents mentioned to accompany it, on the subject of paying off the Indian Debt by the institution of a General Bank.

2.The

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

(E.)

2. The Honourable the Court of Directors having in a late dispatch expressed their decided opinion against the establishment of a public Bank, in which it is proposed that their Government should have an interest, without their previous sanction; we do not consider it to be necessary to take the subject into our consideration, but recommend it to Mr. Rickards to submit the Plan in question to the consideration of the honourable Court.

Fort William,
the 6th May 1808.

We have, &c.
(Signed) MINTO,
G. HEWETT,
J. LUMSDEN,
H. J. COLEBROOKE.

EXTRACT BENGAL PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS, the 29th July 1808.

Government of Bombay.

To the Right Honourable GILBERT LORD MINTO, Governor General
in Council, Fort William.

My Lord,

AS connected with the subject of our Letter, dated the 22d of this month, we have the honour to forward a copy of a Minute delivered in by our colleague, Robert Rickards, Esquire, on the subject of your Lordship's dispatch, under date the 23d of last month.

2. Being specially restricted, by the repeated orders of the Supreme Government, from adopting any measure of finance connected with the annual supplies, otherwise than as your Lordship in Council may be pleased to sanction; and your late orders of the 23d of May, authorizing a recurrence to bills of exchange, on the condition only of the loan now open at this Presidency, continuing to prove as unproductive as at the period of your late Instructions, all that we can, under such circumstances undertake, is to transmit a copy of Mr. Rickards's Minute for your Lordship's determination.

Bombay Castle,
24th June 1808.

We have the honour, &c.
(Signed)

Jonⁿ Duncan,
Tho^s Lechmere,
R. Rickards.

MINUTE.

THE Letter of the 23d ultimo from the Supreme Government, having directed our recurring to the system of drafts or bills to furnish the pecuniary exigencies of this Presidency, I would beg leave to submit whether our immediate adoption thereof to the fullest extent that may be authorized, may not be preferable to the mode of raising our supplies by loan.

Notwithstanding the supposed advantages of the present open loan, notwithstanding all that has been said or written in favour of Government loans, and that the payment of interest is no loss to the nation, since it is only a transfer of revenue from one part of the society to another, &c. &c. I apprehend it may still be found liable to solid and fundamental objections. It is not my intention to enter into a detailed discussion of the subject, which would lead to tedious length, and at present unnecessary, but merely to state a few plain reasons in support of the objections I conceive to exist against this mode, whenever avoidable, of fiscal supply.

To appreciate these, it will be necessary to go beyond the mere superficies of the subject, which is but too apt at all times to mislead with false or imperfect views of immediate benefit, and to leave the mind unconscious of ultimate and permanent consequences; and as the evil of misapprehension, in respect to the financial arrangements of a nation, is proportioned to the importance, magnitude and extent of their influence, it would seem to be the more advisable, as it is always practicable, to recur to first principles, and to keep in mind the effect of natural operations, which cannot be obviated, nor even attempted to be opposed, without prejudice to the society at large.

It will probably be admitted to have been clearly demonstrated by Doctor Smith, that the prices of all commodities are resolvable into three parts; viz. the rent of land, profits of stocks, and wages of labour; that is, into some one or two of these three parts, or, as most commonly happens, into all three. The profits of stock or profit, as it is commonly termed, is, for example, an evident component part of the price of every vendible commodity. The wholesale merchant, who deals out these commodities to inferior traders, and to retail dealers, not only trades upon his own capital stock, but in

in what he may be able or disposed to borrow at the time in the society at the interest authorized as established by law: the inferior traders and dealers do the same. The profits of their mercantile dealings, must therefore, among others, enable them to pay this interest. The interest being thus a part of their profit, is consequently a component part of the price of every commodity they sell. It therefore raises the price of every commodity beyond what would be its natural standard, if no interest were to be paid to the lenders of money by the different descriptions of commercial dealers; money however cannot be borrowed without interest; but it is manifestly for the good of the whole society that it should be as low as possible, for it is a commercial charge on the price of the commodity; all commercial charges are a burthen, however necessary, and the lower they can be reduced, in all cases, the better. In India the interest of money is universally high, and competition can hardly expect to lower it, while the Company's Treasury continues open at the present rate.

Interest, moreover, is a child of commerce; and inasmuch as its influence is limited to raise the price of manufactured commodities, it necessarily lowers the value of rude produce for which the manufactured is exchanged, and thereby operates to the serious detriment of the most important, the most valuable, and the most productive branch of human industry.

The interest required for the payment of public debts, has a still further operation; the interest is the price which Governments are obliged to pay for the money they borrow, and in India is chiefly resolvable into the rent of land; Government absorbing, in some countries, all, and in others, by far the greater part of that rent in the public revenue; the pernicious effects of which, I have endeavoured to explain in other papers. Inasmuch as this interest is raised from tolls, from farms, and other direct duties on consumable commodities, it is another direct enhancement of the price of such commodities; and through the influence of these prices on the wages of labour, an indirect enhancement of their recompense alone.

Taxes levied for the payment of this interest, diminished too in proportion the general wealth of the society, for the expenditure of this sum by Government, or even by idle annuitants, is not so profitable an employment as it would find, if left in the hands of individuals, by adding to the amount of productive capitals. The sum of annual reproduction is therefore diminished, or is not so large as it would be, had not the wealth absorbed in the afore-mentioned taxes been withdrawn. Inasmuch therefore as there is a diminution in the quantity of annual reproductions, proportioned to the effectual demand, it will operate as a further enhancement of the price of commodities, from all which sources of enhancement, every consumer in the society, however ignorant of the cause, materially suffers, and Government more especially, the greatest consumer of all.

These effects are not the less severely felt, because not always perceptible within the limit of common observation, because the price of grain, for example, does not sensibly rise from 16 rupees per candy in one day, to 17 the next, 18 the next, and so on, or because the wages of labour do not visibly increase from 10 rupees in one month to 15 in another, &c.; but let the price of commodities be compared, at given distant periods in any country, where more and more money is annually borrowed at fixed interest, and particularly a high one; let the Government of such countries similarly compare the amount of their own annual expenditure; let them compare the charges of military equipments, and the expenses of campaigning armies; let them consider even the wants of their own domestic servants; and that allowances, formerly thought handsome, are now but a bare maintenance, and the effects above intimated will probably be thought more apparent.

It is not intended to say that interest is the sole cause of the augmentation of prices in commercial commodities, neither are the preceding the only ways in which it is supposed to effect prices; but these are perhaps sufficient to show that it is one evidently operative cause of increase, and that the injurious effects are equally felt by the society at large and by Government. I should therefore always be disposed to prefer the raising of our supplies by bills on Bengal, as now directed by the Government General, and to the full extent to which they may be enabled to authorize our drafts, rather than recur to the alternative of a public loan, which, if the reasons above given be true, ought to be deprecated, except under circumstances of absolute necessity.

The sum, in short, of the preceding reasoning, is, that in proportion as interest tends to augment prices, the value of every income in the society is diminished; the income of Government being the largest of all, they are of course individually considered the greatest sufferers; and a short calculation on these principles, might show that the premium, for example, now paid in subscriptions to the loan, was but a deceitful gain, contrasted with the lowered value of the public revenue; the gain being limited, perhaps only nominal, the loss real and perpetual, and fell in the amount of every future outlay, as long as the debt and its interests may continue to exist.

At all events, the reasoning here submitted, may afford hints for a more minute view of the subject, although the Board may deem it unworthy of adoption.

Bombay,
 June 23, 1808.

(Signed) *R. Rickards.*

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

P. S. Finding in a late publication of some celebrity (which I cannot help thinking, however, it owes more to the peculiar circumstances of the times, than to its own intrinsic merits) that the argument, of interest on national debt being no public injury, because it is only a transfer of revenue from one to another, is again brought forward with apparent plausibility: a few remarks thereon, may tend to elucidate more fully the subject of the preceding Minute. The author observes,—“Those who contend that the deprivation to which the payers of the interest of the national debt, are obliged to submit to, must necessarily diminish the demand for the industry of the country, forget that although the sums they pay, are not by themselves expended in consumable commodities, yet they are so expended by the receivers of the interest of the national debt, though the land proprietor, the farmer, the manufacturer, now consume less luxuries than if they had not to pay one half their income (which they really do pay in taxes); yet the stock-holder takes their places, he expends the sums which they save, and thus *the effect is just the same* on the prosperity of the nation.”

To estimate aright the force or fallacy of these arguments, let us suppose that A, previous to the existence of the debt, had an income of £.2,000 per annum, and according to the premises of the same author, that it be reduced one half to A, by the payment of taxes; which half is transferred to a stock-holder; A, then, it is admitted, has his power of consuming diminished by £.1,000 per annum, which is transferred to B; but the taxes which thus diminished the former's income, are raised on consumable articles, and are therefore an addition to the price of such articles, which is now, on the preceding date, doubled.

The powers of B to consume, is therefore proportionately diminished also; this £.1,000 per annum will only purchase as many enjoyments as £.500 would formerly; whence the specific original income of £.2,000 has its power over the industry of the country reduced by one fourth; although the full half lost to the original proprietor, should be in toto transferred to the stock-holder, the sum total of annual expenditure, which is admitted by the same author *to be the very essence of our system*, is therefore evidently diminished equal at least to *one fourth* of the revenue of the nation thus affected.

This too, it must be admitted, is a more favourable division of the original income than ought properly to be conceded in a correct view of this argument, for all the taxes paid by possessors of income in a nation are not transferred to resident stock-holders, but are still more wasted in their expenditure; and if we consider the numerous other incomes which the free expenditure of this £.2,000 per annum by its original proprietor, would constitute or contribute to, in the great variety of hands it would pass through, in a nation of few or no taxes and brisk circulation, it is not impossible that its power over the industry of the country might be ten or twenty fold greater than in states where, from multiplication of taxes, this power is impaired one half in every income into which, through circulation, it could be made to enter.

Supposing, however, according to the other view of the subject, that the portion of revenue of any society so affected, were equal to 60 million sterling, and that taxes were to be levied to pay the interest of the national debt, which should have the effect of doubling prices, it would seem that expenditure, the very essence of our system, that “the demand in fact for the industry of the country,” would be diminished 15 million per annum; that is, that consumable commodities to this amount could not be brought into being, from want of purchasers, which there could be were there no interest, and consequently no stock-holders to participate. The effect therefore on the general prosperity of the nation, would certainly *not be the same*,—it would be highly injurious; whilst the revenue of Government, like that of the original proprietor of £.2,000 per annum, would be diminished in value one half; *i. e.* the same expenses and establishments which formerly cost them ten million, would now cost them 20 million, and go on from year to year to cost them more and more as their debt or taxes were required to be increased.

Bombay, Council Chamber,
24th June 1808.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

(A true Copy)

(Signed)

F. Warden,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Ordered, That the following Letter be written to the Governor in Council of Bombay, in reply to the foregoing.

To the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, Esquire, Governor in Council of Bombay.

Honourable Sir,

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter under date the 24th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a Minute recorded by Mr. Rickards, a member of your Board, respecting the mode of providing the supplies required for the service of the Presidency of Bombay.

2. It

2. It is evident, that while the Admiral charges, and the amount required for the provision of investment at the several Presidencies, shall exceed the annual receipts, the deficiency of supplies which shall be required for the public service, must be raised by means of loans, and we do not perceive the advantage which can arise to the public interest, by discontinuing that mode of raising the supplies required at Bombay, and opening your treasury for bills on Bengal, while we must have recourse to the very same measure here, viz. that of raising by loan the amount which may be required to enable us to answer those bills.

3. We are of opinion that it is advisable to raise as large a proportion of the annual supplies at Bombay by loan as may be practicable, and that you should draw bills on this Government only in the event of that mode of raising money being inadequate to provide the deficiency of your own Presidency.

4. It was conformably to these sentiments, therefore, that in our letter dated the 23d of May last, we had the honour to recommend your opening your treasury for bills on Bengal to such an extent as may be required for the supply of your wants, in the event of your subscriptions to the loan now open at your Presidency, being inadequate for that purpose.

We have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

MINTO,

J. LUMSDEN,

T. H. COLEBROOKE.

Fort William,
the 29th July 1808.

EXTRACT BENGAL PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS, the 9th Sept. 1808.

Government of Bombay, Political Department.

To the Right Honourable GILBERT Lord MINTO, Governor General in Council,
Fort William.

My Lord,

IN reference to your Lordship's Letter of the 6th of May, we have the honour to transmit a copy of a Minute, dated the 17th of this month, and its enclosure, as delivered in by our colleague Robert Rickards, Esquire, bearing general reference to future reforms and reductions, such as our colleague views to be practicable, in the Establishments throughout India; particularly in the Revenue and Judicial branches of the public expenditure; and upon which very extensive ameliorations being contemplated, in the general condition of the British possessions in India, it seems proper that a communication, inferring such beneficial effects, should be submitted to that authority which can most extensively give them operation.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Jon^r Duncan,

Tho^s Lechmere,

R. Rickards.

Bombay Castle,
22d July 1808.

MINUTE.

IN pursuance of the recommendation of the Supreme Government of the 6th of May, and of my short Minute recorded thereon, under the 27th following, I now submit another copy of my scheme for paying off the Indian debt, to be transmitted by the approaching dispatch to the honourable the Court of Directors.

A complete copy of the scheme is contained in the vouchers from A to E, to go a number in the packet, as affording a more easy means of reference than direction to a voluminous diary. Those vouchers therefore contain nothing new; but as it may be desirable, particularly at so great a distance from the superior authority, to leave no conceivable objection that might be urged against the Plan unanswered, I propose, in this Minute, to state such as have been made to me in this country, together with my answers thereto; since, if the same objections should occur in England, these at least may, I hope, be found to be refuted without further reference.

3. First.—The most important of all the objections urged, is perhaps the want of surplus revenue to supply the Sinking Fund with the annual million said to be required for its use; and this objection has always erroneously run on the idea that the supply of an actual million annually, was indispensable to the execution of the Plan.

4. In

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

4. In the scheme itself, I have already stated the reason why I took a million sterling per annum to *calculate upon*; but an attentive consideration of it, will at once show, that this amount is by no means indispensable; in calculations, it is necessary to take some specific sum as the foundation thereof, and a million was accordingly assumed; but if the surplus revenues cannot afford this amount, they may afford some other lesser sum to aid the operation of the Sinking Fund, and all in fact that the plan in this respect proposes, is the *most rapid* liquidation of debt, *under due controul*, which our means and resources in India will admit of.

5. It may, however, be urged, that under present circumstances there is no surplus revenue to contribute to the aid of the Sinking Fund; and some lately published statements give reason to apprehend the fact. In this case, as the reduction of the Indian debt would doubly appear to be an object of the first importance and necessity, and even the *rapid* reduction of it, for reasons to be adduced presently, I would beg leave to refer the honourable Court to the two papers I have taken the liberty of recording; one dated the 24th September 1807, the other, 7th July 1808, on the revenue systems of India: wherein I have pointed out the means of reducing the revenue *native* establishments to a considerable amount. This proposed reduction is no vain speculation, for it has been put to the test of experiment in Malabar for a series of years, with complete success; one, I may also add, of the most difficult collectorships in India. In that province, a saving was effected in 1803, by reduction of revenue native establishments alone, of 1,40,000 rupees per annum. In the first year of the reduction, more revenue was realized from the province than ever had been received from it before; the successor of the collector who effected it, has gone on even with a somewhat smaller establishment than his predecessor left him, and with continued and even improved success. This fact, however, is here mentioned with no other view than merely to show, that if similar reductions took place generally on the principles set forth in the two Papers or Minutes above referred to, the Sinking Fund would no longer want the means of powerful operations on the Indian debt. It is not only a perfectly unobjectionable, but highly desirable method, also, of permanently reducing the public expenditure, and far preferable, in my humble opinion, to the measure of curtailing European allowances, the policy of which, independent of the odium it excites, may in a national point of view be strongly questioned.

6. I do not hesitate to add, on the grounds of experience likewise, that similar reductions are capable of being made with equally good effect in the Judicial department. Our present judicial system is a theory to be admired, and founded for the most part on solid principles. While the principles may be admitted to continue, or at all events with some little modification, the mode of administering them in practice, must sooner or later undergo reform, unless it should be determined to persevere in opposition to confirmed experience of its insufficiency to fulfil the object in view. The establishment of a Zillah Court, for example, is so very expensive, that it will ever be impossible to have a sufficient number of them to give justice to all who want it, in a country, generally speaking, far more comparatively populous than perhaps any European state, and at the same time poorer to. A complainant whose daily labour is his own and family's support, cannot go 20 or 30 miles, or even more, to seek justice, when the expenses of his journey, and detention at the zillah, will even exceed the amount of his suit; he must content himself with the original injury or loss; and the attempt to remedy this inconvenience by means of native referees, is, in my humble opinion, only to place power in the hands of people *most sure* to abuse it. But this is not a place to examine the merits of the judicial system. If the question ever comes to be discussed, I can point out what I believe, from personal experience, to be the *utter impracticability* of administering justice universally, or even generally, by means of the zillahs, on their present footing; and also the means of very considerably reducing this branch of the public expenditure: the savings in which might be equally applied, as far as was found requisite or expedient, to the uses of a sinking fund. By means of both these reductions, I should conceive it might be supplied with funds to *any* requisite amount, although no aid, under existing circumstances, could be derived from surplus revenue.

7. Secondly.—It has been objected, that the proposed liquidation of debt is too *rapid*; that all hasty movements in objects of finance, are to be deprecated; and the usual arguments are brought forward in respect to the convulsion it would occasion in property, &c. too well known to be repeated; adding, that the “present sinking fund which appropriates 2 per cent. “on the original amount of the Indian debt,” would liquidate the whole in 21 years; which slow operation is deemed preferable to the other.

8. Admitting that a Sinking Fund of £. 2 per cent. is capable of relieving Government from the present grievous burthen of debt in 21 years, provided no interruption or impediment intervenes, still it does not follow that it *will* do so; for in so long a space as 21 years, wars and other casualties will in all human probability occur to arrest its progress, or defeat its otherwise beneficial effect. It has been the fate of most, if not all sinking funds, from the slowness of their operation, to yield a good that is but scarcely felt in the increase of public burdens, which accumulate before the object of the fund is capable of attainment; they thus diminish debt without affording effectual relief; it is like help to a drowning man without taking him out of the water; life is continued, but with the fear and danger of impending destruction still before his eyes. Past experience, therefore, warrants the establishment of a fund of more rapid operation, of a fund in fact equal to its object, in spite of ordinary obstructions and difficulties.

9. As to the convulsion of property apprehended from the too rapid operation thereof, let it be remembered, that this property is, in part at least, that of the very persons who have the

the management of the Bank and Sinking Fund in their own hands, and who, by primary arrangement at the institution of the Establishment, or by majority of votes at any subsequent period, may check this apprehended convulsion, whenever, if ever, it is found to be injurious or inconvenient; the rapidity of its operation is therefore no argument against it, when that rapidity may be checked at pleasure.

10. But after all, the speedy discharge of public debt is more, perhaps, a cause of chimerical than of rational fear: we have all seen the evils of an increase of debt; who has yet seen the evil of discharging it? In countries where capital has already filled every channel of employment, the dread of convulsing property by the sudden discharge of a large debt, may be justly founded; but if there be any truth in the papers which I have already had the honour of submitting to Government, under dates 24th of September 1807 and 7th of July 1808 (both recorded under the 9th instant), it must be admitted that in India there are channels still capable of receiving any quantity of wealth that can be poured into them, and which only require to be opened to receive the genial current. Supposing, therefore, this opening to be effected, the rapid discharge of Indian debt would then be one of the most fortunate things that could happen for the rising prosperity of the country; setting industry and ingenuity at work to find out new applications for capital, the sums paid off would overflow into a thousand useful courses, and commerce, agriculture, architecture, and every branch of public and private industry, would receive a new impulse; the inconveniences, if any, would be momentary, the benefit eternal. But the single observation of the probability of wars (added to the consideration of there being now, in time of peace, no surplus revenue) is itself decisive of the necessity of employing the largest possible fund for the discharge of the debt; and on this account alone, a sinking fund that has only power to extinguish a debt of 20 million in 21 years, will, in my opinion, never give *effectual relief*: it may accomplish its object; but in the period proposed, another 20 million, or even more, may, and probably will, still leave the same financial difficulties and dangers to be encountered.

11. As connected with this part of the subject, I shall beg leave to add a few more remarks on the operation of the Sinking Fund, which may eventually be found of the utmost importance; and to avoid all further misconceptions of the component parts of the fund (for these have also been misconceived) and of its particular mode of operation, it may be useful to prefix a concise statement thereof.

12. The Sinking Fund, as stated in the Plan, consists of the proceeds of 4 million of bank stock, as per Papers A and B; or otherwise, of the two million, or any other determined amount, as per Paper of modification D, together with an annual million, or some other amount capable of being supplied from the surplus revenues, or from the proposed reductions above adverted to, of native establishments. These are its only two component parts: it has nothing whatever to do with any other sum mentioned throughout the scheme.

13. Then suppose the Sinking Fund to consist, as per Papers A and B, of one million, to be supplied from the *surplus revenue*, and the interest of 4 million of stock, or £.320,000, to be paid out of the other annual million supplied to the bank from the ordinary, and now appropriated revenues, and which is in fact at this instant applied in the same way, viz. to the payment of interest on the debt; then the fund will consist, in the first instance, of £.1,320,000; the odd £.320,000 would however be an extra charge on the revenues, if a corresponding amount of debt could not be annihilated; but with the aid of the Bank and stockholders, that amount of debt, or 4 million, is annihilated or paid off, and the £.320,000 of interest thereon goes to constitute this branch of the Sinking Fund.

14. It is true this £.1,320,000 bears no interest of itself, but it is immediately converted into stock or notes, which do bear interest; the annual proceeds thereof in cash being also similarly converted into stock or notes, in each succeeding year, the accumulation of interest cannot fail to proceed, as specified in the Statement annexed to A. It is moreover a fund which is anticipated to operate in its *full amount* on the Indian debt, because the Company are bound to provide funds in England for paying off such part of the debt as may be demanded, by drafts, in whatever way and at whatever time it may be liquidated, and may be supposed to be prepared for the event. It is therefore probable no deduction will be required from the proceeds of the Sinking Fund in this country to pay the small amount of interest there may be due upon a required loan in England to discharge drafts.

15. But here a very important suggestion occurs: let us suppose the worst. Suppose the Company may not be provided with funds to answer these drafts, and that, on the contrary, they should be obliged to borrow in England, not only the first £.500,000 to discharge drafts, but also to borrow another annual sum equal to the interest thereof; in other words, suppose they are obliged to borrow this £.500,000 at compound interest of 5, 6, 7, or even 8 per cent. for 8 years, *secured on their Indian revenues*, a short calculation, compared with the figured Statement annexed to A, will show that the operation of the proposed Sinking Fund will still liquidate the whole in less than 8½ years, for (vide that Statement) if we admit the £.500,000 to be even doubled in 8 years by means of the compound interest at which it may be borrowed, and to stand then at one million—let the full supply be contributed to the Sinking Fund in this 8th year, instead of the reduced sum specified in the Statement, and it will leave no more than about £.600,000 of debt to be liquidated after the expiration of the 8 years, which the Sinking Fund, from its amount, will then be equal to accomplish in about 4 months longer.

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

16. If this explanation then is perfectly clear with respect to A and B, it must be equally so with respect to the lesser sums calculated upon in the modified Paper D (which however supposes drafts on the Court of Directors to the amount of either 1 or 2 millions) and it must be equally so with regard to any other sum whatever adopted as the basis of the Sinking Fund, provided the principles of the Plan be equally adhered to, and which in short is intended to exhibit the means of establishing a Sinking Fund free of extra charge on the Indian revenues, capable of extinguishing the debt in a short period, and with *ability to afford effectual assistance to the Company in England, should that be required, in raising funds for the discharge of the drafts which must necessarily be made on them whenever the debt comes to be paid off; for if we suppose the fund to be in full operation in this country, the Company, it is presumed, will experience no difficulty in borrowing money in England, which they have thus such speedy means of repaying, to answer any conceivable amount of drafts, or other demands, that may chance to be made on them.*

17. At all events it is not to be supposed an arrangement of this kind will be attempted without previous preparation by the Court of Directors, or without perhaps the sanction of the Legislature; some of the existing loans in India, it may be added, contain a stipulation whereby the principal as well as interest of the debt is payable by drafts on the Court of Directors at any time optional with the holder of the promissory note. They are therefore liable, even now, to a demand for millions (a late publication says 17) on any sudden alarm, and if not prepared to meet the demand, it may not be unacceptable to show the means of relief whenever this difficulty may occur.

18. Thirdly.—The remaining objections I have to notice, seem to me to arise chiefly from misconception of the object and principles of the Plan. It is, for example, objected that the Plan is of too gigantic a nature, that the issue of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million of notes is more than the circulation of India will absorb, supposing, as the objection erroneously does, this $3\frac{1}{2}$ million to be indispensable, and four million to be in every case required as applicable to the establishment of a Sinking Fund; and that the *creation*, as it is misnamed, of so enormous a capital as $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, for the stock of the Bank, is out of all proportion, is impracticable, and even dangerous, &c. and that the security for payment of the income of bank-stock is only plausible.

19. The papers A and B, it is true, contain calculations founded on the *supposition merely* of four million being paid off in the first instance, thereby forming the basis of a Sinking Fund; but it is also evident that neither of these papers *absolutely require* this amount of notes to be issued, or of debt to be paid off; *it may be any lesser amount, suited to what the circulation of India will easily absorb*: and that this part of the subject might be exhibited in a clearer point of view, Paper D was prepared to show, and I think it clearly does show, that the Plan, on the principles proposed, is capable of modification, *so as that the amount of the Sinking Fund, in the first instance, be exactly regulated by the advantage or profits which Government may be enabled to realize from the institution of the Bank Paper D*; then proceeds to a calculation, founded on the establishment of a Sinking Fund of *two million only*, instead of four at the first outset; and in which the first issue of notes for all India may, according to the principle of A and B, be only one million, or according to C, it may be *just that quantity, and no more*, which the circulation will easily absorb, and with this Sinking Fund of two million only, the debt is shown to be capable of liquidation in 9 years. In the voucher No. 1 are annexed the remarks of a gentleman of highly distinguished knowledge and science on this subject, together with a short answer, which will tend to show the still further modifications of which the Plan is susceptible.

20. As to the capital stock of the Bank, whether it be taken at $12\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, if the nature of it be duly considered, that it is in fact no new creation, that it already actually exists, and that its conversion into bank-stock is no more than a *mere change of name*, it may I apprehend be termed any thing but gigantic. Its amount will be no objection to subscribers, if it yields a *certain* adequate income; and none to the public, or Government, if it has the effect of a rapid liquidation of debt, and consequent diminution of present heavy taxes. The security for the payment of this income is real and not plausible, it consists, as at present, of a portion of territorial revenue now applied to the *payment of interest on the debt*, which only requires, on the institution of the Bank, to be repledged in the same way for as much of the said debt as may be converted into bank-stock. There is here no creation of a new and gigantic capital: it already exists, together with the revenue appropriated to the payment of its interest: its name only is changed. In this view of the case, there would seem to be neither danger or impracticability in the conversion of $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, or of some other amount of debt, into stock; for supposing this stock secured to yield 8 per cent. certain interest, and that the holders of this stock realize, say only 2 per cent. more from the net profits of the Bank, making altogether 10 per cent. would not stock of this description be greedily purchased? and if not subscribed for in promissory notes of the present debt, it must be paid for in money, which would serve to discharge the corresponding amount of notes. But of this sum of $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, as of others stated in the Plan, it seems still necessary to be observed, that in calculations tending to elucidate principles, it is necessary to have recourse to specific sums, particularly where the subject is abstruse, in order to carry through some clear connecting idea of cause and effect. If $8\frac{1}{2}$ million cannot be converted into stock, some other lesser sum surely can, and the *amount of this conversion, whether great or small, is a matter of indifference to the operation of the Sinking Fund*. The conversion of debt into stock is intended to establish an union of the Bank and Sinking Fund, for the purpose

pose explained in the Plan, and to induce the present creditors to subscribe their promissory notes for bank-stock; the same pledge or security is given for payment of interest, in addition to all the advantage which the said creditors, as stock-holders, will derive from the net profits of the Bank. If therefore 8½ million of stock be not subscribed for at first, the only difference therefore occasioned is, that a proportionally smaller sum of revenue than 1 million per annum will be settled on the Bank. Some stock will certainly be purchased, and Government, with the aid of the Bank and stock-holders, will then be enabled to establish the proposed Sinking Fund of 4 million, or of some other lesser amount (as fully shown in Paper D,) free of extra charge on the revenues; which fund will equally operate in the reduction of debt (as may be seen on reference to either of the figured Statements) whether it be promissory notes or bank-stock that it is required to annihilate. The millions mentioned in the Plan may at first sound high, but an attentive consideration of the principles of the Plan, with the *modifications* of which it is *evidently* capable, viewing the millions only as specific data on which to found easy calculation, will I think convince that it is in reality neither gigantic, or at all formidable or difficult of execution.

21. Fourthly.—The establishment of the Bank has been objected to on the grounds of its being a Government Bank, and therefore deemed unconstitutional, and an engine too dangerous in the hands of any form of government, &c. The propositions in respect to exchange are also objected to on the same principles, and the impolicy urged of allowing any Government to interfere therein.

22. *A real Government Bank* is doubtless impolitic, and may often prove a very dangerous engine. The arguments on this head are incontrovertible. But can a Bank, consisting of one Government Director, with one vote, and an indefinite number of other Directors, say eight, ten, or twelve, with as many votes, be properly termed a Government Bank; or be considered liable to the objections which are justly urged against a Bank directly conducted or controuled by an arbitrary government? The business of Government in the Bank here proposed, is chiefly co-operation, with a small, but perhaps salutary degree of check over private speculations of injurious tendency to the public. If the Bank of England is proved, from transgression in this respect, to be in need of salutary check, how much more requisite must it be in a general Bank in India, where at the Presidencies, the great commercial agents, and who must be the chief Directors of the Bank, might otherwise be left at liberty to pursue their own particular interests, without any regard to those of the public? Reasons, however, are given at some length in the Plan, to show the necessity of a check on both sides; and if the checks proposed against undue influence on the one hand, or imprudent speculation on the other, are inadequate, experience must furnish better ones. In the meantime I cannot yet discover that this Bank is any other than a *General Bank, encouraged and fostered by the protecting hand of Government*. It certainly was intended to be precisely this; and to obviate the evils incident to a Government Bank, properly so called; while much mutual advantage, it is hoped, may be derived, and inconvenience obviated, by this union of the mercantile body with Government in a firm bond of mutual interest.

23. The supposed interference of Government with respect to exchange, will, I should hope, on due consideration, appear to be another misconception of the Plan. It certainly gives Government no power of interference; Government contributes a co-operative aid through the medium of its several treasuries; the whole business of exchange, including rates, &c. is left to the Bank Directors, in other words, to the great body of merchants in every part of British India, to be regulated, in fact, by the free course of trade. In any question that may arise on the subject, Government can have only one vote against perhaps a dozen.

24. Fifthly.—The conversion of any portion of the Indian debt into Government bank stock, has been received as a dangerous experiment seriously to be deprecated. Whilst the principles of the Plan are admitted to be generally correct, the proposals which it contains in this respect have been considered as pregnant with all the evils, and liable to the same failure as occurred in the similar attempts of the South Sea and Mississippi Schemes in the famous year 1720.

25. The Plan being admitted to be generally correct in its principles, will surely bear no comparison with the South Sea and Mississippi bubbles, whose very name proves them to have been founded on no correct principles at all.—The failure of those schemes does not appear to me to be in the least attributable to the *conversion of public debt into the joint stock of those Companies*, but to the delusions practised on an infatuated public: neither one or the other was ever possessed of funds equal to the realization of those profits and promises which they held forth to the world; the value of their stock was therefore artificially enhanced; and when delusion could be kept up no longer, the bubble, as it has been commonly termed, burst.—Indeed the South Sea Company continued to flourish for some time, *under an incorporation*, or conversion, of about nine, and afterwards eleven millions of the public debt into their joint stock. The fraudulent stock-jobbing speculations which followed upon the Statute 6 George I. seem to have been the sole cause of their downfall.

26. The Mississippi Scheme, it is true, had in view the payment of the public debts of France: so far comparison may be admitted with the present Plan; but it is by no means equally evident that the conversion of public debt into the stock of Mr. Law's Royal Bank or Company, occasioned its failure. After a series of the most violent shocks to public credit, even from the year 1713, after various arbitrary changes decreed by the Duke of Orleans,

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

Objections

Answers

No. 5.

Papers relative to
Mr. Rickards's
Proposition
for establishing a
General Bank,
&c.

as well in the metal as the paper money of the kingdom; and after several artificial if not fraudulent enhancements of the Company's stock, the scene drew to a close with two of the most extraordinary acts that ever betrayed the ignorance of Government in respect to the principles of money:—first, the issue of bank-notes to the amount of more than double that of the coin estimated to be necessary for the currency of the kingdom; and, secondly, the famous, or rather infamous arrêt of the 21st May 1720, whereby the notes in circulation were at one blow reduced to one half of their former value. It was not till after these fatal measures, that the public became alarmed, or their confidence in the scheme impaired; and when to these are added a want of funds to fulfil promised dividends on all these actions or shares outstanding, we need look to no other cause for a complete overthrow of the whole concern.

27. In the present Plan, however, there is nothing that I can see that admits of comparison with the acts in the Mississippi Scheme, of an arbitrary and perhaps ignorant Government operating on an infatuated public. There is here no attempt at delusion, the whole Plan might, and perhaps ought to be published: its funds are fully adequate to every anticipated result; not a share that will not certainly yield its expected profit; not a bank note issued beyond what the circulation may as certainly require. Government of itself can do nothing, and therefore nothing is to be dreaded either from the influence or capricious exercise of arbitrary power. Under such circumstances, I confess I neither see the danger or inconvenience of giving, to a certain portion of the debt, a *mere change of name*.

Objection.

28. Sixthly.—There have been some other objections advanced: such as, in case of war, that the notes would be thrown back on the Bank when money bore a premium; the impossibility of issuing others without a loss equal to this premium; the danger of inconvenience runs on the Bank, when relief must be sought at a great distance; and the limited power of extending the issue of notes, &c. But as all these would seem to be sufficiently refuted by the course and successful progress of banks in other parts of India, under the circumstances apprehended, it may not be necessary for me to trouble the Honourable Court with any particular remarks thereon.

Answer.

29. Seventhly.—Finally, it has been urged, that the “merchants here (Bombay) are themselves bankers;” and that “this plan would necessarily transfer much of that part of their gains to the Bank; that the Bank can in no way hold out an inducement sufficient to prevail on the merchants to give up their present command of the money trade to take merely a share of that of the Bank; that it would be like admitting the holders of bank-stock into a copartnery with them in a gainful part of their business.”

30. In the Plan itself there are details of some length, to show the advantages which the mercantile body may derive from a successful co-operation therein, and the benefits and facilities which trade in general would experience. Perhaps advantages are no where, or seldom, attainable without corresponding sacrifices; but if the compromise here shall not be found sufficiently favourable to the merchants, there is still no reason why the objection may not be obviated by an arrangement which should limit the amount of bank-stock to the actual shares of the Directors, the merchants themselves would be these Directors, and they would then have no copartnery in a gainful part of their business; the gain, for example, might be *all* their own, under some of the modifications of which Paper (D.) and the voucher No. 1. to this Minute, show the Plan to be capable; whilst a Sinking Fund, under this connection, would still be established, which is all that Government want, free of extra charge on the revenues.

Wide second
supposition,
Paper D.

31. But after all, however desirable the aid and co-operation of the merchants in the execution of the scheme in question, still if they should think proper to withhold it even *in toto*, or *pro tempore*, it is evidently in the power of Government to establish the proposed Bank and Sinking Fund independent of their aid, and to conduct the same by officers of their own, if just and established principles be scrupulously adhered to, until the object in view, viz. the reduction of debt, be accomplished to the full extent that may be desired.

(Signed) R. Rickards.

Bombay, 17 July 1808.

No. 1.

Extract of a LETTER, &c. with Remarks annexed, on Mr. R.'s Plan for reducing the Indian Debt; and Answer thereto, dated 16 October 1807.

WHEN I had the pleasure of seeing you at Dr. Scott's, I took the liberty of stating one or two remarks, which the intricacy of the subject, added to that habitual difficulty which I feel in communicating my ideas in conversation, prevented me, I fear, from explaining so as to be intelligible; I have therefore used the freedom of repeating them in the inclosed memorandum X, in as few words as possible.

I must again repeat, that none of the objections which I have heard started, tend in any degree against the foundation of the Plan: some of them suppose a certain change in the channel of the money trade, but most of them are only difficulties, such as every similar institution

institution is liable to, and which require only an increase of vigilance to foresee and prevent. There seems no good reason why, in a country so rich and trading as India, a bank should not prosper as much as in other countries. The novelty of the plan would occasion difficulties, which it is not ascribing too much to the talents of the original projector, and the sagacity of the Bank Directors, to suppose they could overcome: judicious management is of course supposed in every such plan; and the objections seem to me to be chiefly considerations for the Bank Directors. The local experience of the merchants, would furnish invaluable assistance, and the limited extent of the first issues and operations, would try the ground, and prove the best experiment how far the Plan could be gradually extended, and what quantity of active stock might be required for its transactions. If the Plan C were adopted, of beginning business merely as a bank, in which the Company was a sharer, under the agreement that after a limited time the issues of notes should be on the joint account of the Bank and of the Government, under such considerations and in such proportions as might easily be fixed, Government gains not only the agreed proportion of the notes kept in circulation, but the further proportion corresponding to its share in the Bank. The interest of Government and of the stock-holders and directors is thus also united. Let the share allowed to Government be one half, as it has also a third of the remainder, the gain of Government would be nearly two-thirds of the whole issue. If Government were allowed five eighths, their third giving another eighth, their whole advantage would be three fourths of the issue, and a large sum of profit would still go to the bank-sharers from the remaining fourth. The Paper D shows indisputably that these and numerous other modifications might be made, preserving the beneficial effects of the original Plan.

Perhaps the additional fund proposed in (C) might be delayed; and some conjectural sum from the issues, rising progressively, substituted in its place.

By giving Government a proportion of the issues, the Bank might be made to serve Government exactly in proportion to its own success, and the increasing trade and prosperity of the country.

I owe you many apologies for having detained the Papers so long, and still more for the freedom with which I have written on a subject, of the principles of which I confess that I have only some glimpses, and which can be best decided only by those persons, of great local knowledge and extensive commercial transactions, who have been made acquainted with the plan, and to whom the difficulties and advantages of the schemes must be strongly visible. I confess I see no difficulties that are insurmountable; and I cannot help congratulating Government and the Country on possessing a practical politician, who, by so simple a plan, promises to relieve Government of so great a part of its burdens, by means which, far from being injurious to industry or trade, seem to offer new facilities to increasing the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of India.

MEMORANDUM X.

1. THE mode in which the Bank is to begin its operations, is not perhaps sufficiently apparent. No fund, by means of which the operations are to be commenced, is pointed out by the Plan. The capital is in the hands of Government, and has been used to pay off Government debts: in this state it affords sufficient security to the creditors of the Bank, but it is not a disposable fund for active transactions, as no part of the interest becomes payable till six months after the period of the purchase of bank-stock; the Bank has no funds till then: at that time indeed half a million is payable by Government, and a fund to that extent for Bank operations exists; but then it must be understood that the purchasers of bank-stock do not receive their first half year's interest. The first instalment must be applied to form the *active fund* of the Bank: this is the first fund they possess *naturally* for carrying on their business; the large sum of stock in Government's hands can be applied only as a *passive fund* to gain credit to the Bank in its loans and issue of papers. It is an excellent security to the creditors, but can be used by the Bank only as an instrument of credit, not as stock engaged in trade. If what has been here denominated the active fund of the Bank, is to consist of half a million, the stock-holders must do without half a year's interest: if it is to consist of one million, they must give up a whole year's

306.

Interest,

ANSWER to REMARKS.

1. THE difficulty of a connected explanation in private conversation, on so abstruse a subject, renders it at the best always liable to some obscurity. In Plan A, I have stated that I purposely declined entering into a detail of the business of the Bank, which will of course be ultimately regulated and arranged by the Directors. This constitutes a material part of that detail; and the quantum of deposit in specie required for the active operations of the Bank, must necessarily depend on the plan determined to be adopted, or the amount of capital issues in bank-notes. The Bank must of course, like all other banks, be at the expense of its own deposit of specie. What I meant to explain was, that this expense will admit, on the plans here suggested, of considerable diminution, in view to the payments required to be made by Government into the Bank for the use of the *Sinking Fund*, viz. the payments in the first year, for example, on this account, being 1,320,000*l.* might be made in monthly instalments of 110,000*l.* which will increase in arithmetical progression, say till the sixth month, or any other specified time, when the aggregate sum may be required to be applied to the uses of the said Sinking Fund. But in the seventh, or following month, another 110,000*l.* is paid in, and will similarly increase monthly; so that in this way a very large sum of specie will be continually in deposit in the Bank,

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No. 5.

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General Bank,
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General Bank,
&c.

interest, and so on in proportion. The suggestion that this fund might from the first be gradually supplied by the regular coming in of the Company's revenues, offers a partial corrective; but as this proceeds on the idea not only of a full treasury, but of an accommodation from the treasury to the Bank, not specifically pointed out in the Plan, and really forming a temporary loan without interest, from Government to the Bank, it is doubtful how far it would be prudent to rely on it. It is not what the Bank can demand. Besides, it only operates during the six months: at the end of that time the interest is due, and the money must either return to pay the stock-holders, or be by them permitted to remain employed by the Bank. The accommodation on the part of Government therefore ceases, and the burden of supporting the Bank's operations devolves on the stock-holders. It therefore seems necessary, either that the Bank should begin its operations on credit, and by borrowed money, or that the fund should be raised gradually by detaining the half-yearly interest of the stock-holders.

2. It is of much more importance to keep in mind, that in no instance can the holders of notes, or the merchants, gain by the issue of notes. The notes may be of very great convenience to the merchants and the public, but never can turn to the profit of any but the Government or Bank. By all others they must be purchased, and stand only in the place of specie.

3. It may reasonably be doubted whether any inducement could be held out to the Bank to take a deep interest in the notes, except either an agreement that a certain proportion should be issued for the Bank, when a certain proportion was issued for the Government, that the Government and Bank should divide the total issues in certain shares, or an agreement that the Bank, on making Government a certain loan without interest, should have the sole benefit of the issues of notes. In the former way their interest would be mutual, and neither party would have any inducement to urge an inordinate issue, particularly if the expense of supporting the sum of cash for keeping up the circulation, were also divided in certain proportions: thus too the gain of Government would increase as the advancing prosperity of the country enabled the issues of paper to be extended. In the latter way, the total issues, after passing the loan to Government, would accrue to the benefit of the Bank alone. It is to be observed that the supplies of foreign specie would come only as they do at present; any importation from England, for example, must be purchased by value given by the Bank, as much as by any individual. That in Bombay the trade runs very much in seasons, and hence the issues of notes would need to be considerably limited in the busy months, to prevent inconvenient returns afterwards.

intended for the use of the Sinking Fund at *certain fixed periods*: which deposit, I conceive, the Bank may intermediately use, provided proper care be always taken to complete the amount at the particular times when the Sinking Fund demands it, and which will therefore tend to lessen the expense which other banks are subject to on account of a deposit necessary to the support of their active operations.

This, it may be objected, is an important aid contributed by Government to the Bank, free of interest:—True. But the Government have their advantage also, for on either plan they have a Sinking Fund established, with the aid of the Bank, free of extra charge on the revenues; and on Proposal C in particular, or any modification thereof, let it be remembered, that every diminution of the Bank expenses will be a corresponding addition to the profits in which Government have a prescribed share. The possibility of reducing the debt in so short a period as from seven to nine years, is moreover a matter of such high importance, as to be worthy some sacrifice at least to effect it.

2 & 3. It will perhaps be thought some recommendation in favour of the Plan, to find that its original principles are capable of such various modifications; some of which it is at least hoped may be found perfectly unobjectionable. The very ingenious remarks contained in these paragraphs, are in fact modifications of A & B, which infer a loan from the Bank to Government free of interest; in consideration of which, the Bank should enjoy a corresponding proportion, or all the advantages arising from its private business. Both these suggestions, however, and the simple modes of proceeding, are therefore perhaps preferable. The original Plan indeed proposes a loan in bank-notes, which will therefore cost the lenders nothing, while the opposite modification implies, I presume, a loan in specie. But if the former be deemed too complicated, or not ultimately feasible, and the latter therefore preferred, should any difficulty arise from requiring so large a sum in specie as 2 million in loan from the merchants, even this is capable of still further modification, as follows:—On 2 million of debt being advertised to be paid off, let the merchants lend as much thereof as shall not be taken by the creditors in bills on the Court of Directors; suppose then the merchants, *i. e.* proprietors of stock, lend in this way £. 1,200,000, and £. 800,000 be paid by bills, let 12-20 be the share of the said proprietors in the Bank profits, and 8-20 the share of Government, which latter share will go to counterbalance the expense to be incurred by the Court of Directors in raising the £. 800,000 in England.

(Signed)

R. Rickards.

(True Copies.)

J. Warden,

Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 6.

COPY of PARAGRAPHS 31 a' 38 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Governor in Council at *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated 20th February 1808.

EXTRACT REVENUE LETTER from BOMBAY; dated 20th February 1808.

Para. 31.

AFTER this detail respecting the Pergunnah of Broach, and our proceedings on its revenue concerns, it is not a little pleasing to us to be able to close it with requesting your honourable Court's attention to the farther Report from the same Commissioners, under date the 24th of January, exhibiting the progress made in its fiscal and other concerns; the result of which, in as far as respects the former head, is as follows:

No. 6.

Revenue of Broach
and Surat.

					Rupees.
1803-4	-	-	-	Collections	10,54,539.
1804-5	-	-	-	D°	11,30,647.
1805-6	-	-	-	D°	11,26,997.
1806-7	-	-	-	D°	12,24,583.

whilst the amount of those realized during the twenty years of Scindia's tenure, averages no more than 8,35,105 rupees.

32. Nor have we less satisfaction in requesting your honourable Court's perusal, and attention to the Report under date the 26th of January, from the similar temporary Commission at Surat, showing that the cultivation, and, consequently, the revenues, have been rapidly increasing since our acquisitions from the cessions by the Paishwa and Guicawar in the Attaveery, (or country between Demaun and the Nerbuddah,) the receipts from which having risen, in the space of four years, from the annual amount of 6,24,463 rupees to 7,28,122 rupees, yielding thus, in four years, an increased yearly return of 1,03,659 rupees.

33. The Report from the collector of the very extensive territory dependent on the zilla or division of Kaira, under date the 20th of January, recorded in the same day's proceedings, as above cited, will, we flatter ourselves, prove, in view to the particular circumstances of that cession, no less pleasing to your honourable Court than the consideration of the two preceding narratives, as to the prosperous condition of the Broach Pergunnah, and of our districts in the Attaveery.

34. In submitting these briefs notices of the revenue administration hitherto in progress throughout the three grand divisions of country intrusted to the charge of the Government of this Presidency, it will thence appear, that in all and each of them, very material ameliorations have taken place, not only in the considerable increase of the annual receipts, but in the Regulations for the country, particularly under the division of Broach, in which a system of regularity, order, and quiet, has been uniformly advancing at the same time with the augmentation of the funds for the revenue; which last has been above shown to have increased, by nearly two lacks per annum, notwithstanding our having intermediately given up such parts of the former funds for it, under the late Government of Scindia, as were believed to have an oppressive tendency.

35. The same general observations will be found applicable, in a considerable degree, to the division of Surat, in which the cultivation will appear to have been considerably extended, and the revenue in particular to have increased in a still greater proportion than within the collectorship of Broach.

36. It will, on this occasion, be pleasing to communicate to the honourable Court, that relief has been afforded to the inhabitants of the city of Surat, by the abolition of a variety of the Moghul taxes, to which they were subject during the Nabob's Government; and it is our intention to prosecute this object as far as future enquiries or experience may indicate, more especially in the department of the customs, which are thought to fall too heavy on the inhabitants there, in proportion to those at the Presidency.

37. In as far as respects the extensive collectorship at Kairah, it may, in conclusion, be observed, that although the increased realization in the public funds, has, in that quarter, been less in proportion, the most orderly and highly regular manner in which the settled revenue have been collected, redounds, in view to the peculiar description of a great part of

No. 6.
—
Revenue of Broach
and Surat.

of its inhabitants, so much to the credit of the collector's management, that we discharge only a duty in again distinguishing Mr. Diggle as one of the most promising and meritorious of the civil servants in this line of employ.

38. The success which is thus shown, on grounds the most obvious, to have attended the administration of our lately acquired Northern territories, will constitute, it is hoped, the best apology for our deferring till another opportunity to submit at greater length the ultimate and more fixed rules, which we may have to recommend for their permanent management. There may not (generally speaking) be many we could propose better adapted (as the result has shown) to their general prosperity hitherto, than those they have been for the few past years subject to; and as far as our impressions yet extend on a subject of such great delicacy, we feel inclined to coincide in the principles already indicated by the Legislature; viz. that the established customs of the natives should be generally adhered to, affected only by such well-weighed improvements as have for object the guarding, (by the means, for instance, that are above mentioned to be intended by the written or printed deeds to be granted to the patells of Broach) more effectually their own established systems, from such vicissitudes and abuses as experience has shown them to be liable to; in short, to endeavour to ameliorate their condition, without subverting the foundation of their hereditary rights; the preservation of which, as interwoven into all their manners and impressions, must tend, it is conceived, most efficaciously, to their permanent happiness.

No. 7.

COPY of PARAGRAPHS 49 a' 54 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Governor in Council at *Bombay*, to the Court of Directors; dated 14th April 1810.

EXTRACT of REVENUE LETTER from BOMBAY; dated 14th April 1810.

Para. 48.

AT Broach, the revenue in arrear on the 30th April 1808, stood at Rs. 1,88,003. 1. 36. which, we have the satisfaction to add, was entirely cleared by the same date on the following year, Rs. 176. 1. having been alone remitted; nor are there any arrears on account of former years under this collectorship.

49. The jumma for the several districts included in the collectorship of Broach for 1808-9, amounted to Rs. 14,31,076. 2. 86.; the collections within the year aggregated Rs. 14,21,846. 0. 37. leaving a balance, on 30th April 1809, of Rs. 9,230. 2. 49. which there was little doubt of realizing; and the cause of which arises from the revenue not falling due within the period embraced by the year of account, as already explained in a preceding part of this Address.

50. The disbursements of this collectorship in 1808-9, on account of native establishments, amounted to Rs. 21,522, being only 1.503 dec^{ls} per cent. on the jumma; the allowances to covenanted servants amounted to Rs. 23,199. 3. 06. being 1.621 dec^{ls} on the jumma; whilst the total of the charges bear only 3.125 dec^{ls} on the receipts. The customs yield Rs. 1,18,410. 2. 65. and the native establishments amount to Rs. 5,388, being 4.550 dec^{ls} per cent. on the receipts.

51. The total receipts therefore from the revenues and customs aggregate Rs. 15,40,486, and the total charges Rs. 50,109, being 3.234 dec^{ls} per cent. on the former; and, by throwing the charges of the judicial establishments (being Rs. 1,70,876. 1. 43.) which include the Court of Circuit and Appeal for the whole northern division, into the computation, the disbursements on account of the revenue, customs, and judicial establishments (amounting to Rs. 2,20,985), bear at the rate of 14.262 dec^{ls} per cent. on the receipts from this possession.

52. On the settlement of the revenues of this district for the year 1808-9, we had the satisfaction to find that the land-revenue of Broach still continues to encrease, being, for that year, Rs. 9,76,818. 3. which is Rs. 19,495 more than the preceding one.

53. The land revenue of the Pergunnah of Broach Proper (which constitutes singly the principal source of the above large rental) was never, under any former Government, for

two

two years together so high (according to our best information) as the first settlement made by the Revenue Commission in March 1805; and its permanency and increase are principally to be attributed to the investigations, which brought to light and abolished the various mal-practices of native revenue officers, and the many ruinous and oppressive systems introduced by Mahratta farmers, at the same time that they ascertained the true and old established system of assessment which has since constituted the rule of guidance; the land revenue of that single Pergunnah of Broach Proper alone, is now Rs. 1,59,433. 2. 50. more than it was when the Revenue Commission was first appointed in January 1805; whilst, as described in the Commissioner's Report of 31st May 1807, the increase of income to the cultivators is to the full as much as that in the Government share or revenue; the surplus not resulting from any enhancement of the rate, but from that rate being levied on a more extended cultivation.

54. The general improvement in the state of the inhabitants of this district, is further very observable in the number of substantial houses to be seen in the villages, where huts of mud and straw stood about four years ago, as reported in the letter from the late Revenue Commission, dated the 26th February 1809.

No. 8.

COPY of PARAGRAPHS 113 a' 142 inclusive, of a Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor in Council at *Bombay*; dated 10th January 1810.

EXTRACT REVENUE LETTER to BOMBAY; dated 10th January 1810.

Para. 113.

THE third, and not the least important subject to which your enquiries have been directed, is the mode of realizing the revenue. The information on this head, contained in the Report of Messrs. Prendergast and Steadman, of the 31st May 1807, and its accompaniments, is certainly more complete than any that had been previously acquired; but we cannot help thinking that by the aid of better arrangement, it might have been conveyed in a form more perspicuous and satisfactory.

114. The principle upon which the jumma or rental is annually settled in the Guzerat, seems to be an equal division of the produce of the tulput land in cultivation between Government and the farmer. Though it be competent for either party to insist upon this principle being literally acted upon in fixing the jumma, and upon half the produce being levied in kind, the rent, according to ordinary practice, is commuted into money. A general rate of assessment has been fixed throughout the greater part of the pergunnah, where there is but little difference in the soil at 4 rupees per bheega, for the better, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for the inferior sort of land. But in the immediate vicinity of the Nerbuddah, the rent varies from two to twelve rupees per bheega, according to the different descriptions of soil and the crops, the share of Government being always calculated upon the estimated value of half the produce, whether the ground be a sandy hillock or a rich bottom, and the crop be rice or sugar-cane. This rate however, in uncommon seasons, or under particular circumstances, is either increased or reduced, as the collector or husbandman may show cause. When the crops are so far advanced as to admit of a fair estimate being made of their value, the mehtas, tullaties, and patels transmit statements thereof to the collector's cutchery; Native Committees, consisting of a karkoon belonging to the collector, a dessoy and moozumdar and ameen patel are sent out in different directions, to check the statements given in by the village revenue officers; and when this investigation is completed, amended statements are made out and remitted to these officers, who, agreeably thereto, form jummas of their respective villages. This being accomplished throughout the district, separated sunuds or notes are prepared for each village, specifying the amount of their individual assessment. The patels assembled on a certain day, sign these sunuds in token of their acquiescence, and when they return home, the mehta apportions the precise amount of the rent payable by each patel, according to the size and quality of his particular bang or share in the bangdaree villages, and according to the number and productive powers of the bheegas which he cultivates in the bheegotee village. The charges of husbandry are borne by the cultivators; the expense of collecting the Revenue is defrayed by the Government, and the periods of collection are fixed at those seasons when the farmer is ablest to pay, or when he has realized the value of his crops, the amount of the instalments by which the contributions are levied, being always proportioned to the estimated funds of the contributor at the dates when they become due. In fine, as a security for the payment of the Government rent, the crops can neither be reaped, housed, threshed out,

No. 8.

Jumma or Rental
in
Guzerat.

nor sold without the permission of the collector, or one of his authorized agents. Such is the general outline drawn in the Report of the Revenue Commissioners of Broach, of the system now in force in that pergunnah, and the principles which you conceive to have been acted upon by the Mogul Government, with little variation, throughout the whole of their territories in the western part of India.

115. That a system of this kind is liable to very grave objections, and that, both in principle and detail, it is in direct and uniform hostility with the doctrines of political economy, which in this part of the world have been considered not only as theoretically true but practically beneficial, does not admit of doubt: and though it might be perilous in every case to act conformably to these doctrines, without regard to local circumstances, which may occasionally prescribe a deviation from them; so, on the other hand, there is some danger lest long and constant familiarity with inveterate prejudices, should lead us to confound the rule with the exception, and to forget the difference between a necessary compromise, and a voluntary renunciation of the first maxims of political science.

116. The system now in force is liable to all the objections which are thought generally applicable to the payment of rent in kind; for though the Government revenue be collected in money, the sum contributed is supposed to be the precise value of half the produce; and the only difference between the present mode, and that of paying in kind, is, that in the latter case the husbandman would deliver the half of his crop at the collector's cutchery, whereas now he carries the whole to market, and on his return pays in one half the sum he has received for it. In one respect, indeed, the present system is more troublesome to the Government, and more vexatious to the farmer, than the other; for were the produce collected in kind, it would be necessary for the collector to continue his superintendence of the crops after they were removed from the field, and the cultivator having delivered the moiety due to the sirkar, might house, thresh out, and dispose of his own share at what times and in what proportions he might find convenient, without being subjected to the galling restrictions now imposed upon him.

117. It can hardly be necessary to point out the evils inseparable from a revenue system of this nature. It is troublesome and expensive in itself: it loads the productive class of society with the support of a numerous train of unproductive pensioners: it unquestionably tends to discourage improvement, by diminishing the motives to industry: it fetters and embarrasses the cultivator, by the imposition of restraints always irksome, often prejudicial; in fine, it offers a strong temptation to fraud and depredation on the part of the ryot, while the trouble attending it must frequently occasion neglect or collusion on the part of the collector.

118. A tax levied, generally amounting to the estimated value of half for the produce, must operate very unequally, if great care be not taken to distribute in equal portions the good and the bad land among the individual contributors: a precaution which may not be always practicable. It is evident that a certain portion of the produce of land is, in different situations, equivalent to a very different portion of the rent. In rich lands the cultivator may afford to give half the produce, and at the same time have a very handsome profit; whereas in poor lands the produce may be so small, and the expense of cultivation so great, that were he to pay one quarter of the produce in the shape either of rent or tax, he would not only have nothing over, but would be without the means of subsisting himself and family.

119. The practice of letting the lands from year to year, cannot fail to stifle every thing like enterprize on the part of the farmer. Though the claims of the patel as an hereditary cultivator, may give him security against being dispossessed of his farm, he must, as things are now managed, be contented to share half the advantage of his improvements with Government, the same years even in which they are made, so that his most laborious exertions serve only to add to the weight of his assessments.

120. But notwithstanding the strong objections to which the existing revenue system is liable, even after the many ameliorations and improvements it has undergone in the course of your administration, (which we shall notice by-and-by,) we entirely concur in the opinion that you entertain of the delicacy, impolicy, and danger of introducing any great and sudden innovations among a people with whom antiquity of usage is regarded as paramount to every other sanction, and who are always averse to change, even when it is likely to redound to their advantage.

121. Judging, however, from the materials of which we are already in possession, it seems by no means impossible to ingraft upon the existing institutions a system somewhat analogous to that which has been established in the greater part of our other territories; and the hints thrown out, rather incidentally indeed, in the 21st paragraph of the letter we are now answering, show that the expediency of granting lands to the patels upon zemindary tenures, by which, instead of dividing the produce, they shall pay to Government a fixed and invariable rental, has entered into your contemplation.

122. You at the same time express a doubt whether the patels would be generally willing to become parties to a permanent arrangement of this sort: this, we conceive, will depend altogether upon the terms which may be proposed to them. No man would think it worth while to become a proprietor of land upon terms which would place him in a worse condition than when he was only a cultivator. A patel, with his naturally strong aversion

to change, will, it is presumed, if the matter be left entirely to his own option, require to have opened to him a prospect of greater benefit than would be necessary to decide the choice of a person of more versatile character. The terms, therefore, held out must be such as will present a considerable temptation to their acceptance; the moment that property becomes saleable, that temptation exists. If there were a warm competition among the bidders, it might be inferred that the temptation was too strong; and if there was no demand for it, even at the lowest price, in a market where there can be no glut, seeing that nothing of the kind ever appeared there before, it might be concluded that it is not worth having. The last conclusion, it may perhaps be alleged, would only be just, in circumstances where every man acts under an enlightened sense of his own interests, which can never be the case, where obstinate and perverse prejudices are prevalent. It should, however, be recollected, that the empire of prejudice, when it is opposed both by reason and immediate interest, is seldom so universally despotic that some minds will not be found vigorous and bold enough to burst its fetters when a fair opportunity occurs; and after a spirit of revolt manifests itself, the influence of example will gradually achieve the overthrow of its power.

123. There is also a wide distinction between indolent and active prejudices. The former there is seldom any danger in slighting, because they are not irritable in their nature; nay, all that is wanting often to their dispersion, is the spirit to encounter them. The latter indeed ought uniformly to be treated with forbearance, and frequently with respect: but the prejudices to which we now allude, can hardly be ranked among this class.

124. From these observations, it follows that the establishment of a zemindary system is not likely to meet with any insuperable obstacles, provided its effect be to improve the condition of the patel: its tendency to this object, must depend upon the terms of the settlement; and these terms may be considered sufficiently advantageous, if they render the land conveyed to him saleable, which will never be the case till, besides paying the expenses of cultivation, it yields a certain profit to the landlord.

125. It will therefore be matter for your enquiry and consideration, whether land in the Ceded Provinces would be saleable, paying the present rental, estimated at the value of half the produce, or if any and what abatement would be necessary to render land transferrable with a premium to the vender. At the same time that you communicate to us the result of your investigations and reflections upon this question, you will also state what other suggestions may occur to you respecting the formation of a permanent proprietary settlement that may be liable to the fewest present or future inconveniences, and which, while it provides for the comfort, prosperity, and security of all classes of the people committed to our charge, may not considerably, if at all, impair the actual income of the State, or preclude Government from afterwards deriving an increased revenue from an eventual augmentation of resources.

126. Before any steps can be taken towards the execution of an arrangement of this sort, it will be necessary that the projected survey of Broach shall be completed; and should the experiments, when made, be successful in this province, it may afterwards be tried in the other districts. It will be proper also that you shall previously acquire much more accurate information than you now possess, respecting the manner in which the patels collect the rents and revenue from the ryots, and the exact relations in which these two classes stand to each other.

127. It can hardly be necessary to remind you, that it is neither our wish nor intention, in the formation of a system for the future administration of any part of our territories, to favour one class of our subjects at the expense of another, much less to give rights to the more opulent which they may exercise to the oppression of the lower orders. It must always be the policy, as well as the duty of an enlightened Government, in some measure to compensate, by the equality of its protection, for the unequal distributions of fortune.

128. Of your intention, after a survey of the Broach district has been made, to grant written or printed deeds to the patels, particularly describing the portions of land which they occupy, with the view of guarding their possessions against those encroachments and usurpations which they have experienced in time past, we highly approve; but we are not disposed to think that enough shall have been done till we have furnished them with new motives to industry, as well as with additional securities for what they already possess. Let the process of improvement be conducted with judgment, caution, and after mature deliberation, and the impediments by which it is at first retarded will gradually become less embarrassing.

129. Much has been effected since the cession of Broach to the Company, in the way of purging the ancient Mogul system from the abuses which had crept into it under the Marhatta administration; the great, the intolerable evil of which was, not the excess of its imposts, but the mode of levying them.

130. The Manotee system, by which the Government, in consideration of advanced payments on the credit of the revenue, delivered over the persons and properties of its subjects to a band of merciless usurers, by whom they were tortured, plundered, and oppressed, it was one of the first steps of your administration to suppress.

131. The Sookree Chandla, that discreditable resource, consisting in a sale of licenses by Government to one class of its subjects, to make arbitrary exactions from another, was properly abolished, as a scandal to the British name.

132. Instead

No. 8.

Jumma or Rental
in
Guzerat.

132. Instead of tannadars and jemadars stationed throughout the country under the pretence of maintaining the police, but really for the purpose of extortion, a Court of Adawlut has been instituted, for the trial of offences according to the rules of law.

133. The Dungur Tojee, or assessments upon the first crops, proportioned to the wants of the treasury but not to the funds of the cultivator, and by the excess of which the patels were driven to the most ruinous modes of raising money, has given place to a system under which the demands of Government exactly correspond with the means of the contributors.

134. The claims of the Dessoys and Moozundars have been put into a train of adjustment, the result of which, we trust, will be the relief of the laborious part of the community from a number of arbitrary fees and exactions by which they were vexed and impoverished; and an economical reform has been introduced into several branches of the village establishments, equally beneficial to Government and the ryot.

135. In fine, Tuccavy, or the money advanced by Government to the farmer, to facilitate agricultural improvements, is lent at common interest, instead as before at the most exorbitant rate of usury.

136. The facility with which these changes, so creditable to your administration, have been effected, show the practicability of further amelioration, while at the same time their importance to a certain degree diminishes its urgency; we would not therefore have you, on the one hand, to imagine that you had reached the utmost limits of improvement, nor, on the other hand, to run the risk of failure by venturing too far, or proceeding without due precaution.

137. We entirely agree with you in opinion, that the suggestions for increasing the revenues of Broach, brought forward by Dessoo Patel, are altogether unavailable for the purposes for which they were intended, if indeed they had any other object than that of recommending himself to the Government by an apparent assiduity to promote its interests, and thus to retrieve the disgrace he had incurred by his former conduct.

138. Upon the whole, we have had much satisfaction in tracing the progress of your administration in the Pergunnah of Broach. It seems by far the most valuable of the districts ceded to the Company in the Guzerat; and its augmented and growing prosperity is the best proof which could be adduced of the wisdom which has presided over its management, and of the zeal and ability of those who have carried into effect the plans devised by the Government.

Letter from, dated 20 February 1808,
(32 to 37) relative to the Revenues of
Surat and the territories dependent on
the Zillah of Kaira.

139. We have great pleasure also in remarking, that the improvements have not been confined to Broach, but that they have been extended to our territories situated both to the southward and northward of that dependency.

140. Owing to the bad health of Mr. Morrison, the collector of Surat, we are not in possession of such minute information respecting his collectorship, as concerning the two others; but from the last Report made in his stead by Mr. Crow, the judge and magistrate, there is reason to believe that agriculture is making rapid progress in the countries situated in the Attawery. Of this indeed there is positive proof, in the very great increase of the revenue, conjoined with the growing prosperity of the people, territories having produced 2,11,830 rupees more than the sum for which they were ceded by the Peishwa and Guica. ar, and 1,03,600 rupees more than they yielded in the first year of your management.

141. Though the increase of revenue in the division of Kaira, since it was placed under Mr. Diggle's care, does not amount to more than rupees 36,164, the actual state of that part of the country, compared with what it was when it devolved to the Company, does not furnish less matter for congratulation than the improvements which have taken place in our other possessions in the Guzerat; and we embrace this opportunity of acknowledging, with warm approbation, the judgment and zeal manifested by the collector in the discharge of the very difficult duties of his office. Though the quantity of waste land within the bounds of that collectorship be inconsiderable, the ferocious manners of the inhabitants seemed to oppose a far more impenetrable barrier to civilization than the most desolate appearances which the surface of the earth can present. We are happy therefore to find that the people in that quarter already begin to show a sensibility to the comforts resulting from order and obedience to the laws; that the number of the hardened and refractory is diminishing apace, that justice is gaining an ascendant over violence, that the calls of Government are, with few exceptions, willingly answered; and that, by persevering in a line of conduct marked by an union of lenity and firmness, we need not despair of circumscribing within narrow limits, if not of wholly suppressing, the dominion of anarchy and barbarism.

142. The investigation which you caused to be instituted into the local duties paid by the inhabitants of the town of Surat, has led to the beneficial result of relieving them from a variety of impolitic and vexatious imposts, without any material sacrifice of revenue. It will be always agreeable to us to hear of, and encourage, similar inquiries.

No. 9.

Copy of a LETTER from the Court of Directors, in the Political Department, to the Governor in Council of *Fort St. George*, dated the 29th September 1809.

OUR GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

Paragraph 1.

WE have received your several Dispatches in the Secret Department, of the 24th October and 29th December 1808, the 27th January and 28th February 1809, describing the rise, progress and issue of certain discussions between you and the State of Travancore. These discussions, which related to arrears due to the Company under the treaty of 1805, and brought the provisions of that treaty generally under review, have terminated no less unhappily than surprisingly, in the employment of the force and resources of the Travancore territory, by the Rajah's minister, in deliberate hostile aggression and open offensive war against the troops and the power of the British Government.

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

2. Being by inclination, by interest and by duty, decidedly fixed in favour of a pacific system of Indian policy, we cannot see any renewal of war, or an interruption of the relations of peace and amity with any of the Indian states, even when such interruption becomes unavoidable in self-defence, without keen regret; and hostility with an ancient ally, whose interest and ours seemed to recommend a lasting union, must be still more painful to us.

3. We entered therefore with anxiety into an investigation of the causes which could have induced the Government of such a State as Travancore, whose power and resources were so utterly disproportioned to those of the Company, and whose territory was accessible to us on every side, to take up arms against our Government. And this has led us to a review, which we shall here introduce, of the different stages of our connection with that State.

4. Mutual interest first formed, and afterwards cemented, the connection between the two Governments. In the articles of pacification agreed on between our Government and Hyder Ally in 1769, the Rajah of Travancore was included as an ally of the Company. The same care was taken of his interests in the treaty of peace, made between the Company and Tippoo Sultann in 1784; to these treaties the Travancore State owed its security for a series of years, from the very unequal power and inordinate ambition of those rulers of the Mysore country; and when at length Tippoo, disregarding the articles of the treaty made with him in 1784, attacked the territory of Travancore, in the year 1790, the Company entered into a war with that Prince in defence of their ally, whose safety was again secured by the peace made with Tippoo in 1792.

5. The treaty concluded between us and the Rajah of Travancore, in the year 1795, which stipulated that a British force should always be ready for his defence, against any war of aggression made upon him, had particular respect to the danger to which he still stood exposed from the more powerful neighbouring state of Mysore, which rendered the protection of the Company essential to him, and to that protection he owed the continuance of his independence.

6. Things remained in this state during the life time of the old Rajah, who was himself, as there was reason to believe, a prudent man, attached to the British connection, and was served by a Dewan of uncommon ability and worth. The Rajah died in the year 1798, and his death appears to have been followed by various circumstances unfavourable to the maintenance of the cordial friendship that had long subsisted between his State and the Company's Government. Most of these circumstances are stated in the early correspondence of the resident, Colonel Macaulay, with the Supreme Government; and as he had, from his situation, the best opportunities of knowing the internal state of Travancore; as his communications, professing to describe facts and events of the times at which he wrote, appear to have received entire credit from that Government, and to have been corroborated by subsequent occurrences, we see no reason for withholding our confidence from those communications.

7. The old Rajah was succeeded by his nephew, a young man whose character seems ever since to have been marked by imbecility, caprice, and other qualities which shew him to be wholly unequal to the task of government. The old and faithful Dewan of his uncle was

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

supplanted by low and vicious persons, who soon gained an ascendancy over the Rajah, and influenced the conduct of affairs. In 1799, an insurrection broke out in the districts. In 1800, a cabal, headed by a person named Sumpreddy, seized the reigns of government. Gross abuses prevailed in many of the public departments; the revenues were decreasing, whilst the bulk of the people were in the lowest state of depression; and another insurrection took place on account of oppression in some branches of the collections. The time of the Rajah is described to have been chiefly engrossed by his pleasures, and by superstitious ceremonies among the Brahmins, who, with their dependants, were reckoned to be equal in number to the working class. The late Dewan, so much respected by the people, was not suffered to live even in retirement. There is very strong reason to believe, that he was taken off by poison, and the British Resident thought it his duty publicly to accuse Sumpreddy of this foul murder; but after a short arrest, and an appearance of inquiry, in which more solicitude was shown to avoid than to effect discovery, he was restored to his liberty and influence at the Durbar. This man is stated to have charged the late Dewan with ruining the interests of Travancore by connection with Europeans, particularly the English; and from all the details contained in the ample correspondence carried on by the British Resident at that time, it is strongly to be inferred, that neither the Rajah nor those employed in the transaction of his affairs, regarded British connection with the ancient cordiality.

8. This change, it is probable, did not arise solely from the change of men, and the very different characters of those who succeeded to the administration of the Travancore Government. The fall of Tippoo in 1799, placed that State in circumstances entirely new. The formidable danger to which it had been long exposed, from a more powerful neighbour, headed by a restless chief, was now removed; Mysore came under the controul of the Company, who had been the best friend of Travancore, and from whom, as it probably feared no injustice, so it might seem no longer to need active support or protection. Such a material alteration in the external relations of the Travancore State, may reasonably be supposed to have influenced its policy in respect to the British Government, whose friendship would not hence appear an object of so much solicitude as it was before. In point of fact, the British Resident, Colonel Macaulay, who was appointed to that Durbar in 1800, soon thought that he perceived in it a coolness or diminution of regard towards the British connection.

9. The Governor General had instructed the Resident, on receiving his appointment, to prevail if possible, on the Rajah to agree to a new modification of the treaty with the Company:—of this modification, the principal conditions to be proposed were, that no Europeans should be permitted to reside in the territory of Travancore, without the consent of the British Government; that in lieu of the military aid which the Rajah was bound by the former treaty to furnish to the Company, when engaged in war, he should defray the expence of an additional battalion of Company's troops; that he should confide the defence of his territory to the Company, and receive their advice in the more important concerns of the civil administration.

10. With respect to this measure, the change in the relative circumstances of the two States might naturally suggest some alteration in the existing treaty. It is justly observed by the Governor General, in his instructions to the Resident, that the accessibility of Travancore, by a long line of sea coast, renders it a country through which the British possessions may become vulnerable to an European enemy; to which it may be added, that the strong military positions which the territory of Travancore affords, increases the importance of that consideration. The British Government therefore, after having saved Travancore from being overwhelmed by the Mahomedan State of Mysore, though in this acting also with a fair view to British interests, had a right to expect, not only that it would be willing to prevent, to the utmost of its power, the enemies of Britain from availing themselves of its ports and strong holds, but would permit the British Government to employ for that purpose the necessary force which Travancore could not itself furnish. Whether all the conditions proposed for a new treaty were requisite to the attainment of this object, may be considered hereafter; but it appears certain, that in the first negotiations of the Resident with the Rajah and his Ministers, and for several years afterwards, until the occurrence of new events, they shewed a settled aversion to accede to any terms more favourable to our Government than were contained in the old treaty.

11. In 1801, the Rajah, after repeated representations from the Resident of the disordered state of the country, and the necessity of rescuing the management of affairs from those whom he had permitted to possess themselves of it, appointed a new Dewan, named Vallay Tomby. This person had been at the head of the insurrection of 1799; but being reputed a man of ability and firmness, the Resident, in the great want of persons of that description, approved of his appointment, and had reason to expect that he would be friendly to the connection with the British Government. His subsequent conduct however did not justify this expectation. The Resident, after some absence from his station, on returning to it in December 1801, found that all the relations of the old and respectable Dewan, who himself had suffered a violent death, had also been murdered; and that Sumpreddy, the former favourite, had been disgraced and imprisoned by means of the new Dewan, Vallay Tomby.

12. After the peace of Amiens became known in India, towards the end of 1802, the Resident found increased difficulty in negotiating with the Travancore Durbar for the exclusion

exclusion of Europeans from his territory. The Rajah had virtually given a qualified assent to a proposition of this nature in 1800, but never could be persuaded to reduce it to writing; and the return of peace seems to have led him to desire and expect some intercourse with the French and Dutch. Under this apprehension, the Resident, between the month of August 1802, and March 1803, repeatedly represented to the Supreme Government the necessity of measures to check the symptoms of disaffection in the minds of the Rajah's evil counsellors, and to prevent French influence, stating that he had reason to apprehend the Rajah was disposed to the French, and that a political negotiation had been opened with him by a French agent who landed there. If attempts of this nature were made, the renewal of the war with France, by removing the subjects of that country from Travancore, probably put an end to them; and it led, in February 1804, to an agreement on the part of the Rajah, advised no doubt by his Dewan, to place a respectable force at the disposal of the British Government.

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

13. But so precarious was the possession of power in that State, that almost immediately after a strong conspiracy was formed against the Dewan, Vallay Tomby, in which the Rajah himself was supposed to be engaged. The Dewan was excluded from all confidence, his enemies openly triumphed, a near day was fixed on for his death, without any trial, and he fled to the British Resident, by whose firmness and remonstrances the Rajah was at length diverted from his purpose, the conspirators were thrown into prison, and the Dewan obtained not only his life, but the restoration of his power. The leading person in this conspiracy was a Gosseyn, one of an eminent religious order, and stated by the Resident to be in the French interest. The Resident's letter, written at this time, and in the two preceding years, describe in strong terms the degraded state, in point of character, both of the Government and of the principal people.

14. Before the end of that year, 1804, a formidable revolt took place among the Nair battalions in the service of the Rajah. Their original cause of dissatisfaction appears to have been a reduction in their allowances: these the Rajah restored, and a short calm succeeded, but the revolt burst forth again with increased violence; the ringleaders liberated the conspirators in the former plot, increased their numbers to 10,000 men, and, as was asserted by the Rajah himself, at length extended their views to the subversion of the British power and influence in Travancore, and the assassination both of the Dewan and the British Resident. Intelligence also was received by the Resident, before this dangerous revolt was entirely suppressed, of a projected expedition from the French islands against one of the ports of Travancore. It was only by the judicious active conduct of the Resident, and the resolution of the British officer commanding the Carnatic brigade in the service of the Rajah, joined to the firmness of the Dewan, who had again fled to the Resident for protection, that this rebellion was put down. The treaty of 1795 did not specifically stipulate the aid of the British power in suppressing internal commotions in Travancore; but this was agreeable to the spirit of it, and became highly expedient on such an occasion, and the march of three of our battalions to the confines of Travancore, confirmed the tranquillity which had been restored there.

15. The Rajah, who had shewn great alarm in this crisis, was highly gratified by the mission of British troops for his support, and then professed an entire devotion to British interests, and the Dewan pledged himself to adhere, to his latest breath, to that system of measures which should receive and merit the approbation of the Governor General. Thus, what had before been steadily resisted, both publicly and privately, for five years, namely, a new treaty of subsidiary and defensive alliance, they both at length consented to, and concluded in January 1805. It may be observed, that during the two preceding years in which this measure had been fruitlessly pursued by the Resident, the British Government had been engaged in an arduous war with the Marhattas, and that it was brought to a very successful close, about the time when the domestic convulsion in Travancore appeared to turn the scale in favour of a more intimate British connection.

16. The articles in which this treaty varied from the one of 1795, were chiefly these: the Rajah, who by the treaty of 1795 stood engaged to furnish the Company, when involved in war, with such part of his military force as he could spare, with safety to his own country, was, by the treaty of 1805, relieved from that obligation, and, in lieu of it, he stipulated to pay annually, in addition to the subsidiary payment under the former treaty, a sum equivalent to the expence of one regiment of native infantry, estimated to amount to rupees 4,01,655; and the disposal of the whole subsidiary force, either within the country of Travancore or the limits of the Company's dominions, was left to the option of the British Government. The Rajah also became bound, by the new treaty, to pay a due proportion of the expence of any troops, additional to the subsidiary force, which it might eventually be necessary to employ for the protection of his dominions. It was expressly provided, that whenever the Governor General in Council should have reason to apprehend a failure in the funds destined to defray either the expences of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expences in time of war, he should have full power to introduce regulations for the management and collection of the revenues, or to assume, on behalf of the Company, the direct management of a part of the territorial possessions of the Rajah, as he might deem most expedient. And whereas the treaty of 1795 had respect chiefly to the internal defence of Travancore, the Rajah promised, by the new treaty, to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the British Government should occasionally judge it necessary to offer him, in respect to all the objects connected with the advancement

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

advancement of the internal interest of his Highness, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

17. The ratification of the new treaty by the Supreme Government arrived at the Rajah's capital in July 1805, and he and his whole Court gave public demonstration of joy on that occasion. The first account of it reached England in November 1805, but the papers connected with the negotiation did not arrive till January 1806, and owing to the circumstances of that time, the treaty was not then taken into particular consideration. The correspondence of the Resident, Colonel Macanlay, does not touch upon this treaty after the month of July 1805, until the month of October 1806, when he, having been put under the immediate orders of the Fort St. George Government, on the requisition of that Government, stated, that no part of the additional subsidiary had been paid, and that the Governor General in Council had authorized the remission of one half of that subsidy for two years from the commencement of the treaty.

18. By a letter from the Supreme Government to us, of the 1st May 1807, and a subsequent one from Fort St. George, of the 21st October 1807, the following statements were brought before us:—1st. That the remission of one half the new subsidy, for two years, which was no part of the treaty, was granted at the earnest request of the Rajah, in order to render it as little burthensome as possible to him; and to enable him gradually to effect such military reductions, reforms and improvements as were stated to be necessary to supply the resources for the whole of the additional subsidy:—2dly. That as late as the month of September 1806, the unremitted half of that subsidy had neither been claimed nor paid:—3dly. That the Rajah earnestly desired to retain in his service the corps known by the name of the Carnatic Brigade, which had proved on various occasions essentially useful to him, and to obtain the permanent remission of one half of the additional subsidy, to enable him to bear the charges of that brigade:—4thly. That this application on the part of the Rajah, was deemed to be altogether unreasonable, since the discharge of the Carnatic Brigade, was, to form one of those reductions of expense by means of which funds were to be provided for the additional subsidy, and that the reduction of a large proportion of the Rajah's military establishment was one of the objects of the treaty, independently even of the provision of resources for the additional subsidy; whereas the Rajah had applied the remitted portion of the subsidy to the maintenance of the brigade, and pleaded its continuance in his service in support of his application for the permanent remission of that portion of the subsidy, for which the discharge of the brigade was intended in part to provide, thus, endeavouring to derive advantage from the abuse of a solicited indulgence, of even urging that abuse as an argument for the obtainment of additional concessions:—5thly. That the Supreme Government had determined to require provision to be made for the immediate, or at least gradual, discharge of the unremitted half of the additional subsidy, and the gradual discharge of the whole amount from 12th January 1807:—6thly. That although the discharge of the Carnatic Brigade was a measure obviously conformable to the spirit and intent of the treaty, by which the Company is charged with the whole military defence of the State of Travancore, yet on account of the merit and attachment of the Carnatic Brigade, the Supreme Government would not insist on its discharge of its continuance in the Rajah's service were consistent with the provision of funds for the payment of the Subsidy:—7thly. That it was computed by the Resident, the resources of the Travancore State would not be less than twelve lacks of rupees per annum, after defraying all charges of a civil and military nature, with exception only of the Carnatic Brigade, and after paying the full amount of the new subsidy:—And lastly, that the determination of the Supreme Government having been communicated to the Rajah of Travancore, no further objection was made on the part of his Government, and the arrear of subsidy which had become due, was in train of liquidation by instalments.

19. It was upon this view of things, that the answer contained in our political dispatch to you of the 7th September 1808, was founded. We did not then go into a consideration of the original formation of the treaty of 1805, not being aware of various circumstances in the history of that transaction, which have been since found in our Indian records, but were not indicated in the dispatches from that quarter. We went merely on the principle of requiring the observance of a treaty, supposed to have been fairly and voluntarily made, which after allowing for the deductions stipulated in it of the Rajah's military force, and the relinquishment of all claim on him for military aid to the Company, imposed no heavy addition to the general expence of his Government, and a treaty which the Rajah appeared to be very able to fulfil. Our dispatch however could not reach you before the adoption of hostile measures, both on the part of the Dewan of Travancore and of our Government.

20. From the month of October 1807, when the arrears of subsidy were stated by you to be in a train of liquidation, until the month of October 1808, no progress appears to have been made in that affair, although the Resident states, in July 1808, that for eight months preceding, scarce ten days had passed without his reminding the Dewan of the arrears, which then amounted to rupees 6,62,669: repeated letters in the course of that time, to the Resident and your Government, from the Rajah and his Dewan, which all seem to have been the work of the latter, complained in strong terms of the oppression of the new treaty, and the inability of the Rajah to pay the additional subsidy; the whole was said, by the Dewan, to have been extorted contrary to humanity and the law of nations; and the whole is laid to the personal account of the Resident, according to an usage common among the Indians, who in remonstrating against acts of Government, represent them as the acts of its

its agents only, although in this case, the Governor General had himself written to the Rajah when the new treaty was first proposed; that what the Resident did, he did by his authority, and the Governments, both of Bengal and Fort St. George, had in their direct communications with the Rajah and his minister, left them no pretence for affecting to consider the new treaty and the enforcement of its stipulations, as the personal acts of the Resident. In this period, they for the first time, explicitly demanded the relinquishment of the whole of the new subsidy, whereas before they seemed to have confined their application to an abatement of only two lacks.

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

21. With respect to the ability of the Travancore revenue to afford the whole of the subsidy, the Dewan appears to have acknowledged in March 1808, that he could not answer the statement of the Resident on that head, and you have expressed our conviction that the plea of inability was unfounded. We are particularly pleased, however, that our Governments, both of Bengal and Fort Saint George, have distinctly declared to the Government of Travancore, that if it could give any satisfactory evidence of inability, due consideration would certainly be paid to that circumstance; and it was doubtless more an evidence of unwillingness than of inability, that no retrenchments were made in the military establishment of Travancore, the reduction of which, with the substitution of Company's troops, was according to the evident understanding of the parties, one of the proposed ends of the treaty.

22. Of such indisposition to fulfil those stipulations, independent of any question of ability, there is sufficient proof even at that period; and it appears to be chiefly, if not solely, imputable to the Dewan, of whose "unhappy bias" the Resident speaks in his letter of the 10th March; and in your letter to Bengal, of the 5th of August 1808, you suspect that Minister to entertain the design of disturbing the relations between the two States; in the same month, the Resident stated in a private letter to Mr. Secretary Buchan, that the Dewan was of late greatly changed in temper, having become ferocious, and that the Rajah was "a mere cypher, trembling at the very name of the Dewan." The Resident also states in a letter of the 16th September, to Mr. Buchan, that the Rajah had several times conveyed to him his satisfaction in the subsidiary engagements, and his perfect reliance on the honour and liberality of the British Government. The letter, however, which you very properly caused to be written to the Dewan, on the 30th July 1808, appears to have produced the happiest effects upon him; he expressed to the Resident the deepest contrition for his past defaults, and on the 22d September he commenced paying the arrears, and with the hopes which this change encouraged, your letter of the 24th October 1808, closed.

23. But those hopes were of short duration. By the month of November, the payment of arrears amounted only to rupees 60,000, and the balance due was eight lacks; instead of a further liquidation of debt, that month produces only a succession of informations from the Resident, evincing with increasing clearness, the certainty of what that officer at first calls "something like a systematic plan of contumacious resistance on the part of the Dewan," which he says rendered it necessary to apprise the Rajah, that with a view to the proper regulation of the affairs of Travancore, another person should be chosen for the office of Dewan, in the room of Vallay Tomby. This is the man who first comes into notice as the leader of an insurrection in 1799; who, with the assistance of British influence, was advanced to be Prime Minister in 1801; whose early administration is clouded with suspicion, arising from the atrocious murder of the family of the deceased respectable Dewan; who, in 1805, vowed unalterable attachment to British interests, and only two months before professed sincere contrition for his failures in this respect. He now begins to appear as the sole ruler of the Travancore State; the Rajah, though his disposition was deemed to be favourable to the British Government, is stated to have been incapable of following the course of his own wishes; he henceforth ceases to be seen in public transactions, and the Dewan exercises in his own person all the powers of government. We hear of a "faction formed under his protection, of an augmentation of Travancore sepoys, the manufacture of bows and arrows, his training the inhabitants to arms, his success in exciting a ferment, his sending to the Isle of France for 500 artillerymen, and expectation of assistance from thence, his rooted purpose of determined hostility, his being capable of instigating his partizans to an attack, and the expediency of placing him as the prime mover and instigator of hostility under arrest." Early in December you were told by the Resident, that the Dewan still continued, with unremitting activity, his plans of hostile preparations, and that in conjunction with the Rajah of Cochin's Minister, a person who appears to have been a suitable confederate to him, and made a conspicuous figure in the subsequent transactions, he was endeavouring to force that Prince into measures of hostility against the British Government, urging him to unite with other chieftains friendly to Travancore, for the expulsion of the English, requiring him with that view to train particular classes of his subjects in the same manner as had been ordered in Travancore. You were at the same time informed by the officer commanding in Malabar, that a report prevailed there of an intended attack on the British Subsidiary Force, and that an army of 22,000 Travancorians was assembled at no great distance from it.

24. You therefore, with proper precaution, directed detachments of troops to proceed from Trichinopoly and Canara, to be prepared to penetrate the Travancore country on both sides, if the course of events should require measures of that nature; and you informed the Resident at the same time, that the Rajah was to be protected in his person, and in the exercise of all his rights, but that it was necessary such a system of internal administration should be established, as should ensure the exact fulfilment of the existing

No. g.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

treaty, and guard against the recurrence of those evils which had menaced the public interests in that quarter.

25. After these measures were taken, the Dewan earnestly requested, through a native then at Alleppe, in the service of Colonel Macaulay, to enter into a negotiation with that officer. The Dewan proposed to retire from his situation, and to live at Callicut, under the protection of the Company; the terms, which seem to have been moderate on his part, were settled apparently to his entire satisfaction. He on the 27th of December, transmitted to Colonel Macaulay, through the same native agent, a sealed letter to the Rajah, the contents of which he did not show, but he gave a translation of it, which is on your records, and contains the resignation of his office. The agent, a man of character, has reported, that the Dewan on that occasion, said with great sensibility—"Tell the Colonel, I now see and acknowledge all my errors and faults; I now know that I was wrong and misled; Colonel Macaulay has twice saved my life, at the risk of his own; by to-morrow I shall owe my life to him a third time; all the country know that to him I am indebted for the rank and authority I have held; I quit my office cheerfully, confiding in him; it is the only reparation I can now offer to him and the Rajah." Colonel Macaulay states, that at the Dewan's earnest request, he had weakened his own party of sepoys, and had sent his palankeens and boats to provide for the Dewan's security and convenience, in coming to him at Cochin, whither he was to proceed on his way to Calicut. The Dewan's letter, written on the 27th of December, he dated the 28th, observing to the agent—"The Colonel will receive it to-morrow, and as to-morrow will be a lucky day for all parties, let it be dated to-morrow." On the night of the 28th, a body of 1000 nairs, commanded by a particular friend of the Dewan's, attacked the house of Colonel Macaulay at Cochin, with the intention of murdering him; several of his sepoys were killed, and his own escape was most providential and surprizing. On the 30th of December, the Dewan in person, with an army reported to have been 30,000 strong, attacked the British Subsidiary Force at Quilon. The whole of this proceeding is marked by a character of signal perfidy and atrocity, which may throw light on other parts of this man's conduct. It renders credible the report of his designing, in 1806, to have Colonel Macaulay poisoned, and was a prelude to the murder in cold blood, which he afterwards ordered, of Dr. Hume and thirty-three soldiers of His Majesty's 12th regiment, and to the cruelty he exercised towards the native adherents of the British cause who fell into his hands.

26. Before you were apprized of these open acts of hostility, you had, on the 25th of December, countermanded the orders for marching troops from the Carnatic and Malabar to the frontiers of Travancore, and all military movements and measures against that State. You also recalled Colonel Macaulay, and appointed another Gentleman to the charge of the Residency. You have nowhere distinctly stated the reasons for this change, which you notified to the Supreme Government on the 27th December, observing only in general terms, that subsequent accounts had led you to entertain great doubts regarding the apprehensions which had been excited. This is also the tenor of your letters to us of the 29th December and 27th January; and in your reply of 15th February 1809, to the letter from Bengal, of the 23d January, in which that Government acquiesced with evident reluctance, and only in reliance upon your judgment. In your suspension of military proceedings, and the recal of Colonel Macaulay, you merely state yourselves to have received information, of a private nature, from different quarters, which certainly impressed you with a belief that the rumours respecting the preparations in Travancore had been exaggerated." You added, that it was well known the Resident had been long at variance with the Dewan; and that the latter did not cease to make, through different channels, the strongest professions of his earnest desire and endeavour to preserve undisturbed the subsisting relations between the two countries. How far his conduct in respect to the payment of the subsidy, and after his earnest declarations upon the receipt of Sir George Barlow's letter, in the month of September preceding, accorded with these professions, you had yourselves the means of judging; and Colonel Macaulay's private letters to Mr. Secretary Buchan contained no intimation of a change of councils in the Dewan; on the contrary, his letter to Colonel Chalmers of the 9th December, transmitted to Mr. Buchan, states in the strongest terms the continuance of his hostile preparations. On the 20th, indeed, he mentions, that the Dewan had shifted his ground, and that his object was to lull suspicion asleep; but this letter could not well have reached Madras in time to produce the change of measures adopted on the 25th. The real ground of this alteration in your system must have been a doubt of the accuracy of Colonel Macaulay's intelligence, and, as appears from Mr. Petrie's minute, of the propriety of his conduct; which doubts arose from private information derived from other quarters; but that private information has neither been communicated to us, nor to the Supreme Government.

27. With respect to the minute of Mr. Petrie, it delivers merely an opinion, without the facts or reasons on which it may have been formed; and it implies the opinion not to have been first adopted at the time the minute was written; yet we find in no preceding part of your transactions relative to Travancore, any intimation of such an opinion. Upon the whole of this topic we shall only observe, that it is in general impossible to form a judgment here of the wisdom and justice of the measures pursued in India, unless the facts and reasons upon which they are grounded are distinctly stated.

28. We should however, suppose, that the private intelligence above alluded to was of so decisive a nature, as not only to have raised doubts of the accuracy of Colonel Macaulay's numerous

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

numerous informations, but to have prevented you from drawing the natural, and indeed the necessary inference, from the perfidious attempt already described of the Dewan upon his life; which attempt, with all the train of atrocious and convincing circumstances attending it, was known to you on the 4th of January, when you, notwithstanding, renewed your orders for the suspension of military measures. In the remarks made upon this decision in the letter of the Supreme Government, of the 23d January, we certainly concur, as well as in the general principles laid down in that very able letter. It was written upon the supposition that your reasons for doubting, both the propriety of the Resident's conduct, and the accuracy of his intelligence, were convincing. Uninformed as we still are of the particulars upon which your doubts were founded, we can pronounce no judgment. Your proceeding however, is a full proof of your unwillingness to enter upon hostilities. Yet whilst we do justice to your laudable motives for being thus reluctant, and for making every attempt to conciliate; and whilst we repeat our own decided aversion to war, and our sorrow for the occurrence of those circumstances in which you were then placed, it still seems to us that after so flagrant an attack upon the public representative of the British Government, to suspend even the march of troops towards Travancore, was not the best mode of seeking conciliation, nor a mode suited to the just respect due to our own Government; and we cannot therefore but reckon it fortunate, that the zeal and activity of Colonel Macaulay, in very trying circumstances, and the gallantry of Colonel Chalmers, and the troops under him, prevented part of the evil consequences which might have resulted from this delay.

29. The attack upon the Subsidiary Force at Quilon, on the 30th of December, left you no option but to resume the system of vigorous measures. It is not our intention, at present, to go largely into this part of the dispatches now before us, nor into the military operations which unhappily became unavoidable. But, as from our general confidence in the wisdom and decision of your Government, it is an unpleasant part of our duty to state our doubts upon any part of your conduct, we think it just to express our decided approbation of the energy and activity you displayed on this occasion. We approve of your letter to the Rajah of Travancore, and of your proclamation to his people, preliminary to the entrance of our troops into his country: but with respect to the instructions which you transmitted on the 19th of January to Colonel Macaulay, for the regulation of the affairs of Travancore after tranquillity should be re-established, it appears to us that it was, at that moment, rather premature to determine exactly upon the future measures that should be adopted with respect to the Rajah, and that your instructions have an air of rigour which it might have been desirable to avoid; but on the general subject of our future relations with that Prince, we shall have occasion to make some observations in the sequel.

30. The conduct of the military operations, so far as they have yet been reported to us, demands our unqualified praise. The steady bravery and repeated victories of Colonel Chalmers and his troops, and his temperate yet firm behaviour towards the Dewan, were of great importance. The storming and capture of the lines of Travancore was an achievement of distinguished gallantry, which reflects great credit on the commanding officer, Lieut. Col. St. Leger, and the officers and men under him, in particular on Major Welsh, who led the storming party in a manner that does singular honour to his intrepidity and perseverance. The civil servants also, whose local situations gave them any part in these transactions, appear to have acquitted themselves with zeal and ability; particularly Mr. Warden, collector of Malabar, who communicated important informations; Mr. Gillio, magistrate in Malabar; and Mr. Hepburn, collector of Tinnevely.

31. The prompt zeal manifested by his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, in dispatching early and material aid to our officers employed in Travancore, demands our acknowledgments; and we desire that you will take an early opportunity of making known to him the sense we entertain of his public spirited conduct on this occasion.

32. We are also sensible of the very useful aid derived to our service from the zealous co-operation of Captains Byng and Foote, the Commanders of His Majesty's ships the *Belliqueux* and *Piedmontese*.

33. Nor can we omit to notice on this occasion, the becoming conduct of the late Rajah of Cochin, who evinced the utmost reluctance to enter into combination against the Company, and whose life, it is strongly to be feared, was, in consequence of this reluctance, traitorously sacrificed to the views of the hostile party. We think the family and interests of that Prince entitled to our marked consideration, on account of his conduct and his sufferings, and we hope they will have received a due attention from you.

34. With respect to Colonel Macaulay, we find, that soon after his arrival in Travancore, the Rajah complained of him as harsh in his conduct, and as seeking to impose a new treaty upon him. It appears to us, that Colonel Macaulay, in his early intercourses with that Government, assumed a tone of authority, higher, perhaps, than in the former reign had been either usual or equally requisite: by his own account, his public accusation of one of the Rajah's disreputable favourites, of murder, drew upon him the resentment of the Durbar of that time; and his refusal of money, of which he says he had large offers, made him be counted an enemy. The Governor General, Lord Wellesley, however, in answer to all the complaints made to him, declared that he was perfectly satisfied with Colonel Macaulay, and that what he had done, he had done by his order. Lord Clive, to whom similar complaints were made, appeared to have been also satisfied; the new treaty brought on the carpet by him, seems, throughout, to have been the chief article of grievance. The other

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

charges advanced against him at that time, which were rather vague and of little importance, and apparently urged with the view of effecting his recal, (as Mr. Powney had, on his complaint, been recalled before, merely because he was disagreeable to him), seem to have been satisfactorily answered; but the treaty was nevertheless represented to successive Governors, both before it was made and afterwards, as the work of Colonel Macaulay, though as already noticed, Lord Wellesley's Letter to the Rajah had distinctly declared that measure to be his own. With the Dewan Vallay Tomby, to whom Colonel Macaulay had rendered such essential services, he seems to have had no quarrel till he began to require the payment of the new subsidy in 1806, and in respect to requisitions on that account, he seems to have been abundantly patient. The tone which he adopted in his memorandum to the Rajah of 10th March 1808, was a proper one, and his calling upon the Dewan for proof that the payment of the increased subsidy pressed inconveniently upon the finances of Travancore, as well as his repetition of the statement of their resources, which he had with great propriety explained upon a former occasion to the Dewan, has our approbation; but we cannot give the same approbation to his ultimate determination, not to transmit the Rajah's letter of 16th February 1808, because that determination naturally led to the irregular communication which ensued; and we must also disapprove his having omitted, when he withheld the letter, to communicate the correspondence which had taken place between the Dewan and himself upon the subject of it to his Government, until the month of July 1808, when he first mentioned it in consequence of the dispatch from the Chief Secretary in the preceding month, returning the subsequent letters from the Rajah and the Dewan, to the Governor. These circumstances, we conceive, ought to have been noticed in your correspondence with the Resident, though it is indeed true, that as the declaration of the inability of Travancore to discharge the full demands had been considered by the Governments of Bengal and Madras as futile, and all requests for a further remission had been directly negatived, the Resident may have been naturally led to think, that a mere repetition of these assertions and demands, unsupported by any fresh proofs or allegations, was unnecessary to be transmitted; and our Government at Madras may upon the same grounds have thought it expedient to put an end to all hopes of relaxation, by considering the subject as closed. The most important letter of complaint received by your Government from the Dewan, appears to be that of the 10th July 1808, which reached you in the interval between the receipt of Colonel Macaulay's explanation of his conduct, as complained of in the Dewan's former communications, and the transmission of your letter of reproof to the Dewan, dated the 30th of the same month. In this letter of the 10th July, the Dewan alleges that the conduct of the Resident and of his nephew Doctor Macaulay, was personally disrespectful and offensive to the Rajah and himself, and he complains pointedly of the delegation by the Resident, of his authority to the latter gentleman, inclosing a copy of a note to himself from Colonel Macaulay, dated the 26th June 1808, in which that delegation is referred to in a manner which seems to show that it had been matter of previous complaint. Of this letter, no other notice appears to have been taken by you, than the mention made of it in your letter of reproof to the Dewan, in the enumeration of the communications from him which are there acknowledged. We are surprised, that you should have thought it unnecessary to require any explanation from the Resident upon the subject of this letter. We should have supposed that a representation of this nature would have led you to call for copies of all the correspondence which had taken place between Colonel Macaulay and the Court of Travancore for some time past, and for as full an account of his verbal communications, and those of Dr. Macaulay with the Dewan, as could be furnished; and we should have expected this the more upon such an occasion, because it is evident from the silence of the records, that the Resident was not in the habit of making a regular communication to you of the particulars of what passed on the constant and pressing applications and remonstrances which had been made by him to the Travancore Government, in respect to the payment of the subsidy. Upon the whole of this subject, it appears to us, that Colonel Macaulay may have been wanting in a conciliatory temper, and that his residence at a distance from the seat of the Travancore Government, with his consequent transaction of the public business by a delegate, was inexpedient. We think also, that he committed an unfortunate error in making the new subsidy higher than the first instructions to him from the Governor General proposed, and upon this point we shall say something more hereafter; but on the other hand, it is fair to allow, that as from the complaints that were reiterated against him, chiefly on the ground of the treaty, and the resistance he experienced to the payment of the new subsidy, it became difficult for him to conciliate that Court, so, although it is a matter of concern, that any plea of this nature should have been afforded for complaints, yet from the character of the Dewan, it cannot be supposed that the personal demeanor of Colonel Macaulay could be the cause of the extensive and deeply criminal views into which he entered; and as far as we can judge from the information before us, Colonel Macaulay appears to have conducted himself with great integrity, and with distinguished ability and firmness in a difficult situation, and in a variety of trying conjunctures.

35. Before we quit this subject, we take occasion to observe, that it is of importance the mode of intercourse between our Government and Courts which stand in a relation to them, similar to that of Travancore, should be distinctly understood. This intercourse should, undoubtedly, be carried on in the regular form, between the Resident and the Prince, or his Minister; but as cases may arise in which the country Powers may have, or think they have, reason to complain of the conduct of a Resident, and means ought to be afforded them of transmitting such complaints through a regular channel, nothing more can be expected of

of them, than that they should do, what appears in the case immediately before us, to have been proposed, namely; to transmit them openly through the hands of the Resident, thereby giving him an opportunity of clearing himself from any unfounded charges which may be brought against him. The establishment of a different principle, would preclude all regular channels of complaint, and leave no hopes of redress but in resistance.

36. Having now reviewed the state of our relations with the Government of Travancore, from an early period to the present time, and through a long course of friendly alliance, to a state of comparative alienation, and at length of open warfare, we proceed to make some observations on the causes which may have led to this last unhappy predicament in which we are now involved, and on the principles by which our future conduct towards that Government ought to be regulated.

37. We have already noticed the great change produced in the external relations of the Travancore State, by the downfall of Tippoo Sultan, and of his power in 1799. From that time, as the protection of the Company has ceased to be essential, which before it was, to the independence of Travancore, so it is certain that our friendship has been regarded by that State with less solicitude; but it might have been expected, that it would maintain its ancient relations, both in gratitude for past services, and because it could not swerve from them without incurring our just resentment; we had a right also, to expect in return, for securing that State from destruction, by enemies external and internal, the most complete security which it could afford us against European force or intrigue; and on the other hand, it was still of so much importance to us, in reference especially to European enemies, to maintain the influence we had obtained over the political conduct of Travancore, that it became our interest to make its connection with us as easy to that State as should consist with a due controul over its foreign relations. To secure the continuance of that controul, was in the new situation in which the two States were placed after our conquest of Mysore, an object of legitimate policy to our Government; but to increase to Travancore the expense of its connection with us to so large an extent, seems to have been inexpedient. According to these positions, it was fairly allowable to our Government to propose in 1800, a new modification of the treaty of 1795, and some increase of the Subsidiary Force; but beyond the amount which upon a just estimate the Rajah should be found likely to save annually, by being absolved from the stipulation to furnish the Company with military aid whenever they should, in a state of war, demand it, it appears to us, that no pecuniary concession should have been required of him, unless he had shewn a perfect willingness to have made up whatever that estimate should have fallen short of the charge of a third subsidiary battalion of our troops; for it became the interest of the Company, in the new state of things, to devote a third battalion to the care of that country, even if no allowance had been made to them for it. The Governor General in his instructions of February 1800, to the Resident, required him to propose that another battalion should be subsidized; but the Resident, as we have already observed, unhappily proposed a regiment; this no doubt increased the disinclination of the Travancore Government to a new treaty, which it resisted for five years, and only acceded to at last, in the moment when it was preserved chiefly by British support, from being overwhelmed by domestic insurrection and revolt. The augmentation of the money subsidy seems, both from what passed at the time and what has since transpired, to have been the objection most felt by the Travancore Government to that treaty. It is indeed, true, that the Resident was correct in believing the Rajah could afford to pay the additional subsidy; the vast military preparations of which Travancore has since been found capable, is a clear proof of this. It is also true, that since the inability of the country has been pleaded, our Government has constantly professed a readiness to pay regard to that plea, if any evidence could be adduced in support of it; and that no such evidence has been offered, is another proof of the ability of the country; it must further be admitted, that nothing could be more improbable or less likely to be apprehended, than any hostility between one Government and the State of Travancore, and that in the situation of the Company's finances in the year 1805, to desire an additional subsidy for an additional force, from a Prince who was able to afford it, who then owed a large balance of obligation to the Company, and was utterly unlikely to break his connection with them, might seem fairly allowable; but after all these admissions, it is in our opinion to be regretted, that any new subsidy beyond the fair commutation already mentioned, should have been demanded; that the grounds of discontent on the part of the Travancore Government, either in respect to the treaty or the conduct of the Resident, as also the reported hostile preparations of that Government, were not in due time closely scrutinized; and it is a source of great concern to us, that either the treaty or the manner of enforcing it should have been in any measure a real or an assignable cause for the misunderstandings that ensued, and which at length unhappily ended in enormities, on the part of the Dewan, that nothing in the treaty or the adherence of our Government to it could possibly justify.

37. When the treaty of 1805 reached us in the end of that year, we were not aware that it had not been entered into with the good will of the Travancore State, having then been quite uninformed of the resistance that had been made to such a treaty during four years preceding; nor were the records which contained the details of the Resident's correspondence during that period brought under our notice, till your late advices called our attention to the subject.

38. That the Rajah of Travancore himself, or any other individual in his situation, would have broken his connection with the Company on such a ground as this, we see no reason

No. 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sept. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

to believe; and that he should have been of so weak a character, and should have retained a man so unprincipled and malevolent as Vallay Tomby, in an office which enabled him to exercise despotic power, are circumstances to be lamented; but that Minister does not seem at first to have entertained any idea of refusing the payment of the subsidy; and by what process of mind, by what combined views of daring ambition and enmity to our Government, passions by which he seems to have been powerfully influenced, his ferocious spirit was led into formidable military preparations and hostile negotiations, and thence to the desperate game he at length ventured upon for independent authority, it must be impracticable to ascertain; but the treaty of 1805 ought not to be considered as responsible for all the consequences flowing from his subsequent illegal assumption of powers, which belonged only to his Sovereign, and from the daring wickedness with which he used those powers. In fact, he appears to have been influenced by events, as they successively arose to his view, and to imagine that he was steadily actuated from the beginning only, or chiefly by the motive of resistance to the additional subsidy, would be to form a conclusion which the nature of his character by no means warrants. It was only after the return to India of Lord Cornwallis, who was supposed to favour a system of external policy different from that of the preceding Governor General, that the Dewan first thought of complaining of the treaty; the changes which afterwards took place, both in the Governments of Bengal and Madras, encouraged him, according to the Indian manner, to renew his complaint; and we are sorry to observe, from his English letters, and circumstances mentioned by Colonel Macaulay, that European or Portuguese intriguers may have contributed to mislead him; but the rumours which were circulated in the country about the time of the Vellore mutiny, the commotions of that time, and above all, the reports of a French invasion, and a new war between the Company and the Mahratta States, seem to have made a strong impression on his mind, and to have disposed him to entertain schemes of aggrandizement and resistance; and as the most effectual means of success, to look to an alliance with the French, with whom, if he could have established a connection, it would be inconsonant to his character to suppose, that he would not have supplied the benefit of it to the establishment of his own power, rather than to the service of his master. The daring lengths to which he is capable of going in his schemes, and in the means of accomplishing them, have been exemplified in some of the transactions already noticed, and receive a further illustration from his plan to assassinate all the European officers of the Subsidiary Force, previous to the attack upon that corps on the 30th of December; and from his attempt to instigate by the most atrocious unfounded calumnies, the Zemorin and other chieftains of that part of India, to rise in arms for the subversion of the British power; a man of such flagitious dispositions never could have been safely trusted, nor can it be at all concluded, that without any plea like that of the new subsidy, his bad passions would not have led him to the greatest extremities. The power which he at length exercised in the Travancore State, rendered his master a cypher, and was inconsistent with the rights of that Prince, and the engagements subsisting between him and the Company. The personal character and conduct of the Dewan were therefore to be clearly separated from any question arising out of treaties between the two States; and we doubt not that in the settlement, which there is reason to hope has long since taken place of the affairs of Travancore, you will have seen the necessity, in justice both to the Rajah and the Company, of depriving the author of all the late disturbances, of the power of doing any mischief in future.

39. With the Rajah himself, who does not seem to have taken personally any active part in the hostile proceedings of his Dewan, and may rather have been intimidated by him into acquiescence, we still wish that a lenient policy may have been pursued. To a pertinacious refusal to fulfil the obligation of a solemn treaty deliberately formed, and a refusal for which no satisfactory or valid reason was assigned, our Government could not, in justice to itself yield; and when this refusal was followed by active hostility against us, it became necessary to have recourse to the law of arms; but when our military power shall have prevailed, as we trust it will, in so unequal and unprovoked a contest, it is our wish that the temperate and indulgent consideration, into which we should from the first have been most ready to enter, of the subsidy stipulated by the treaty of 1805, may still have had place. The luminous and judicious view given in the letter addressed to you by the Supreme Government on the 23d of January, already noticed, of the principles which should regulate the conduct of the Company towards the State of Travancore, both in the critical circumstances then existing, and for the maintenance of permanent relations between us and that State, exhibits in general the sentiments we entertain upon this subject, particularly the latter branch of it, which respects the future connection of the two States. But we are not prepared to admit, with the Governor General in Council, that if it could be proved the revenues of Travancore were, after defraying all expences, adequate to the payment of the additional subsidy, that circumstance would alone be sufficient reason for insisting on the continuance of the standard of 1805. We are, however, fully of opinion, that complete reparation ought to be made by the Travancore State, for the insults offered to our Government by the hostile attacks made upon the house and person of the British Representative, and upon the Subsidiary Force at Quilon, and for the expence of the detachments of troops, which those measures obliged the Company, in self-defence, to march into Travancore. We are of opinion too, that no concession should be made which would appear to the Travancore Government, or to the rest of India, to be the effect of compulsion or intimidation; but that after the honour of our Government has been sufficiently vindicated and secured, our object should be, by manly and liberal policy, to conciliate the lasting attachment of the Travancore State; and that if the amount at which the subsidy

was

was fixed by the treaty of 1805 should be found to interfere with this object, it ought on that account alone to be reduced.

40. On the whole, although we must ever lament the necessity which has impelled our Government to have recourse to arms against the aggressions of the Travancore State, we would hope, that the events which have lately passed there, and our conduct towards it, will lead to a permanent settlement of our connection with that country, and tend to preserve the general tranquillity of India.

We are,

Your loving friends,

(Signed)

London, 29th Sept. 1809.

CHAS. GRANT.

WM. ASTELL.

T. METCALF.

JNO. INGLIS.

JNO. JACKSON.

G. A. ROBINSON.

R. C. PLOWDEN.

J. HUDLESTON.

ROBT. WILLIAMS.

GEORGE SMITH.

GEO. MILLETT.

W. WIGRAM.

JAS. PATTISON.

No 9.

Letter from
Court of Directors,
29 Sep. 1809; on
Political State of
the Travancore
Territory.

No. 10.

Copy of the TREATY with the Rajah of Travancore, dated the 28th January 1793.

(Copy.)

ARTICLES of Agreement made and entered into by the Honourable Major General Robert Abercromby, President and Governor of Bombay, for and on behalf of the Honourable United English East India Company, and their Successors, on the one part; and Gueswa Pilla, Dewan to his Highness the Rajah of Travancore, for and on behalf of his said Highness, and his Successors, on the other part; this 28th day of January of the English year 1793, viz.

No. 10.

Treaty (28 January
1793) with the
Rajah of Tra-
vancore.

That this agreement shall not affect or interfere with any agreements subsisting between the said Honourable Company and the said Rajah; and the said Rajah shall deliver to the said Company, between the 10th February 1794 and 10th April following, three thousand candies (of 560 pounds weight) of clean pepper, at the rate of one hundred and fifteen Bombay rupees for each candy, exclusive of two rupees customs for each; and shall further deliver a similar quantity (three thousand candies) annually, at the same price and at similar periods, for nine successive years, that is, three thousand every year, until the 10th of April 1804 (English computation.)

That of the pepper above stipulated to be delivered annually, two thousand five hundred candies shall be delivered at Quilon, and the remaining five hundred candies at the said Company's warehouse at Anjengo, into the hands of such officers as the Company may appoint for the purpose of receiving it.

That the said Rajah shall receive, in part payment for the said annual contract for pepper, the undermentioned articles, at the usual prices for which he has been debited in former contracts; two thousand stand of arms complete, one hundred candies of lead, three hundred yards of scarlet broad-cloth superfine, one thousand five hundred yards of ditto fine, twenty-seven thousand five hundred yards of red purpet, two thousand yards of blue purpet, five hundred yards of yellow purpet, five hundred yards of green purpet.

That the balance due for the said annual provision of pepper shall be discharged in Bombay rupees; which balance, together with the warlike stores stipulated to be taken in part payment, shall be made good between the 10th February and the 10th April of each respective year that this agreement shall be in force, in like manner as the Rajah engages to deliver the pepper within those periods.

That should the Rajah fail to deliver the quantity of pepper contracted for by this agreement, within the periods specified, he shall forfeit to the said Company fifty-seven rupees and an half penalty, for each candy of pepper so deficient. In like manner, should the Company fail on their part, to make good to the Rajah the amount specified in the agreement, within the terms prescribed, they shall forfeit a penalty of double the sum so deficient.

In witness of the foregoing agreement, Major General Abercromby and Gueswa Pilla have subscribed to two copies thereof, which have been mutually exchanged, and have affixed their seals, this 28th day of January 1793.

(Signed) Robert Abercromby.

No. 11.

(Copy of a PARAGRAPH, 226, of a Revenue LETTER, from the Governor in Council at *Fort St. George*, to the Court of Directors of the *East India Company*, dated 21st October 1807.

EXTRACT REVENUE LETTER from FORT ST. GEORGE,
dated 21st October 1807.

Para. 226.

No. 11.

On the Revenue
of Malabar.

THE following Extract of the Report of the Board of Revenue, conveys a most satisfactory description of the beneficial changes which have occurred in the affairs of that province:—

“WHEN we consider the destruction of troops, enormous expenditure of the public money, and miserable state of confusion, which until very lately rendered this province a source of constant regret and anxiety, we cannot help congratulating Your Honour in Council, on the very happy change which the public measures have effected. We think but few instances have been exhibited of a speedier and happier transition from civil war, poverty, and enormous expenditure of the public money, to perfect tranquillity, increasing opulence, and comparative economy.”

[No. 12.—Copy of a Letter from John Bebb, Esq. (a Director of the East India Company), to the Court of Directors, dated 31 May 1813; respecting the 13th Proposition, submitted to the House of Commons, on the renewal of the Company's Charter;—*having been already printed, is not here inserted.*]

No. 13.

Copy of the 2d and 3d PARAGRAPHS of the Military LETTER, from the Governor in Council at *Fort St. George*, to the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, dated the 1st of July 1812, relative to the late Occurrences at *Quilon* in *Travancore*.

EXTRACT MILITARY LETTER from FORT ST. GEORGE,
dated 1st July 1812.

Para. 2.

WE avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded to us by the departure of His Majesty's ship *Doris* for Europe, to transmit to you the enclosed Copies of further Communications from the Resident in Travancore, received since the date of that letter, respecting the late occurrences at Quilon. We have also the honour to enclose Copies of Letters dispatched by our order to the Resident, and to His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

No. 13.

Occurrences at
Quilon in Travancore.

3. We are happy to inform your Honourable Court, that a careful consideration of the Resident's dispatches has confirmed us in our belief, originally grounded on the proceedings of the Military Committee of Enquiry, laid before us by the Commanding Officer of the Subsidiary Force, that the conspiracy at Quilon will ultimately appear, as far as regards the troops, to have been confined to a few bad characters in one battalion of the army, and that the inhabitants of Travancore were entirely unconcerned in it. We have however, deemed it proper to direct, that four companies of His Majesty's Royal Regiment shall be detached from Trichinopoly to Travancore, as a temporary arrangement, until it shall be determined from what garrison the European force intended to be stationed in that country can be permanently spared. The native troops in Travancore have also been ordered to be relieved.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS:

VIZ.

Growth of Hemp, and Cotton.—General Revenues of India; and Mr. *Richards's* Finance System in part of Salsette.—Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.—Mr. *Richards's* Proposition for establishing a General Bank.—Revenue of Broach and Surat.—Jumma or Rental in Guzerat.—Political State of the Travancore Territory; and Treaty with the Rajah of Travancore.—Revenue of Malabar.—Occurrences at Quilon in Travancore.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
22 June 1813.

Copy of a LETTER from the Reverend Dr. *Claudius Buchanan* to the Court of Directors of The *East India* Company, dated the 8th June 1813;—containing his further Observations on Mr. *Buller's* Statements, relative to the Idol JAGGERNAUT.

To the Court of DIRECTORS of The Honourable The *East India* Company.

Honourable Sirs,

MY former Letter to your Honourable Court, of the 25th May, having been hastily called for, I had not time to notice a certain part of Mr. Buller's letter so fully as the occasion demanded. I, therefore, now beg permission to address your Honourable Court a second time.

1.—The subject to which I would now beg leave to direct the attention of your Honourable Court is, the attempt made by Mr. Buller to extenuate the impure character of the Hindoo worship. He acknowledges that indecent emblems are sculptured on the Temple of Jaggernaut, and that he has seen them; but, he adds, they are merely what may be seen “in representations of ancient sculpture.” This is true. They are of the same character with those which ornamented the Temple of the obscene god at Rome. Mr. Buller has also, without doubt, seen the painted and engraved emblems on the cars of Jaggernaut in Bengal. It is proper to observe, that in some places, the rutt, or chariot of the Idol, as well as his Temple, is covered with characteristic devices. At Ishera, about eight miles from Calcutta, the chariot of Jaggernaut is freshly painted previously to the annual Rutt Jattrā, and the figures (which exceed all conception, for variety of obscenity) become the objects of sensual gaze to persons of both sexes. It is thought necessary that the god should have his appropriate insignia before he sets out on his progress. No classical scholar can witness these representations without being reminded of the Phallic ceremonies. Now, if any man were to assert that, after such preparation, and with such accompaniments, there was yet no impropriety, in word or action, manifested in the subsequent procession, and by a people too who worship the Phallus, could we believe him? For, in endeavouring to elicit the truth on the subject in question, which Mr. Buller has agitated, and to which he has drawn the attention of your Honourable Court and the Imperial Parliament, we ought not to forget (and the whole nation ought at the present time to keep it in mind) “that the mass of the Hindoo people worship an indecent emblem.” Some sects have an allusion to it in the marks of cast painted on their foreheads. Some pagodas assume an analogous shape*. In sacred groves, and in the Temples of Maha-deva (the great god), the significant Lingam presents itself conspicuously to view. It is the daily, emphatical, primeval, and almost universal worship of the Hindoo people. For the truth of this fact I refer your Honourable Court to every civil and military officer in your service, who has passed through Hindostan, and to every historian of the customs and superstition of the Hindoos that can be produced.

2.—The Rutt Jattrā bears some analogy to the ancient feasts of Bacchus. Learned men entertain no doubt of the fact. “The worship of Bacchus was the same as that which is paid to Siva. It had the same obscenities, the same bloody rites, and the same emblem of the generative power†.” An author well versed in the mythology of the South of India, expressly calls the Rutt at the Temple of Ramisseram, “the car of Bacchus‡.” The Temple of Ramisseram is also within the territories of

* Paolino, page 379.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. 8. p. 50.

‡ “The triumphal cars employed to carry about the images of their gods, on days of solemnity, are also of beautiful workmanship. Some of these cars cost from 20 to 30,000 rupees.

“Of this kind is the car of Bacchus in the Temple Ramanacoil (or Ramisseram) on the boundaries of the kingdom of Marava. There are others of like kind also at Tiruvandōda, Lanja-puri, and Jaggernat.”

“Besides

of the East India Company, and is nearly as famous in the South as Juggernaut is in the North of India. A particular account of the scenes exhibited at the Rutt Jattrā of that place, may, I understand, be soon expected. In the meantime the Reverend Mr. Cordiner's narrative may suffice. That gentleman describes the "Swamy Coaches" or Rutts at Ramisseram, which place he visited in 1804, in the following terms:—"The outside is covered with an extraordinary assemblage of obscene images, representing lewd and indecent scenes, too scandalous in the eyes of an European to admit of a description. Each carriage has four wheels of solid wood, and requires two hundred men to draw it. When they are dragged along the streets, on occasions of great solemnity, women, in the phrenzy of false devotion throw themselves down before the wheels, and are crushed to death by their tremendous weight; the same superstitious madness preventing the ignorant crowd from making any attempt to save them." Cordiner's history of Ceylon, vol. 2. p. 16.

3.—It ought further to be observed, that the Phallic worship includes the Hindoo, Triad, Brahma, Vishnū, and Shiva. The Pedestal is the type of Brahma, the Yoni that of Vishnū, and the Lingam or Phallus that of Sheva*. And so peculiar are the effects of this impure worship on the minds of the Hindoos, that they are disposed to symbolize the objects of nature in a manner analagous to it. If a man digs a pond, he considers it as a Yoni or emblem of female nature, and he consecrates it by fixing in it a mast, decorated with a chaplet of flowers. The sea, or well or cave, conveys a similar type. A mountain, obelisk, or any thing conical excites the idea of the Lingam†. Thus, in like manner as Christians spiritualize natural scenes for an edifying purpose, the Hindoos *sensualize* the objects of nature.

4.—It seems worth while to consider what was the ultimate object of Mr. Buller in addressing your Honourable Court, and through you, the Council of the Nation, on the rites of Jaggernaut. It could not be merely to describe more accurately the circumstances of a Hindoo festival, or to offer an opinion respecting the sculptures on the Temple, for the satisfaction of the antiquary. Had these been his objects, I should not have been disposed to notice them. But his purpose seems to me to have been to exculpate the Hindoo worship from the charge of blood and impurity, in order that our Christian nation might feel itself justified in leaving the Hindoo people as they are, involved in a baneful superstition.

5.—In regard to the charge of blood, the seventy immolations of females in Bengal in the months of May and June last, just brought before the public, will be a sufficient answer. The same proportion of human life is supposed to be devoted to destruction in the same way, every current month. This is a horrid and painful recital to the feelings of the nations! The cry of such blood arising from a country placed under a Christian administration, cannot fail to enter the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

6.—As to the impurity of the Hindoo worship, all the argument of Mr. Buller in extenuation of it, is (without referring at present to its obvious principle), that when he happened to be at Jaggernaut he did not see any thing improper in the scene. He admits indeed, that he might have heard the *Cubbee*, had he been near enough. But of what consequence is it whether there be a cessation of indecency at times before Europeans, at Jaggernaut, or not? If there were even a complete cessation, what, I would ask, is the occasional exhibition of indecency at a public festival, compared to the common constant characteristic impure worship of the people? Is Mr. Buller prepared to inform us that the worship of the *Lingam* has ceased?—or, that it has been diminished in his time?—or that he indulges the smallest hope that it ever will be diminished? Why then need he be at pains to make the Hindoos appear a chaste and decorous people in the eyes of the English, when his own eyes must have witnessed their impure worship, times without number?

7.—Every

* Besides these grand festivals, there are several others, such as the Shiva Ratri or the Night of Shiva, on which the Phallophoria ceremonies that relate to the worship of the Lingam, are celebrated. On this occasion all the inhabitants of both sexes hasten in great numbers to the Temple of Shiva or Maha deva, remain there, the whole night, sing all sorts of indecent songs in honour of the Lingam, go a hundred times

in solemn procession around the temple, or around the tree, under which a Lingam is placed, and carry about with them at the same time, a wooden representation of the Lingam, amidst dancing and singing." Paolino. p. 361.

* Sonnerat, vol. 1. p. 179.

† Moor's Hindoo Pantheon, p. 379.

7.—Every man who has studied the genius of the Hindoo superstition, knows, that the contemplation of indecent emblems, from early youth, is a fountain of licentiousness to the people. The prostitution of the heart to sensual images in the daily worship, is the deep, copious, prolific source of general impurity of heart, and indecency of speech and action. With such an ordinance of worship, prescribed from infancy, can we believe it possible that any people should consider lasciviousness as a sin against God? They might, indeed, consider it as a sin against public reputation, and against political principle; for the policy of the rudest nations will restrain community of vice. But that the Hindoos in general account lasciviousness a sin against God, is what, I think, the boldest advocate for their religion will not venture to affirm*.

8.—Let our Christian nation then behold the greater part of the Hindoo people, a hundred million at least of our fellow creatures falling prostrate before a black stone, and that black stone an indecent emblem! Let us imagine the females decorating it, according to their constant custom, with flowers! Let us contemplate the probable effects (without any specific relation) of such a worship on the general morals of the people; and then let us deny to India the instruction of Christianity, if we can.

9.—One argument urged sometimes by the European defenders of the *Phallic* worship is, that young persons do not understand the emblems, as they are not exhibited entirely in the natural form. But where is the sense of supposing a person worshipping emblems which he does not understand? One should think, that the very first business of the Brahmins would be to make the pubescent youth understand them; besides, it is not admitted, that the people pronounce at their festivals, certain licentious songs, which must soon explain the supposed mysteries. Admired and familiar songs, consecrated by religion and ancient use; ancient, they doubtless are, and bear a strict analogy to the *Phallica Asmata* †, the *Phallic* songs of Greece and Egypt.

10.—But the grand apology of certain philosophers for the worship of the *Lingam*, and its companion, has been, that they are merely symbols of the procreative power of the Deity, and therefore that the worshippers may have very sublime conceptions, and cherish very pure thoughts, notwithstanding the presence of such objects. I do not however believe, that there exists a philosopher among us, who will now seriously avow and defend the proposition, that the constant exhibition of sensual images will not taint the purity of the youthful mind‡.

11.—The only object which I can conceive Mr. Buller to have had in writing the letter which has been laid before Parliament is, that of insinuating that the Hindoos are not imbued by such impure principles as has been asserted, and that therefore it need give us no pain to see them remain as they are. It becomes necessary therefore, on the other hand, to assert the truth, and however painful it must be to the pure mind, to reveal the whole scene of the polluted worship of Brahma, in its principle, essence, origin and practice. Let us only suppose (to bring this matter home to our feelings), that the youth of both sexes in Great Britain were brought to the Temple, and instructed to worship indecent symbols, and what must be the effect on their moral habits; is it then to be regarded as either decent or humane, to labour to perpetuate this unseemly worship of our fellow subjects in India, by excluding

* "It is probable, that the idea of obscenity was not originally attached to these symbols; and it is likely, that the inventors themselves might not have foreseen the disorders which this worship would occasion amongst mankind. Profligacy easily embraces what flatters its propensities, and ignorance follows blindly wherever example excites; it is therefore no wonder that a general corruption of manners should ensue, encreasing in proportion as the distance of time involved the original meaning of the symbol in darkness and oblivion; obscene mirth became the principal feature of the popular superstition; and was, even in aftertimes, extended to and intermingled with gloomy rites and bloody sacrifices." *Asiat. Res.* vol. 8. p. 55.

† *Φαλλικά Ασμάτα.*

‡ "The *Sacte* of *Siva*, whose emblem is the *Phallus*, is herself typified by the female organ. This the *Sactas* worship, some figuratively, others LITERALLY." In this last mentioned sect "the *Sactus*," as in most others, there is a right handed and decent path, and a left handed and indecent mode of worship: but the indecent worship of this sect is most grossly so, and consists of unbridled debauchery with wine and women—"They require their wives to be naked when attending them at their devotions." See Mr. Colebrook on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindoos. *As. Res.* vol. 7. page 280 & 281.

4 PAPER RELATING TO EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

excluding true religion ; or to endeavour to extenuate its moral turpitude in the face of a nation professing the pure religion of Jesus Christ.

12.—Mr. Buller has told us that he saw obscene sculptures on the walls of Jaggernaut ; but has not told us what he heard of the scenes within. Had he wished to give the English nation a just idea of the worship of Brahma, there are two circumstances of a fundamental character, in relation to that worship, which he would no doubt have mentioned in the outset ; viz.

First :—The band of courtesans retained for the service of the Temple. These form a part of the religious procession in the public streets on certain days, and are kept in every great Temple of Hindostan. From infancy they are prepared by education and elegant accomplishments for public seduction. Now, these Priestesses form the character of the worship, “ being consecrated,” says Sonnerat, “ to the honour of the “ Gods. They are the ministers of the Idol, and it is a part of their service “ to sing hymns to his praise.” Is Mr. Buller then prepared to inform us, that this character of the worship is abolished, and that the courtesans at Jaggernaut do not receive the accustomed stipend presented, with other charges, for the sanction of the English Government ; he knows that we might as well attempt to raze the Tower of Jaggernaut from its foundations, as attempt to remove this constituent part of the Brahminical ritual. And thus it is throughout the extensive regions of the Hindoo idolatry ; the ministration of the Priestesses being a natural fruit of the worship of the Lingam. Does not this admitted fact alone set the question at rest, respecting the character of the worship in question ? In regard, however, to its moral effects (for that after all is the main object to be considered), let us only suppose, that the youth of Great Britain of both sexes were accustomed to worship at the altar, in company with a band of impure females invested with a sacred character, and then to witness the songs and dances of those females in the same place, what would be the character of the people of this country in a few years ?

Second :—In my printed account of the transactions at Jaggernaut, I wished to state merely what I myself saw ; and therefore, as I was not within the Temple, I have not thought fit to mention what I heard. But Mr. Buller having resided for some time at the place, and having held while there a high official station, must have had various opportunities of obtaining satisfactory information as to the character of the scenes within the Temple, particularly at certain festivals ; and under such circumstances, he might have stated what he had heard to the public with perfect confidence. Is all then, according to Mr. Buller’s information and belief—pure ; is all decorous within the Temple ? And, if it be not, what signifies it, whether at certain festivals, the ministering Priest used unseemly attitudes in the presence of the European superintendent, or not ? If there actually be impurity “ within,” in the sacred place—in the recess of sanctity, how can a vindication of Jaggernaut remove this corner stone from Brahma’s Temple ?

13.—I would not impute a bad motive to those Asiatic Gentlemen who maintain a different opinion from me on these subjects. Much allowance is to be made for the effects of an imperfect education previously to leaving England, and for the constitutional habits which grow upon men by long intercourse with Indian scenes, and which, in some instances, have changed the very principles and character ; but I apprehend, that those who labour to extenuate the atrocities of the Hindoo idolatry, may be justly charged with two most serious delinquencies ; first, by defending and confirming a sanguinary and obscene superstition, they are in effect, guilty of the utmost cruelty towards whole nations of men ; and secondly, they are guilty of a culpable indifference to the truth and excellency of the Christian religion.

I have the honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) C. BUCHANAN.

Kirby Hall, Borobridge, }
8th June 1813.

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS

Addressed by the House of Commons to the Prince of Wales

1817. LONDON: Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

Directed to Messrs. G. and J. G. G.

Printed from the Original Manuscripts and Notes.

231.

THE

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, relative to the Bill
1817:—containing the further Observations on
the East India Company, dated the 10th June
1817, in answer to the Report of the Committee of
the House of Commons on the subject of the
Company's Affairs, from the 11th of the
same month.

(East India Affairs)

Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

2 July 1817.

Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed.

2 July 1817.

(East India Affairs.)

Copy of a LETTER from the Reverend Dr.
Claudius Buchanan to the Court of Directors of
the *East India Company*, dated the 8th June
1813;—containing his further Observations on
Mr. *Buller's* Statements, relative to the Idol
JAGERNAUT.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
5 July 1813.

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

Advances by the Bengal Government to Indigo Planters:

Financial Letter from Bengal (August 1809;) and one from the Court of
Directors, in answer thereto:

Supplies furnished from India to China—Merchandize and Bullion.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
10 July 1813.

LIST OF PAPERS

Presented to The Honourable House of Commons, pursuant to Orders,
dated the 28th April, and 11th & 14th June, 1813.

— No. 1. —

Copy of the PETITION of *Alexander Nowell*, Esq. to the Honourable The Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, dated the 15th April 1811, with Enclosures N^{os} 1. & 2;—on the subject of Advances by the *Bengal* Government to the INDIGO PLANTERS:—Together with a Copy of the REPLY of the Court of Directors to the said Petition, dated the 14th June 1811.

— No. 2. —

Copy of a FINANCIAL LETTER from the Governor in Council of *Fort William*, to the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company; dated 23^d August 1809.

— No. 3. —

Copy of a LETTER from the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, to the Governor in Council of *Fort William*, dated 20th June 1810, in Answer to their Financial Letter of 23^d August 1809.

[No. 4.—Copy of a LETTER from the Rev. Dr. *Claudius Buchanan* to the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, dated 8th June 1813;—having been printed under Order of 5 July, is not here inserted.]

— No. 5. —

An ACCOUNT of the Description and Amount of SUPPLIES furnished from *India* to *China*, in the Years 1798 and 1812.

— No. 6. —

Account of MERCHANDIZE and BULLION respectively Imported into and Exported from *Bengal* in each Year, from 1795-6 to 1810-11 inclusive: And a similar Account from *Madras* and *Bombay*, from 1802-3 to 1810-11.

No. 1.

Copy of the PETITION of *Alexander Nowell*, Esquire, to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, dated the 15th April 1811, with Enclosures N^{os} 1 & 2;—on the subject of Advances by the Bengal Government to the INDIGO PLANTERS:—Together with Copy of the REPLY of the Court of Directors to the said Petition, dated the 14th June 1811.

The PETITION of *Alexander Nowell*, Indigo Planter, to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies;—

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT, whereas your Petitioner did in the year 1792-3, obtain leave from the late Marquis Cornwallis to resign the military service on your establishment at Bengal, in which he had served many years, and further, did obtain his Lordship's permission to remain in India; That your Petitioner did in the same year 1792-3, settle in the district of Tirhoot and province of Behar, as Indigo Planter; That by the great encouragement given by your Honourable Court, and your Government abroad, to Indigo Planters, by granting licenses, enabling Europeans to purchase lands of the Natives for the purpose, exclusively, of erecting factories for the manufacture of Indigo, as well as by paragraphs of General Letters of your Honourable Court, at different times to your Government abroad, and which were published by your said Government, to promote the extension of this valuable commerce, your Petitioner was induced, in common with many other industrious men, to erect and establish Indigo factories, on a scale which had no equal in any other part of the world. For your Petitioner, depending on his own industry, and relying implicitly on that protection which had so encouraged and promoted his speculations, was convinced, that under such auspices East India Indigo must soon completely put down competition of every other country; and although perfectly aware that the uncommon capability of your provinces to produce the article he had so extensively embarked in, would in all probability create excess to an exclusive situation, even your Petitioner was not afraid to take his chance with his brother planters, in the natural fluctuations inseparable from all mercantile pursuits. But your Petitioner, as your Honourable Court must be aware, could not, from a conduct in your Honourable Court and your Government abroad so encouraging, possibly expect that your Honourable Court would at any time lose sight of that interest they had so warmly espoused; much less that your Honourable Court would at any time embark in, or undertake to do any thing in or concerning this valuable branch of commerce, fatal to its best interests, and inevitably ruinous to a body of men who had with infinite labour, and adventure unprecedented, brought it to an unrivalled state of perfection. Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly solicits the attention of your Honourable Court to the condition of himself and others, Indigo Planters in general, as affected by the purchase of Indigo on the spot by the Company, or advancing for the same, as causing most ruinous extension of the manufacture.

As your Petitioner, in order to save trouble to your Honourable Court, and time, begs leave to state, by the accompanying letters, numbered 1, 2, 3, to which your Petitioner craves the most serious attention of your Honourable Court. And your Petitioner, relying on the justice and consideration of your Honourable Court, most humbly hopes that your Honourable Court will, by the present opportunity, signify to your Government at Bengal, your intention, neither to advance for the manufacture of, or to purchase, Indigo, in future. Your Petitioner is the more sanguine (if he could for a moment suppose your Honourable Court could consider any thing in competition with the general and more enlarged interests of this valuable branch of commerce) that his prayer will be attended to, when it must be obvious, he humbly presumes, to your Honourable Court, as well as from the arguments contained in his letters above alluded to, as perhaps from the experience of your Honourable Court, that a trade in this article cannot be advantageous to the Honourable Company, but ultimately, must be greatly prejudicial to their interests and to the interests of the empire at large.

(Signed) *Alexander Nowell*.

43, Wimpole-street,
April 15, 1811.

No. 1.
—
Advances to
Indigo Planters.
—
Petition of
Mr. Nowell.

(Copy.)

No. 1.

Advances to
Indigo Planters.

Enclosure

(No. 1.)

Mr. Nowell's
Letter.

My dear Sir,

Tirhoot,

November 1861.

WHEN last in Calcutta, I observed with pleasure the sense in which you received my opinions on the public loan to Indigo Planters; and I feel persuaded you will excuse my again introducing a subject, which so intimately regards a principal branch of the commerce of the British possessions in India.

With all due deference to perhaps the ablest and most energetic Government the British Empire in India has ever experienced, the loan in question, in my humble opinion, is a violence done to the constitution of commerce; and so far from adding permanent strength, must inevitably induce debility and ruin to this branch of it.

Indigo is now as much established in these provinces, and become as much a staple commodity, as cloths or any other of the manufactures; and it is a maxim, founded in experience, that commerce, which delights in independence, should neither be clogged with burthensome taxes, or forced by unnatural expedients. It is equally vain to expect Indigo, or any other natural production, to flourish in any climate without interruption, as it is to hope for the success of every adventurer in any line of life. But we ought not to lay to the charge of climate, an evil in this instance entirely our own; or to conclude, because Indigo, from a combination of circumstances in Europe and this country, is at present in demand, that this demand cannot be satisfied in the regular and natural course of commerce. I will not affirm, that the encouragement given by the present state of the markets will insure immediate abundance to any demand, for, like commerce in general, its fluctuations to be natural must be progressive; but this I will affirm, that the sudden and uncommon extension promoted by the loan in question, will be the means of overstocking the markets, and involving the speculation in difficulties, greater even than it before experienced from a similar cause. It will be ruined, past the redemption of Government even; for its ruin arising from superabundance, to extend further support to the planter, would only be to continue and increase the evil, by a certain and increasing loss, both to the Company and the individual. The consequences are evident stagnation, attended with effects so serious, that a revival of this very valuable commerce cannot soon be expected; and when it shall convalesce its re-establishment, from apprehension of a similar fate, will be more progressive than ever. As extension, since our late difficulties, has been found to be slower even than infantine progression, so will it be found henceforward, that every subsequent relapse will be attended with more fatal effects than the preceding one.

I admit our poverty. That indeed I might say we are not only totally destitute of capital of our own, but perhaps not less than a million sterling below par. Nay, I will admit farther; that the capital offered to us by means of the loan is far more advantageous to us, I mean the terms of it, than any funds we can otherwise obtain. But it is the very circumstance, this apparent solecism, the facility of this loan, causing sudden and uncommon extension of the manufacture, beyond all possible demand, that will ultimately be far more injurious to us than the loans supplied by houses of agency even. For although the houses of agency participate largely of the profits of the planter, the capital employed is comparatively small; consequently the scale of manufacture, though hitherto invariably sufficient for the demand, confined within reasonable bounds, which circumstances promises more to insure a certain and independent capital, and to place this branch of commerce upon a better footing ultimately, than a measure so extensive in its operation as the present loan, were the terms of it even more liberal than they are.

If, indeed it be the wish of Government to promote the permanent success of this very valuable branch of commerce, and they will consent to forego a temporary for a permanent advantage, there is, in my humble opinion, a mode as obvious as it is consistent with the true principles of commerce; I mean a temporary reduction of the heavy duties it at present labours under. And admitting that its credit is so low, as, in the opinion of Government, to require support, where is the policy of loading it with burthensome taxes? It is in fact, neither more nor less than relieving distress with one hand, and robbing it with the other.

To consider then the true interests of his commerce, which interests are inseparable from those of the Company and of the empire at large, would it not be wise, in the first instance, to relieve it from oppressive taxes? We should then, proceeding on just commercial principles, ascertain whether extraordinary support be really necessary to promote adequate supply; or, whether gradually and naturally improving in strength, formed upon the firm basis of our own capital, extension almost beyond present calculation, and certainly beyond the power of competition, will not be the consequence.

With you, Sir, so conversant in the unparalleled capability of these provinces, as well from uncommon fertility of soil as comparatively low price of labour, to afford any of their natural

natural or manufactured products, there cannot exist a doubt that we must undersell the whole world! That, *by nature*, we are entitled to the exclusive supply of all Europe with this valuable article of commerce. And if we have not already attained this desirable situation, it has been owing to embarrassments which the measure in question cannot remove, but, on the contrary, as we know from experience, must increase.

It is, however, to be hoped that Government will proceed with a degree of caution in the measure under consideration, commensurate with its importance. That they will, in the first instance, ascertain whether the supply of Indigo for many years past, indeed almost from its first establishment in these provinces, have not been equal to the demand in Europe? Whether planters have not for a series of years laboured under great difficulties from the markets in Europe being overstocked? What the quantity of Indigo exported last year was, when Government made no loan to planters? And whether that quantity be supposed to be a sufficient supply for the markets in England? The result of such inquiry would determine whether extension be necessary; and if it be, whether the degree of extension necessary be not likely to be effected without public assistance.

As an individual, whose interest it is to be particularly well acquainted with the system of finance, under present circumstances, best calculated to ensure success to this, at some future period, great source of wealth to the British empire, I have endeavoured to explain, on a general principle of commerce, in what manner it is likely to be affected by the measure under consideration. For it is not to be expected, that in the various and constant occupation of your situation, you can have had leisure to reflect much on a branch of commerce, the real value of which is yet unknown to those even most interested in its welfare.

From the arguments I have made use of, it may possibly be concluded that my own funds are independent, and therefore, from sordid motives, I wish to exclude from others that aid I do not myself require. On the contrary, I assure you, I regularly receive advances from an house of agency, and hesitate not to assert, that I pay higher terms of agency than any other planter in these provinces either now does, or ever did. I speak from the sincerity of my heart, and the best of my judgment, the true interests of this important branch of commerce, and of every planter, as affected by a loan so unlimited in its operation.

I have the pleasure to remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours, very sincerely,

(Signed) *Alexander Nowell.*

G. H. Barlow, Esq.

My dear Sir,

43 Wimpole-street, 4th March 1811.

THE arguments contained in the accompanying letter, written so long since as 1801, against the Company making advances for Indigo, obtain equally against the purchase of Indigo by the Company, each tending in an equal degree to promote a ruinous extension of the manufacture; but the Company argue, by the act of purchase, as I know individual Directors also do, that the trade in Indigo will be beneficial to the Company, and that it is unreasonable in the planter to expect the Company should not participate in the *profits* of a trade, as they assume, which they think has been established by their fostering hand.—Whether the present condition of this valuable branch of commerce be owing to such protection, it is not necessary now to examine; as a commercial body, the Company have an unquestionable right to trade in any article they please. It is sufficient for our present purpose, to consider merely the prospect of advantage to the Company by a trade in Indigo, without reference either to the view of their political character, as connected with the general interests of the Empire, would take of the subject, or to the more minute but fundamental interests of the trade—the interest of the planter, if it were possible to separate these interests.

The reflections naturally arising from the perusal of my letter to Sir George Barlow, must, I humbly conceive, convince every one, that is an article of trade, the Company by becoming traders in it, must render it extremely precarious. Uncommon extension of the manufacture must inevitably be promoted by it, consequently certain glut and great depreciation in the English market, by which, independent of loss as merchants, the Company and Government will suffer heavily in their duties, numbers of industrious planters be ruined, and the trade reduced to a wreck, when after a langour which will afford opportunity for a revival of competition in the manufacture by other countries, the Company will be under the necessity of again supporting the trade by advances, at considerable risk, and in many instances probably, to fresh adventurers ignorant of the manufacture, in which at present we excel every other country.

No. 1.
Advances to
Indigo Planters.
—
Enclosure
(No. 1.)
Mr. Nowell's
Letter.

Enclosure
(No. 2.)
Mr. Nowell's
Letter.

No. 1.
Advances to
Indigo Planters.

Thus, by the extensive speculations of the Company, the trade will become in an unnatural degree fluctuating, declining from the brightest prospects to poverty; and again by unnatural expedients, emerging from poverty, to a prospect of better fortunes; and instead of obtaining, by the observance of a true commercial principle, a regular, staple, indeed exclusive situation, it will be rendered irregular and precarious in an unnatural degree, liable to competition, unprofitable to the Company, far less productive to the country at large, and ruinous to the industrious planter.

Pray excuse the length of this letter in addition to the accompaniment, and believe me to remain,

My dear Sir,

Your's very sincerely,

(Signed)

Alexander Nowell.

Copy of a NOTE accompanying this Letter.

My dear Sir,

IN consequence of our conversation yesterday, I have written the foregoing, relative to the Company purchasing Indigo, and supplementary to the letter to Sir George Barlow, which I should be much obliged, if you would consider as connected with that letter; and when you do me the favour to show the latter to Mr. Bosanquet, I should be much obliged if you will show this also.

4th March 1811.

Your's sincerely,

(Signed)

Alexander Nowell.

R. B. Plowden, Esq.

Enclosure
(No. 3.)
in Mr. Nowell's
Letter.

Sir,

East India House, 28th March, 1811.

THE Committee of Warehouses having taken into consideration, that about 5,400 chests of Indigo have been some time in the Company's warehouses unsold; I am directed to inform you, that the Committee would be glad to be favoured with the opinions of the consignees and merchants, as to the expediency of declaring a sale.

Requesting an answer before twelve o'clock on Wednesday next,

I am, Sir,

A. Nowell, Esq.
43, Wimpole-street.

Your humble Servant,

W. Simons.

Sir,

43, Wimpole-street, 2d April 1811.

I have received your letter of the 28th ultimo. In consequence of your letter, I yesterday called at the Houses of Messrs. Boehm & Co. David Scott & Co. Porcher & Co. and Bruce & Co. to learn the general opinion on the expediency of declaring a Sale, and whether it should be declared for an early or a distant day.

On the expediency that a Sale should immediately be declared, all were of the same opinion; but not so as to the period, as you will be informed by their respective letters. The three first mentioned houses were for a distant day, say late in July; and the last for an early day, say the 10th or 15th of May; I concurred with the more general opinion, but suggested, instead of a late day in July, the first of August; for the reason, that the difference of time would be nothing, comparatively with the difference of impression that the name of a month still more distant, would have on the buyers of the Indigo on hand, as it is termed. My suggestion, you will find, was adopted by the three first mentioned houses, and that they have named the 1st of August in their letters. But, speaking now for myself, individually, I must beg leave to observe, that when I concur in the more general opinion, that the sale be declared for the 1st of August, I do it with this reserve; that if a partial sale be forced at an earlier period by Messrs. Bruce & Co. as I understood it to be their intention, in case a general sale be not allowed at or about the period above-mentioned, my Indigo may also be brought to sale with that of Messrs. Bruce & Co. Indeed, were I to consult individual and immediate benefit, in preference to more permanent interests, I should at once agree with Messrs. Bruce & Co. perhaps, for I have not a chest of Indigo on hand, and have reason to think mine would sell, at least, as well as any other. But I have never adopted the short-sighted policy of immediate advantage at the expence of more permanent benefits. In subscribing to the more general opinion, however, I beg permission to submit, for the consideration of the Gentlemen of the Committee of Warehouses, which I trust they will have the goodness to excuse, that, in my opinion, our resolution of yesterday was taken without

without that degree of reflection the subject required. It was made, no doubt, upon the true commercial principle, that when an article is depressed, a good merchant who has adequate capital to avail himself, holds up the article on the certainty that the evil, but in this case more particularly, must cure itself; and that at length he shall be reimbursed in prime cost and interest in the outlay by an enhanced price. But we have not considered that this principle, unfortunately, does not hold good in the present instance. That the Company continuing to purchase the article on the spot, whether in greater or lesser quantities, the expectation is sufficient, must encourage that degree of the manufacture which will frustrate the situation we look for. And indeed, on this more mature view of the question, although I have subscribed to the contrary, I am not certain that the measure of Messrs. Bruce & Co., however ruinous, is not better than procrastination, which will only increase our embarrassments.

Begging the favour that the Gentlemen of the Committee of Warehouses will pardon the transgression of the limits prescribed in your letter.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

Mr. Simons,
India House.

(Signed) *Alexander Nowell.*

No. 1.
—
Advances to
Indigo Planters.
—

SIR,

THE Court of Directors of the East India Company have considered your Letter, reciting several circumstances which have attended the manufacture of Indigo, within the provinces of Begal and Bahar, during the last twenty years, and calling the attention of the Court to the condition of yourself, and other Indigo Planters in general, as affected by the purchase of Indigo on the spot by the Company, or advancing for the same; and requesting the Court will signify to the Governor General their intention, neither to advance for the manufacture of, nor to purchase Indigo in future; and I am directed to state to you, that the Court having paid due attention to the subject, are of opinion, that it is incumbent upon them to continue the commerce of Indigo to such extent as may suit the Company's general views of trade, and that in so doing they are fully satisfied they do not in any manner contravene the liberal policy which, however, governed them, in respect to the Indigo Planters.

Reply.

I am, Sir, &c.

East India House,
4 June 1811.

(Signed) *W. Ramsay, Sec^y.*

To Alexander Nowell, Esq.

No. 2.

COPY of a FINANCIAL LETTER from the Governor in Council of
Fort William, to the Court of Directors of the *East India Company*;
 dated 23d August 1809.

To the Honourable the Court of DIRECTORS for Affairs of the Honourable the
 United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *East Indies*.

Honourable Sirs,

OUR last Financial Dispatch was dated the 20th of April last, and no opportunity has since occurred of transmitting letters to your honourable Court direct from this Presidency. We did not hear of Admiral Drury's intention of dispatching *La Virginie* from Fort St. George, until that vessel had actually sailed; nor did we receive advice from Bombay of the intended dispatch of the *David Scott*, in sufficient time to admit of our availing ourselves of that opportunity to forward a financial letter to your honourable Court.

Cons. 19 May.
 — 30 June.
 — 18 August.

2. The proceedings noted in the margin, show the measures which have been adopted by us for carrying into effect your orders of the 14th of September last. Some difficulty will, we fear, be experienced in furnishing your honourable Court monthly, with accounts and information to the full extent required by those orders; but you will perceive from our instructions to the Accountant General of the 30th June, that we have directed that officer to submit to us periodically such documents as will, we hope, enable us to afford your honourable Court, from time to time, all the information which it is most essential for you to receive regarding the finances of India.

3. We have the honour to transmit a number in the packet, a copy of the Accountant General's letter of the 23d of June, on this subject, with copy of our Instructions to that officer in reply; and we have since written to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, requesting that they would order their Accountants to furnish regularly the documents which will be required from thence, to enable us to submit to your honourable Court, periodically, a General Report on the finances of India.

4. In our letter of the 20th of April, we informed your honourable Court, that we were solicitous to effect remittances from hence to Fort St. George, to the utmost extent, to enable the Governor in Council to appropriate as large a proportion as possible of our surplus resources to the discharge of the public debt at that Presidency, this Government being precluded, under the conditions of the early loans, from commencing the payment of the register debt of Bengal until the month of May next.

Cons. 1 & 28 April.
 — 5 May.
 — 17 June.

5. His Majesty's frigate *Modeste* having arrived in the river soon after, we immediately availed ourselves of the opportunity to send to Fort St. George, the whole of the dollar silver, with a small sum in the currency of Madras, which remained in our treasury at the time, amounting altogether to Sa. Rs. 46,25,000; and we are happy to inform your honourable Court, that the treasure was landed in safety at Fort St. George on the 18th May.

Cons. 5 May.
 — 17 June.

6. We have also great satisfaction in informing your honourable Court, that our letters to the Government of Prince of Wales Island, desiring them to send to Fort St. George, any bullion which might arrive from China, under consignment to this Government, were received in time to enable the Governor and Council to alter the destination of the treasure which had been imported from Canton on His Majesty's Ship *Lion*. This remittance amounted to 128 chests of dollars, which were conveyed from Penang to Madras, on His Majesty's frigate *Blanche*, and arrived in safety at that Presidency in May.

7. We are apprehensive that a charge of 2 per cent. will have been incurred upon the latter remittance; freight being payable to the Captain of the *Lion* from Canton to Penang, and to the Captain of the *Blanche*, from the latter place, to Fort St. George; but it is still satisfactory to observe, that the treasure was not brought to this Presidency, where it was not required, and from whence it could not have been conveyed to Madras, without the risk of another voyage, and without perhaps our incurring a further charge for freight.

8. These supplies to Fort St. George, amount in the aggregate to near 60 lacks of sicca rupees, independently of the supply obtained by bills, the honourable the Governor in Council having been authorized to draw upon us to the utmost extent to which bills can be negotiated at the exchange of 365 Arcot rupees per 100 star pagodas.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

9. Your honourable Court have been already apprised of the object which we had in view in furnishing these extensive supplies, and we have great satisfaction in informing you, that the loan which the Governor in Council was advised to open for the purpose of placing the debt at Fort St. George, upon the footing which your honourable Court have so strongly recommended, has succeeded completely, the transfers to this loan appearing by the latest accounts from Fort St. George, to have amounted to the sum of star pagodas 82,74,000.

10. As soon as the transfers shall have taken place to the full extent expected, there will no longer be the same reason to apprehend that the measures which may be adopted for putting the debt in course of payment, or for reducing the rate of interest, will have the effect of causing its immediate transfer to England. The Governor in Council will accordingly commence the payment of the debt immediately that the loan is closed, and will appropriate to its discharge the whole of the resources which we may find it practicable to place at the disposal of the Government of Fort St. George; we hope therefore to be able to report to your honourable Court, at an early period, that a very considerable reduction has been made in the public debt of Fort St. George; and we regret extremely that we are not at liberty in the same manner to commence immediately the payment of the debt of this Presidency.

11. We have also the satisfaction to inform your honourable Court, that the loan at Bombay has succeeded to a considerable extent; the subscriptions appear, by the latest accounts, to have amounted to near 1,19,00,000 of rupees; and a large proportion of the subscription has been made by the transfer of the Government securities, which were exchangeable for bills on England.

12. We had recommended to the Government of Bombay to discontinue the receipt of cash subscriptions to the loan, as it appeared to us that it would be more advantageous for them to obtain the necessary supplies by bills upon Bengal, at a time when we had large funds, which could not be otherwise appropriated. The honourable the Governor in Council was induced, however, upon considerations which had been urged by the Accountant General at Bombay, to continue the loan open for cash subscriptions for a short period; and as it was apprehended that a difficulty might possibly be experienced in obtaining the necessary supplies exclusively by bills, the Governor in Council acted prudently perhaps in securing a proportion of the funds required by means of the loan. It is now open for the transfer of the public securities only.

13. Your honourable Court will perceive, on reference to the proceedings noted in the margin, that a question had been agitated by a commercial house at Bombay, Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. with regard to the legality of one of the clauses in the loan; but we have great satisfaction in observing, that on a reference to our Advocate General, that officer was of opinion, that the circumstances stated by Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. did not involve any legal difficulties with respect to the Bombay loan. Those gentlemen have not since made any further representation on the subject; and the question (which was one of considerable delicacy) is not likely, we imagine, to be agitated further. We beg to refer your honourable Court to our proceedings, for information regarding the grounds of the objections which had been urged by Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. to the operation of the particular clause in the loan, by which they considered the interests of the public creditors to have been affected.

Cons. 28 April
and 19 May.

14. In our letter of the 20th of April, we informed your honourable Court that we had repeated our recommendation to the Government of Fort St. George, that they should immediately discontinue drawing on your honourable Court, except in those instances where they were under an obligation to grant bills for the principal and interest of the public debt; and we have the satisfaction to inform you, that the honourable the Governor in Council acquiesced in this recommendation, and has discontinued drawing in consequence.

15. Although all questions relating to coinage are at present considered in the revenue department, and we do not propose to advert to them particularly in our financial dispatches, we deem it proper to mention on the present occasion, that the orders of your honourable Court, of the 20th April 1806, on the subject of a general coinage for India, have not been lost sight of. On the 2d September last, we repeated our reference to the Government of Fort St. George, requesting their sentiments on the plan suggested by your honourable Court; but we have not yet received a reply, nor have the Mint Committee yet made any report to us on the subject. Your honourable Court however will perceive, from statements which we shall have occasion to submit to you in a subsequent part of this letter, that remittances in bullion or specie to this country are not likely to be required in future; and that, as far as the plan has relation to such a remittance, the necessity for it must be considered as superseded.

16. We

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

16. We shall now proceed to offer such explanations as appear to us to be necessary for the information of your honourable Court, regarding our accounts and other objects, which are likely to be interesting to you.

A C C O U N T S of 1808-9.

THE accompanying letter from the Accountant General, bearing date the 20th instant, will furnish your honourable Court with every necessary explanation regarding the accounts of the past year; and you will perceive with satisfaction, that notwithstanding the actual disbursement exceeds the estimate in the sum of Sicca rupees 14,72,000, the result of the account generally exhibits a surplus of above ten lacks of rupees; the receipts exceeded the estimate in the sum of nearly twenty-five lacks of rupees.

18. The comparative statement will show your honourable Court the particular items of revenue and charge in which differences have occurred; and you will observe with satisfaction, that in consequence of an error in the statement which was referred to in our letter of the 20th April last, there has not been that deficiency in the produce of the customs which was apprehended at the time; a considerable defalcation has taken place in the receipts at the Calcutta Custom-house, owing to a diminution in the imports and exports by sea; but the produce of the customs, upon the whole, was nearly equal to the estimate.

19. The deficiency in the salt revenue in the past year, can be considered only as a suspension of demand; and your honourable Court will observe, that the result of the account is altogether more favourable than it was represented to you in our letter of the 20th April.

20. The land revenue was collected during the last year with extraordinary punctuality, and a larger sum was realized than has ever been collected in any one year since we have held the administration of these Provinces.

21. The charge of the past year does not call for any particular explanation from us, the actual disbursements having, in few instances, exceeded the estimate. There is, indeed, a large excess under the head of Military Disbursement: but your honourable Court have been made fully acquainted with the circumstances which have caused an increase in the military charge at this Presidency during the past year.

22. The books for 1808-9, and the other annual accounts, are nearly completed, and will be forwarded to your honourable Court by the first safe conveyance. In the interim, the different abstract Statements particularized in the list of packet, will, we hope, furnish your honourable Court with all the information which is immediately essential; and the accounts in detail will certainly be transmitted by the November fleet, if an earlier opportunity should not offer.

ESTIMATES for 1809-10.

23. IN explanation of the variations which may be expected to take place between the Estimate which has been forwarded to your honourable Court, and the regular estimate of the year, we have the honour to forward in the packet, copy of a further letter from our Accountant General, bearing date the 22d instant.

24. Your honourable Court will perceive from these explanations, that the salt is the only branch of the public revenue, in which a deficiency is to be apprehended; and in our separate letter, bearing date the 1st instant, we had the honour to explain the circumstance to which the decline in the price of the article at the two last sales, is attributed. We are concerned to observe, that the deficiency in the revenue of the year is estimated by the Accountant General at 16,00,000 of rupees.

25. In some instances, however, it is expected that the actual receipts will exceed the amount estimated in the sketch for 1809-10; and upon the whole we do not apprehend that any considerable deficiency will occur in the estimate of the revenue.

26. Some increase we fear must take place in the Durbar charges, and in the military disbursements of the year, in consequence of its having been found impracticable to withdraw the temporary Embassies, and to place the army upon the ordinary establishment at so early a period as was expected.

27. The Accountant General computes, that, under the former head of charge, there will be an exceeding to the amount of 15,00,000 of rupees, including the sum stipulated to be paid to the Persian Government by Sir Harford Jones; and as the Embassy to Cabul has necessarily been attended with a very heavy expense, we are apprehensive that the sum originally estimated for this and other services of the kind will be greatly exceeded.

28. The military charge of the year was also stated, we fear, on too low a scale; and the Accountant General computes that the further sum of 10,00,000 of rupees must be added to this head of charge to cover the disbursement of the year.

29. There is no reason to apprehend an excess of charge in any other instance; but your honourable Court will observe with regret, that in consequence of the apprehended deficiency in our receipts, and the probable increase in the charge of the year, the Indian surplus

surplus in 1809-10, which had been estimated by us at 64,00,000 of rupees, will be reduced in 1809-10 to the sum of 33,00,000 rupees.

30. We however can assure your honourable Court, that the strictest attention will be paid by us, both to improve the revenue and to reduce the charges of Government, in all practicable cases; and although we do not think it prudent or proper to hold out flattering prospects, at the risk of disappointing your honourable Court, we must observe that the Estimates are prepared with so much caution and reserve, that the actual result is in general more favourable than that which they promise.

No. 2:

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809

INVESTMENT.

31. We have the honour to forward in the packet, a Statement showing the allotment of Investment for the year 1809, and the amount of the advances which have been issued on the account to the latest period; and your honourable Court will preceive that nearly the whole sum allotted in the hands of the agents.

32. The Statement does not include the amount to be invested in the purchase of indigo; but we shall feel great satisfaction if later advices from your honourable Court should encourage us to appropriate a large sum in the purchase of that article in the ensuing season.

The Statement does not, moreover, include the article of cotton; but your honourable Court have been apprized by our commercial letter of the 16th instant, that about 43,000 maunds have been provided, and that 400 tons will be consigned to China by the Honourable Company's ship Warren Hastings, and about 1,600 tons to England by the early ships of the ensuing season.

34. We have also given directions to the Board of Trade to commence the provision of an investment for the year 1810, upon the same scale as that which was ordered for the year 1809; and we shall have great satisfaction if subsequent advices from your honourable Court should require us to make considerable additions to our purchases of this article.

35. We regret extremely that no articles present themselves which might become proper objects of an investment upon a large scale, for we are most solicitous to extend our remittances to England, at the present period, in any shape in which they could be effected with safety and advantage. This subject will be again adverted to in a subsequent part of our present Address, in the course of examining a question of great importance which has pressed itself upon our attention.

BALANCES.

36. Your honourable Court will observe from the Memorandum D, subjoined by the Accountant General to the Comparative Statement, that the Cash Balances at the different Treasuries under this Presidency, amounted on the 30th April last, to Sicca rupees 3,00,81,000. To this sum should be added the treasure consigned to Madras on His Majesty's frigate Modeste, amounting to Sicca rupees 46,25,000, and a further sum of between 13 and 14 lacks of rupees on its way from China, under consignment to this Presidency.

37. The two last sums, amounting to about 60 lacks of rupees, will be applicable to the purposes of the Government of Fort St. George, but nearly the whole balance may be considered as a resource immediately available and applicable to the reduction of the Indian Debt, as soon as circumstances will admit of its being appropriated to that purpose. We mention that this fund (with the exception of such balances as must always be reserved in the different Treasuries) is peculiarly applicable to the extinction of debt, because we are persuaded that the surplus revenue will be quite equal to any difference between the supply, which we shall find it practicable to furnish by means of investment, and the supplies which we may expect to receive from England by our bills for the interest of the debt, and by the sale of import goods.

SUPPLIES to the OTHER PRESIDENCIES.

38. THE Statement E, will show your honourable Court, the amount of the supplies which have been furnished from this Presidency since the 1st May last; and we have the honour to subjoin for your information, a Memorandum exhibiting the rates of Exchange at which bills are negotiated at present upon this Government.

Rates of Exchange for Bills on Calcutta.

From Bombay, 100 B^y rupees per 2/3 Calcutta Sicca rupees.

- - Madras, 100 star pags. per 365 Arcot rupees.

- - Canton, 45 Spanish dollars per 2/3 current rupees.

- - Fort Malbro' 100 Spanish dollars per 243 current Rs. 209 Sa. Rs.

- - Prince of Wales' Island, - - D^o - - D^o.

- - Lucknow, 104 L^w Rs. per 2/3 Sicca rupees.

- - Hydrabad, 110 Hy^d Rs. per 2/3 Sicca rupees.

- - Nagpore, 114 1/2 Chundree rupees per 2/3 Sicca rupees.

336.

D

39. Your

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

PUBLIC DEBT of INDIA.

39. Your honourable Court will observe from the accompanying Statement F. furnished by the Accountant General, that the Public Debt of the three Presidencies bearing interest, amounted on the 30th April last, to the sum of Sicca rupees 23,41,55,090, after deducting the amount redeemed by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

40. The Total Debt at the three Presidencies, including the amount of demands which do not bear interest, is stated at the sum of Sa. Rs. 27,12,91,238.

41. Your honourable Court will observe, that the Debt of Fort St. George and Bombay, is stated by computation, the Quick Stock Accounts having been received from those Presidencies to the 31st January only; but we do not apprehend that there can be any material error in the Statement; and as the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay will probably have forwarded their annual accounts to your honourable Court, you will have an opportunity of making up an exact Statement of the Debt at the period in question.

42. The following Statement exhibits the Public Debt of India on the 30th of April 1809, compared with the debt at the same period in the preceding year.

Debt bearing interest on the 30th of April 1808,	-	-	-	Sa. Rs.	24,48,92,828
Debt bearing interest on the 30th of April 1809	-	-	-	-	23,41,55,090
Debt less in 1809	-	-	-	-	<u>1,07,37,738</u>

Total Debt of India, including the amount of demands which do not bear interest, on the 30th of April 1808	-	-	-	Sa. Rs.	28,00,38,390
D ^o - - - D ^o - - - 30th of April 1809	-	-	-	-	<u>27,12,91,238</u>
Debt less in 1809	-	-	-	-	<u>87,47,152</u>

Annual Interest payable on the Public Debt on the 30th of April 1808	-	-	-	-	2,02,02,680
Interest chargeable on the Debt on the 30th of April 1809	-	-	-	-	<u>1,88,99,800</u>
Interest less in 1809	-	-	-	-	<u>13,02,880</u>

43. Your honourable Court will observe from the foregoing Statement, that the principal of the Debt bearing interest, was reduced during the last year in the sum of Sicca rupees 1,07,37,738; and that the annual charge of the Debt has also been reduced in the sum of Sicca rupees 13,02,880.

44. We are concerned however to observe, that the reduction has been effected by the transfer of the Debt to England; and this circumstance calls for separate and particular consideration.

TRANSFER of the DEBT to ENGLAND.

45. THE amount of Bills drawn on your honourable Court from this Presidency during the last year, was Sicca rupees 1,00,36,000; and according to the latest accounts from Fort St. George, it appears that Bills to the amount of about Pagodas 23,00,000, were drawn during the same period from that Presidency.

46. We have not received any account of the Bills which were granted from Bombay during the past year; but we are apprehensive that the drafts from India, in the aggregate, will not fall short of the amount estimated in our letter of the 20th of April last, or three millions sterling.

47. The circumstance of so large a demand being thrown upon the Treasury at home during the last year, is in itself extremely embarrassing, and it has been the source of the most serious concern to us. But it is incumbent upon us at the same time to apprise your honourable Court, that there is reason to apprehend that a still larger portion of the Indian Debt will be transferred to England at no distant period; and this is an event so important in its probable consequences, that it evidently demands an early and deliberate consideration.

48. Sinister events of any description, or even the apprehension of such events, may have the effect of hastening the transfer; but there are circumstances of a different complexion, which may be expected to operate in producing the same result.

49. The rate of Indian interest having of late approximated more nearly to the standard of English interest, the capitalist has no longer the same motive for retaining his funds in India; and even if the security be supposed equal to the charges of agency, the risk of disappointment, and other circumstances, will probably deter the public creditor from leaving his property at a distance from his own immediate controul, when the advantage to be obtained is no longer considerable.

50. It is to be apprehended therefore that many of those who have deposited their Government securities in the Treasury, (and the deposits at this Presidency alone amount to 130,00,000 rupees) as well as those who have left their property in the hands of private agents, will order a large proportion of it to be remitted to England at an early period. Individuals also who are returning to England, and even some of those who are still resident in the country, may be expected to remit at least a part of their funds.

51. Another circumstance which is likely to operate in causing the transfer of the Public Debt, is the difficulty of effecting remittances at present through the channel of commerce. Persons who are not holders of the public securities, and who require a remittance to England, find it necessary to purchase those securities from the resident creditor, with a view to their being exchanged for bills on England; and although purchases of the principal of the debt have not yet, we believe, been made to any great extent for this purpose, it is become a very common practice for the resident creditors to take payment of the interest accruing on their Government paper by bills on England, for the accommodation of those who require a remittance.

52. It has also become a practice at Bombay for individuals to transfer their Government securities for bills on your honourable Court, with the double view of effecting a remittance from Bombay to Bengal, and of supplying the Bengal capitalist with a remittance to England.

53. The English bill is sent round to Calcutta for sale; and as it can be negotiated here at a small sacrifice, it affords a more favourable remittance than that obtained by the bills which are drawn by the Government of Bombay on this Presidency at the ordinary rate of exchange. For example, the English bill at 12 months sight, which is drawn at the exchange of 2s. 6d. the Bombay rupee, may be negotiated here at 2s. 7d. the Sicca rupee, or at a sacrifice of $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; but the difference of exchange between Bombay and Calcutta being from 8 to 10 per cent. a saving is made by the remitter to Bengal, or the remitted to England, of from 5 to 7 per cent. by transferring the securities of the Bombay Government.

54. The two first circumstances referred to as likely to cause the transfer of the debt, (the apprehension of untoward events, and the reduced rate of interest,) may appear on a cursory view to be inconsistent with each other; but on examination it will be found that both may exist, and may be expected to operate at the same time.

55. Many individuals will be influenced by the first of those considerations, (particularly the public creditors at a distance,) without regard to the other; and the circumstance of a large transfer of the debt taking place, will tend to prevent a rise in the rate of interest. It will have this effect, both because the amount of the Government securities in the market will be sensibly diminished at a time when the demand for them is increasing for the purposes of a remittance, and because the local resources of the Government will be increased in proportion to the transfer of the debt to England. The demand for the public securities will also be increased by the accumulation of the capital of the resident creditors; for as the Government no longer raise loans, but on the contrary are paying off debt at present, a difficulty will be experienced by individuals in investing their growing funds.

56. Under present circumstances we have no reason whatever to apprehend a rise in the rate of interest at this Presidency; and much as we regret one of the consequences likely to result from the flourishing state of public credit in India, (the sudden transfer of the debt, in a manner to embarrass your honourable Court) it is evident that this state of things, in all other respects, must be viewed as indicating great financial prosperity.

57. The last circumstance alluded to, (the difficulty of obtaining commercial remittances,) is one to which we wish to call the particular attention of your honourable Court; for if this country should be placed in the peculiar situation of having a larger debt to pay to England than it can discharge by means of its commodities, the country must be gradually impoverished, and its means of paying that debt must ultimately fail altogether.

58. We have adverted to this question in our public letter of the 1st of March last, and in our financial dispatch of the 20th April; but it is become necessary, we think, to take a more direct and comprehensive view of it.

59. Your honourable Court expect that the revenue and charge of India shall be so regulated as to secure to the honourable Company a net surplus of a million sterling per annum, after providing for the charge of the Public Debt of India, as well as of such portion of it as may be transferred to England.

60. If this surplus be supposed applicable to the payment of the annual contribution of £.500,000 stipulated to be received by the nation, to the payment of the dividends upon the Company's stock, the establishments of your honourable Court in England, the civil and military pensions and other charges, it must be considered as a tribute due from India, independent of the Indian Debt.

61. The Public Debt of India, as far as it is held by European creditors, constitutes a demand upon India precisely of the same nature; and as this debt may be estimated at 30 millions, and it has been ascertained that at least 4-5ths of the debt at this Presidency is held by Europeans, who with few exceptions draw the income of their capital to England,

or

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

or accumulate with a view to remit at a future period, it may be assumed (adopting the same proportions for the debt held by Europeans at the other Presidencies) that India becomes annually debtor to England on this account, to the amount of near two millions sterling, at an interest of 8 per cent. per annum.

62. Whether the interest be paid in England or in India, the effect is the same. If it be paid in India, the creditor remits either immediately, or at a future period. If it be paid in England, the Company becomes the remitter; but in either case this interest must be paid by the produce of India.

63. If the Company could discharge the whole of their debt upon the spot, the circumstances would not be at all changed; that is, the relations between England and India, with regard to debt or tribute, would not be affected. The British capitalist would find himself possessed of specie or some other property, instead of a mortgage upon the territorial revenue; but he would equally require a remittance to England for the principal or the income of that property, which is in reality a debt owing by India.

64. It would however be fruitless to speculate upon his means of remitting the principal, when a difficulty is already experienced in obtaining a remittance to the extent of the annual income. To suppose the immediate transfer of the principal practicable, we must assume that India could, on a sudden, by means of its produce and manufactures, convey to England a capital of $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions, where it annually finds a difficulty in supplying by those means remittance of one million, or the annual interest of that sum.

65. The Company's tribute, however, and the proportion of the public debt held by Europeans, do not by any means constitute the whole debt owing by India to England.

66. The savings from income, whether they arise from the salaries of the public servants, or from the profits of commercial industry, become a demand upon the resources of India.

67. All property moreover possessed by Europeans in this country, if it be at all productive, creates a debt or demand of the same nature; for instance, houses, factories, buildings of every description, docks, shipping, machinery, &c. &c. all constitute capital, which gives England an annual demand upon India.

68. It would be extremely difficult to form an estimate of the amount of this capital, but, that it is of vast magnitude, may be presumed from the extent of one branch of it, which is sufficiently ascertained.

69. The houses in the European part of the town of Calcutta, which, in common with the buildings occupied by the native inhabitants, pay a tax at the rate of five per cent. on the monthly or annual rent; contribute annually to this tax the sum of Rs. 100,000; and this sum must therefore be levied upon an income of 20,00,000 Rs. per annum, or upon a capital of 1,66,66,000 Rs.; assuming that the buildings yield, upon an average, a rent equal to twelve per cent. per annum.

70. These houses are only in part the property of Europeans, and the rent in many cases is expended at present in the country; but a proportion of it is liable to become a demand upon India; for, whether an European individual receiving an income here, save a proportion of that income, or pay it to a British capitalist in the shape of rent, the amount in either case tends to augment the capital, for which a remittance to England will ultimately be required.

71. We will not attempt to estimate the sum which, either as public tribute or private income, may be supposed to become due annually to Great Britain from India; it is sufficiently evident, that the amount must be very considerable; and all the inference which we propose to draw, may be deduced from other facts.

72. Notwithstanding the vast extent of the present demand upon the resources of India, we should not entertain the smallest apprehension with respect to its ability to satisfy it, if the produce of its labour were received by Europe and America as heretofore, and if the income only of the capital were called for, and not the capital itself. In a favourable climate, a productive soil, and a numerous and industrious population, the country enjoys extraordinary advantages; and it has unquestionably a large surplus produce, applicable to the payment of its foreign debt or tribute.

73. But unfortunately the produce and manufactures of India have not of late found a market as heretofore; and whatever may be the productive powers of the country, they will not avail it for the discharge of a foreign debt, unless there exist a foreign demand for its commodities.

74. This subject has attracted our serious attention, and we have thought it necessary to advert particularly to the state of the Export Trade to Europe and America, in order to form some judgment with respect to the extent of the present demand for our produce and manufactures. The following Statement exhibits the value of our Exports to Europe and America,

America, independently of the honourable Company's investment; for a period of four years, ending the 31st May last.

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

Exports.	To London.	To foreign Europe and America.
1805-6 - - -	60,09,065 - - -	84,83,608.
1806-7 - - -	90,34,869 - - -	1,09,00,402.
1807-8 - - -	84,25,199 - - -	97,18,968.
1808-9 - - -	72,83,021 - - -	5,71,218.

75. From this Statement your honourable Court will observe, that the Exports to foreign Europe and America, which, so late as the year 1807-8, amounted to near a crore of Sicca rupees, were reduced in the past year, ending the 31st of May last, to the inconsiderable sum of Rs. 5,71,218.

76. Nor has any proportionate increase taken place in the Exports to London, on the contrary, they are not equal to the Exports of former years; and if the article of indigo be excluded, the Exports from hence during the past year will appear to be absolutely insignificant.

77. It has become doubtful whether this article will maintain its price in the London market; and if, from an excessive exportation, or otherwise, the trade in indigo should be materially affected, even for a season, the greatest inconvenience would be experienced, not merely by the manufacturer and merchant, but by the European capitalist.

78. The trade in piece-goods, which heretofore constituted the great staple of the country, has become comparatively trifling; and as it is understood that cotton manufactures have been established in different parts of Europe, there is no reason to expect that this trade will revive.

79. The produce of silk in Bengal is limited at present; and although the manufacture might undoubtedly be extended if there were a regular demand for the article, we have no grounds for presuming that Bengal is likely to obtain a larger participation in the supply of the home market, when the trade of the Continent shall be restored to its ordinary course, unfettered by arbitrary restrictions.

80. The exportation of sugar might also be increased very largely, if there were a permanent demand for the article; but in this instance also there is reason to conclude, that the market of Europe will in general be supplied from other quarters.

81. Cotton could no doubt be exported, both from hence and from the west of India, to a large amount; and the encouragement lately given by your honourable Court to the exportation of this article, has already induced individuals to make large consignments in the London market.

82. The saltpetre produced in India is not considerable in value, and the minor articles of export to Europe (lack, gums, dyes, borax, raw hides, &c. &c.) cannot, we understand, be exported at present with advantage.

83. Sunn hemp, although not an article of great value, considered merely as the means of realizing a remittance, may become the object of an export trade upon a large scale, if the commercial intercourse with the Northern States of Europe should continue suspended; and your honourable Court are aware that every encouragement has been given by this Government to increase the produce of this article. Very good canvas is now manufactured in Bengal; and the manufacture of cordage has also been established with every prospect of success.

84. If the price of timber in England should continue so high as it appears to be at present, ships might probably be built in India with advantage, not merely with a view to the Indian trade, but for the supply of the commerce of Europe; and every encouragement essential to the undertaking, would be afforded, if your honourable Court allowed such ships to carry home a freight, in the same manner as you have permitted private ships to carry home cargoes of cotton wool by your late orders to the Government of Bombay.

85. We have merely glanced at the principal objects of an Export trade from hence to Europe and America; but to estimate with any degree of exactness our means of furnishing a remittance to England by the exportation of our produce and manufactures, it would be necessary to prosecute a very minute research into the commercial resources of India; nor would the information obtained from such an enquiry, lead to any satisfactory result, unless we could combine with it an intimate knowledge of the commercial situation of Europe; and this we do not at present possess.

86. The conclusion which we would deduce from the foregoing remarks is, that although this country is rich in produce and manufactures, its resources have not been available of late to the same extent as heretofore, from an extraordinary change of circumstances in America and Europe; and that those resources have failed in a great degree, precisely at the time when from the influence of local circumstances, there existed a demand for a remittance to England to an unprecedented extent. India, in short, at a time when it

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

had become impracticable to dispose of its produce and manufactures, has been called upon, not only for the annual interest of its debt, but for a part of the capital.

87. The transfer for the Company's debt, does not, it is true, create an immediate necessity for conveying an equivalent in commodities to England, because your honourable Court may be enabled to make arrangements for the payment of that debt in some other manner; but it is unquestionable that a remittance must be made for the payment of the interest, and ultimately for the discharge of the principal.

88. The private capital may call for a more immediate remittance. If, for instance, the European proprietor of buildings or other property, dispose of them to a resident capitalist, with a view to remit the principal, this may constitute an immediate demand upon the resources of India, totally independent of the public debt.

89. In the preceding observations, we have adverted particularly to the direct trade with Europe and America; but we have not overlooked that this country may possess ample resources for the payment of a foreign debt by means of its general commerce. It is essential therefore to take a view of the whole of our external trade.

90. The following Statement exhibits the amount of the Exports from Calcutta by sea to the latest period; and although we cannot furnish a similar statement for the rest of India, nor show the state of the Inland Trade carried on between the Provinces and other parts of Hindostan, the deficiency of our information in those particulars is of the less importance, as it is the Export Trade by sea from Calcutta which constitutes the chief source of the remittance to England. A part of the cotton which appears in our Exports, has, it is true, been imported from the territory, beyond the jumma; but if there be any balance against us on the trade which is carried on by land with the Dekan and the countries on our northern and western frontier, it cannot be considerable, for the cotton, salt, shawls, and some inferior articles which we receive, we return sugar, piece-goods, and other commodities.

GENERAL EXPORTS from CALCUTTA by SEA.

In 1805-6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,73,95,877
1806-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,18,80,466
1807-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,95,67,097
1808-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,54,45,664

Total Exports, exclusive of the Company's	}	14,42,89,104
Investment		

91. The Accounts for 1808-9 not having yet been made up by the reporter on external commerce, the amount of the General Exports in that year ending the 31st May last, is stated upon the authority of documents which have been obtained from the Custom-house, but we have reason to believe that it is sufficiently accurate; and your honourable Court will observe with regret, that a considerable decrease took place in our Exports in that year. We are apprehensive also, that it occurred chiefly in those articles which at a former period contributed so largely to the remittance to England.

92. The following Account shows the amount of our Imports during the same period, exclusively of importations of Bullion:

1805-6	-	-	-	-	-	1,09,30,799
1806-7	-	-	-	-	-	1,37,96,633
1807-8	-	-	-	-	-	1,05,83,628
1808-9	-	-	-	-	-	91,80,063
						4,44,91,123

Add,

Cost of coast salt imported between the 1st June 1805	}	21,95,000
and 31st May 1809, not included in the above		

Total Imports of Merchandize, exclusive of the	}	4,66,86,123
Company's goods		

93. Your honourable Court will observe that our Exports exceed the Imports, during a period of four years, in the sum of Sicca Rupees 9,76,02,981, or, on an average, in the sum of Rs. 2,44,00,000 L. S^s 3,050,000 per annum; and this excess may be considered as representing the fund which Bengal, by means of its produce and manufactures, could have remitted annually in discharge of its debt to England, and for the supply of the other Presidencies and Settlements. The fund was not however appropriated in this manner entirely, for we received a large portion of the amount by importations of bullion.

94. Notwithstanding the reduction in the amount of our Exports, it would not appear that the means of remitting to England can be wanting, while we are receiving bullion from countries with which it maintains an extensive commercial intercourse. The following Statement will show the gross amount of Bullion imported, on private and public account, during the last four years.

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

IMPORTS by INDIVIDUALS:

In 1805-6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,29,39,615
1806-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,76,54,492
1807-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,41,08,233
1808-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63,12,000
Total, on private account - - -								Rs. 5,10,14,340

IMPORTS by GOVERNMENT:

In 1805-6	-	-	From London	-	-	-	-	1,04,08,866
1806-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,05,46,036
1807-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64,98,762
1808-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,85,211
D°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18,36,775
D°	-	-	Account of the Navy	-	-	-	-	7,32,742
Total - - -								3,36,08,392
Deduct, remitted to, or retained, at Madras -								59,31,426
Total Imports on Public Account - Sa. Rs.								2,76,76,966
Total Imports - - -								7,86,91,306

95. Your honourable Court will perceive from this Statement, that the Imports of bullion on private accounts in the past year, were much below the ordinary scale, and this circumstance tends to corroborate the fact, that an important change has taken place in the state of our external commerce; and that large as our means of effecting remittances for the payment of a foreign debt, undoubtedly were at a former period, they are upon a more limited scale at present.

96. It has however, we think, become more necessary in consequence, that measures should be adopted for effecting, to the utmost practicable extent, an exchange of debts and credits with other countries; and one of the principal objects which we proposed to ourselves in engaging in the present discussion, has been to demonstrate to your honourable Court the expediency of adopting arrangements for this purpose.

97. If England have a demand upon Bengal, and America have a demand upon England, the interest of those countries would evidently be consulted by exchanging their debts and credits, since a bill drawn by England upon Bengal in favour of America, would settle all these debts, without the necessity of transporting the precious metals from one country to the other,—we speak of countries as of individuals, for the cases are precisely the same; countries, viewed in the relations of commerce, being actually an aggregation of individuals.

98. The expediency of such an arrangement has been practically shown in the instance of China, the debt incurred by England to that country for its teas, &c. being now discharged by the produce of Bengal. Instead of sending bullion from England to pay for tea, and bullion from China to pay for opium and cotton, the Bengal Government, by a simple bill transaction, pay what is due for the first article, to the exporter of the opium and cotton.

99. Even if America have no demand upon England, it may still be highly advantageous to effect its remittances to Bengal through England. The bullion which it is accustomed to send to Bengal might be sent to England at much less risk and expense: it would there discharge a debt owing by Bengal, and the American remittances would be effected by a bill drawn from London upon Calcutta.

100. By these means the difference between the charge of remitting bullion from America to Bengal, and of remitting it from America to England, will at least be saved; and if we suppose Bengal at any time under a necessity of paying its debt to England by remittances of the precious metals, the whole charge of such a remittance will also be saved by the arrangement.

101. The

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

101. The importations of bullion at Calcutta from the United States of America during the three years ending the 31st May 1808, amounted to near two millions and a half sterling, as your honourable Court will observe on reference to the accompanying Statement B; and if a free intercourse should be re-established with the United States, which we have every reason to expect from the tenor of the late advices from thence, large remittances to Bengal will probably be required, as heretofore, for carrying on the American commerce.

102. It becomes then a question for the consideration of your honourable Court, whether arrangements might not be made by you for obtaining the whole, or a large proportion of the bullion, which must otherwise be remitted, for your bills upon Bengal. The money might be delivered to agents to be appointed by your honourable Court in America, and be from thence transported to London, if the course of the trade between England and America should not admit of your disposing of it to more advantage; and bills would of course be granted for the amount upon one of your residencies in India. The bills might either be drawn by your agents on the spot; or if your honourable Court should not deem it proper to delegate such an authority, they would be drawn in England, and be sent over to America to be negotiated.

103. As a saving of expense would unquestionably be effected by such a mode of remittance, your honourable Court ought to be able to negotiate your bills at a favourable exchange; for if the American merchant, in remitting 100 dollars to Calcutta, realize only 93 or 94, after deducting insurance and other charges, your honourable Court ought to obtain from him those 100 dollars in America, for a bill on Bengal, for 93 or 94 dollars, or for a small advance beyond the actual produce in Calcutta, sufficient to induce the American merchant to make the exchange.

104. We have instanced the United States particularly, because the trade between that country and India is carried on upon a more extensive scale; but our observations apply to Spanish America, the Brazils, Portugal, and during a period of peace, to Denmark and to other countries of Europe which maintain a commercial intercourse with India.

105. Your honourable Court will observe, on reference to the Statement B. that the importations of bullion from Copenhagen and Lisbon during the three years ending the 31st May 1808, amounted to the sum of Sicca rupees 54,27,820; and if a friendly intercourse should again subsist between Great Britain and the continent of Europe, it is probable that a remittance would be required to India from Denmark and Portugal to a large amount, and that a remittance would also be required from the Spanish settlements in America, either through Manilla, or by a more direct channel.

106. By arrangements therefore to be adopted in Europe, your honourable Court might be enabled to avail yourselves of the funds, which would otherwise be sent to India in bullion; and the exchange in Europe would probably be attended with greater convenience and advantage than that which it is proposed to negotiate with America, as bullion can be conveyed from Copenhagen or Lisbon to London, with more facility and at less expense than from America to London.

107. Your supracargoes at Canton suggested to us the expediency of our supplying funds in Calcutta as well as in China to the Phillippine Company, to be repaid in bullion at Manilla; and if such advances could be made with perfect security, and the agents of the Phillippine Company would engage to repay such value at Manilla as would render the transaction ultimately advantageous to the honourable Company, we should have no objection whatever to engage in it.

108. In this instance however, as it is proposed only that we should undertake the remittance from Manilla to China or Bengal, the proposition resolves itself into a mere question of the terms of exchange; and as we have no sufficient information with respect to the responsibility of the Phillippine Company, or to the powers held by their agents at Canton and Calcutta, we have not deemed it expedient to enter into any negotiation with them. Your honourable Court may however eventually be enabled to form arrangements with the Phillippine Company, upon the same plan which has been suggested with reference to the trade of the United States of America.

109. In tracing the outline of that plan, we have adverted only to the commerce which is carried on directly with Bengal; but it might be extended with equal advantage to the commerce of China. The Americans make large remittances of bullion to Canton; but a bill drawn on your supracargoes would answer their purpose equally well, and the supracargoes for the discharge of it would draw upon this Presidency; thus furnishing a convenient channel to the Bengal exporter to make the returns of his consignment.

110. The invoice value of our consignments to Canton may be estimated annually at about seventy lacks of Sicca rupees. The produce in China ought greatly to exceed that sum; and as we import very little from thence, and the supracargoes have not hitherto found occasion to draw upon us for above forty-six lacks of rupees in any one year, they would have the command of a large surplus fund for the discharge of the bills which might be drawn by your honourable Court in favour of America. This surplus is remitted at present from China in bullion, partly on the public account, and in part by individuals.

111. Under so comprehensive an arrangement, it is manifest that your honourable Court would obtain a remittance to England on favourable terms, to the utmost extent to which a remittance

remittance is furnished, by the produce and manufactures of India; and we feel satisfied that, under ordinary circumstances, our exports would supply as large a fund as is likely to be required for the discharge of the tribute and the annual interest of the debt owing by India to England.

112. To admit a different conclusion, we must suppose that India does not actually possess the means of discharging the demands upon it; for no country which does not possess mines, can possibly export for a continuance more bullion than it receives.

113. When, in fact, a country incurs a debt beyond that amount which can be discharged in the ordinary course of its trade, it may in the first instance deprive itself of a part of its stock of the precious metals; but ultimately the exportation of its produce and manufactures becomes absolutely forced. If, for example, your honourable Court should require a remittance for the discharge of the Indian debt recently transferred to England, beyond that amount which the commerce supplies, and which can be conveniently sent in bullion, it would become absolutely necessary for you to export commodities from hence, whatever might be the loss attending the consignment.

114. We are here led to another question, which it is of importance for your honourable Court to consider, namely, whether under any circumstances you would wish us to remit bullion to England, to enable you to meet the demands upon the treasury at home? Whether your investments ought to be extended for this purpose, at whatever risk of loss; and whether this extension ought to take place before a remittance in bullion is finally had recourse to? The determination of the last question would of course depend greatly on the state of the markets at home; but if the result of the two modes of remittance, were nearly equal, there are obvious reasons for giving a preference to that in goods; for the exportation of our produce and manufactures would encourage the industry of the country and augment its revenues, while any considerable reduction in the amount of its circulating medium, might be productive of ill consequences.

115. We could at this moment, without any material inconvenience, make a remittance of bullion to England, to the extent of a million or a million and a half sterling; but the loss upon such a remittance would be so considerable, that we could not venture to have recourse to the measure without the express sanction of your honourable Court, particularly as it would greatly circumscribe our means of paying off a debt bearing a high rate of interest.

116. We feel the same hesitation with regard to the extension of your investment. We could without inconvenience appropriate a large sum in the purchase of goods, but while we have reason to apprehend that their consignment to England would be attended with a heavy loss, we are unwilling to have recourse to this alternative, without your concurrence and authority.

117. Still however if a large portion of the Indian Debt, as well as of the private capital, be called for in England, it may become a matter of necessity to effect remittances, at whatever disadvantage; and the question evidently demands the particular attention of your honourable Court.

118. Should it appear to you that any of the foregoing remarks are at all inconsistent with the opinions expressed in our public letter of the 1st March last, on the subject of the commercial resources of Bengal, we must explain, that the chief object of the remarks in that letter, was to show that a scarcity of specie was not likely to be experienced in Calcutta, while such a scarcity did not exist in the Bengal Provinces. We must observe also, that we were not apprised at the time, of the full extent of the decrease which has taken place in our exports during the last year; nor was our attention called in so particular a manner to the extent of the demand for a remittance to England. We repeat, that the commercial resources of these provinces are most extensive; and that they would be fully equal to the ordinary demand upon the country, if there existed a free vent for its produce and manufactures.

119. We have been led into a good deal of detail upon these important questions; and it may be useful therefore to recapitulate what has been advanced, and to deduce briefly the inference which we have proposed to draw.

First, It has been stated that in consequence of particular circumstances, an extraordinary demand exists at present for a remittance to England, not only for the tribute and income of the capital owing by India, but also for a part of the capital itself.

Secondly, It has been shown that precisely at the time when this demand has taken place, our means of supplying it have failed in a great degree, in consequence of a sudden and considerable decrease in the Export Trade of Bengal.

120. To prevent as far as possible the inconvenience and embarrassment to be apprehended from the combined operation of these circumstances, we have endeavoured to

No. 2.
Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

No. 2.

Financial Letter
from Bengal; dated
August 1809.

First, That it is become highly expedient to facilitate and encourage the exportation of the produce and manufactures of India to England, by some arrangements similar to those which the wisdom of your honourable Court lately suggested for promoting the exportation of cotton wool from Bombay for the supply of the British manufactures. The extension of our exports would either afford a channel of remittance for the private capital, or if your honourable Court should not be aware of any objection to the measures, bills might be taken upon the consignments on account of the honourable Company.

Secondly, That it is become highly essential to adopt arrangements for effecting an exchange of the demand which England holds upon India with those countries which incur annually a commercial debt to Bengal.

Thirdly, That it is important to consider whether, after effecting these exchanges to the utmost practicable extent, remittances ought to be made either in bullion, or in those commodities which would not otherwise be exported in the ordinary course of commerce.

121. In adverting to the decrease in the Export Trade of Bengal, we have considered the circumstance merely as it affects our means of furnishing remittances; but your honourable Court must be sensible that it is to be regretted, equally with reference to its effects upon the revenues of the country. We hope, however, that it is likely to be of temporary duration only; and if a free intercourse should be restored with the United States of America, our Exports will no doubt again increase at an early period, although in the present state of Europe, and under the circumstance of cotton manufactures having been established in different parts of the Continent, they cannot perhaps be expected to reach their former standard.

We have the honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

Fort William,
the 23d August 1809. }

(Signed)

J. Lumsden,
H. Colebrooke.

MEMORANDUM of the Value of the Government Securities.

10 per cents	- - - -	Premium 1 per cent.
8 per cents of 1809	- - - -	- Ditto - 1 - Ditto.
8 per cents transferrable to England	- - - -	- Ditto - 1 - a' 1. 8.
6 per cents	- - - -	- (none in the market.)
6 per cent Treasury Notes,	- - - -	- par.

—No. 3.—

Copy of a LETTER from the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, to the Governor in Council of *Fort William*, dated 20th June 1810;—in Answer to their Financial Letter of 23d August 1809.

Public Department, on the Finances.

Our GOVERNOR GENERAL in COUNCIL at Fort William in Bengal.

Para. 1.

IT was our intention by the present dispatch to have entered into detailed observations upon the several letters of late years received from you, relative to the Finances of India; but the sailing of the last ships of the season at an early period, will not admit of carrying that intention into effect; we shall here therefore confine ourselves to such remarks as occur to us upon the subjects treated of in your Financial Letter of the 23d August last, in which are contained some points that require our immediate and particular attention.

2. The causes which interrupted your correspondence on the Finances, since your letter of the 20th April 1809, are satisfactorily explained in the first paragraph of your letter now under consideration. We commend the frequency of your communications upon this important subject, during the years 1807 and 1808.

Paras. 2 & 3.

3. Under the explanations given by your Accountant General, in his letter of 23d June 1809, we approve your directions for carrying into effect our orders of the 14th September 1808, for preparing and transmitting certain periodical accounts.

Para. 4 a' 8. "Supplies to Fort St. George."

4. Your exertions in furnishing large supplies of treasure to Fort St. George, amounting to near 60 lacs of sicca rupees, for the purpose of enabling the Governor and

Council to discharge a part of the public debt at that presidency, have, as they merit, our applause. And we have observed with great satisfaction, as well from what is stated in these paragraphs, as from the dispatches we have received from that Government, dated 15th May, 1st June, 13th August, 30th September, and 9th October, 1809, that the measures you have adopted have been productive of the most beneficial effects; a very considerable part of the loans at Fort St. George, containing the optional clause of payment of bills on us, has been transferred to the New Loan, the principal of which is payable only in India, and the large balances of cash remaining at their disposal, have enabled the Governor and Council to proceed to the liquidation of a great proportion of their debts more recently contracted. We have, indeed, been informed, that all the optional loans are now either transferred or discharged; but in regard to that part of those loans which has been liquidated by drafts on us, we have felt severely the pressure upon our treasury here by this mode of liquidation.

Para. 9. & 10.
Transfers to new
Loan at Madras,
R^s 82,74,000.

5. We take it for granted, the expenses of freight on the treasure sent to Madras from Penang, mentioned in the 7th paragraph, was, under the circumstances of the case, unavoidable; but as only one per cent. is allowed by us for freight of treasure to India, we could have wished that the remittance from Canton had been at once conveyed to Madras on board the *Lion*, by which the second freight from Penang might have been saved; and in the event of future remittances, we desire this may be attended to.

Para. 11 a' 12. "New Loan at Bombay, R^s 1,19,00,000 subscribed."

6. It is highly gratifying to us likewise, to observe the success which has attended the operation of the new loan at Bombay, a large proportion of the subscription to which, has been made by the transfer of the Govern-

ment securities, which were exchangeable for bills on us. We apprehend, however, that the receipt of cash subscriptions to that loan, may have had a tendency to increase the debts in general at that presidency, since April 1809; we are therefore pleased to find, that in consequence of your observations to the Governor and Council, this measure of receiving subscriptions in cash had been relinquished, and that the loan was open for the transfer of the public securities only.

Para. 13. "Objections of a Commercial House at Bombay, to the legality of a Clause in the New Loan."

7. We are satisfied that there was no ground for the objection here stated.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

14. Governor and Council at Fort St. George,
recommended to discontinue drawing Bills on the
Court.

to the Government of Fort St. George, and are

15. Coinage.

16. Explanatory of Accounts and other points.

above ten lacs of rupees, affords us satisfaction. We shall here state some observations on
the articles, both of receipt and disbursement.

17. a' 22. "Accounts of 1808-9."

caution with which the estimate was framed, (a circumstance constantly to be held in view,) but also of the punctuality with which the revenues were collected. The receipts of revenue in the year 1808-9, altogether, exceeded the receipts of any former year since the provinces came under the British administration. We are not, however, enabled to ascertain how much of this unprecedented large collection is to be attributed to the more exact realization of the current year's revenue, or to the recovery of balances, the detailed accounts not being hitherto received.

12. The deficiency in the salt sales of this year, according to the letter of the Accountant General of the 20th August 1809, was owing to the sale of March having taken place later in that month than in the year preceding; whence a larger quantity remained uncleared on 30th April 1809, than at the same period in the former year. It appears, however, that the whole of the balance was punctually realized by the 8th of May 1809. The difference between the estimated and actual amount is about S.R^s 3,47,000.

13. The actual sales of opium exceeded the estimate in a small degree. And although in paragraph 18, you inform us of a considerable defalcation in the receipts at the Calcutta Custom House, it is satisfactory to observe, that this branch of revenue on the whole fell short of the sum estimated by S.R^s 47,000. only. As this article is from its nature necessarily liable to great fluctuation, we see no reason to suppose the estimate was not formed with proper caution.

14. The charges of 1808-9, with the exception of military, are 10 lacs less than the estimate, of which nine lacs are in the revenue charges. As we are not aware, that any reduction in the establishments had taken place to occasion this diminution, and as the intended alteration in the Tehsildary system had not been completely carried into effect; we can no otherwise account for this apparent difference, in the estimated and actual revenue charges, than by supposing the estimate was formed upon a liberal scale; a proceeding of which we approve, as it is our earnest desire, that the estimates, both of revenue and disbursement, may not be framed with a more sanguine view of your affairs, than may be reasonable, and completely justifiable.

Para. 22.

15. We are extremely anxious to be furnished with the detailed accounts and the general books for the years 1807-8 and 1808-9. Those for the first of these years, we have no doubt, were transmitted by some of the ships; the loss of which cannot now admit of a doubt.

Para. 23. a' 30. "Estimates for 1809-10."

16. After the flattering prospects held out in your former letters, relative to the probable amount of surplus revenue in India in 1809-10, we have felt considerable mortification in the perusal of these paragraphs, and of the letter from your Accountant General, therein referred to. By the variations now stated in the estimate formerly transmitted, it appears, that the expected surplus revenue of India for this year will be reduced from sixty-four lacs to thirty-three lacs of rupees.

17. The following are the articles by which the difference is created:—
First.—The salt sales are now expected to produce 16 lacs of rupees less than was before estimated; and the reason assigned for the reduction is, the fall in price of the sales in May and July 1809. In your separate letter of the 1st August last, you have explained the circumstances to which this decline in the price of salt may be attributed, namely; the large quantity of coast salt which it had been found necessary to bring to sale, in consequence of the defalcation in the produce of Bengal salt. And we must admit, that these, with the other reasons contained in that letter, appear to justify the diminution of the estimated produce.

Second.

Second.—In the Durbar charges an addition of fifteen lacs of rupees is made to the estimate, on account of the embassies to Cabul, and the subsidy payable to the Court of Persia; making the total of these charges in the year, forty lacs of rupees.

18. However we may regret the large amount of this head of expenditure, we must confess, that, under existing circumstances, we do not see a probability of its being speedily reduced, if, as the Accountant General states, the ordinary political expenses of your Government under this head (exclusive of temporary embassies,) amount annually to seventeen lacs, the charges of temporary embassies, whilst they remain on their present footing, will, we apprehend, absorb the remaining sum of twenty-three lacs; for so long as the recently formed relations with the Court of Persia continue, considerable expense will be required in that quarter. We, however, entertain a reasonable expectation from what is stated in the 26th paragraph of your letter, that some of the temporary embassies may soon be withdrawn, and trust you will not relax in your endeavours to reduce the fixed Durbar expenses within the most economical limits.

Third.—To the military charges in the estimate (S.R. 2,38,39,000), the Accountant General supposes ten lacs must be added, although the Military Auditor General was directed to form the estimate upon the most liberal scale; the reason for this addition, is, the large amount advanced to the Military Department in the preceding year, which greatly exceeded the Auditor General's estimate for 1809-10; but it is observed, that extraordinary charges were incurred from the troops being marched to the banks of the Sutledge, which charges were included in the advances of 1808-9; now if these extraordinary charges amounted to the difference in the two years accounts, and they were not expected to occur in the present year, this does not appear a sufficient reason for making an addition to the estimate.

19. You have however, stated, in the 26th paragraph of your letter of 23d August 1809, that it had been found impracticable to place the army upon the ordinary establishment at so early a period as was expected; and we conclude some extra expense, must in consequence be incurred; we therefore apprehend the proposed addition to the estimated military charges for 1809-10 may be required.

20. The amount of the foregoing heads will reduce the estimate in the sum of forty-one lacs of rupees; it is however, expected, that improvements will take place in the estimated receipts from the conquered and ceded provinces, and the customs, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees.

21. It is supposed that two lacs may be added to the estimated revenue, from the conquered provinces, for 1809-10, as the actual receipts in the preceding year were S.R. 8,84,000 more than that estimate; this reasoning appears just, provided the former years collections did not include a larger sum for balances than there is room to expect in the present year.

22. Three lacs are added to the estimate of the revenues of the ceded provinces, because the balances uncollected on the 30th April 1809, were larger than those of the preceding year, in the sum of seven lacs of rupees; but as the revenues of these provinces in 1808-9 were S.R. 1,46,00,000., and in 1807-8 S.R. 1,48,12,300.; and as the estimate for 1809-10, with the addition of the three lacs, is S.R. 1,50,20,000., which exceeds the receipts of either of those years, we are inclined to doubt the propriety of the addition.

23. With regard to the customs, the addition of two lacs to the estimate is founded on "the expectations at present entertained of the trade with America being again opened." An argument too hypothetical to have justified the expected increase in this article.

24. By these alterations the surplus revenue in India, originally estimated at S.R. 63,89,000, is expected to be decreased to S.R. 33,00,000; the Accountant General observes, "it is probable this decrease may be farther reduced from more favourable sales of opium, than what they are estimated to amount to;" but no addition is proposed to be made to the estimate on this account, as the sale of this article is liable to great fluctuation; a sufficient reason for the caution observed in this instance.

25. Since the foregoing paragraphs were written, we have received your Secretary's letter of the 30th November last, accompanied by one from the Accountant General, of the same date, containing the result of a farther investigation of the sketch of the Estimate for 1809-10, which was first transmitted, and explanatory of the variations now made in the several articles of expected receipt and disbursements in that statement.

26. From these explanations we observe, with much concern, that the net surplus revenue is likely to be still farther reduced in the sum of S.R. 9,12,300. We have not time, by the present opportunity, to enter into an examination of the particulars by which this reduction is caused. We must here, however, remark, on the article of Customs, that, although the addition to the original Estimate of two lacs of rupees, was made by the Accountant General's letter of the 22d of August 1809, for the reasons we have quoted in a preceding paragraph, we find, that although the trade with America had been again opened by the actual arrival of a number of American ships, as stated in your letter of the 28th November last, the customs are now estimated at one lac only more than in the first account.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

27. Notwithstanding the disappointment we have experienced by this reduction in the surplus revenue, which the estimate for 1809-10 first received, gave reason to expect, we admit that the observation in the concluding part of the 30th paragraph, "that your estimates are prepared with so much caution and reserve, that the actual result is, in general, more favourable than that which they promise," has been justified, so far as relates to the years 1807-8 and 1808-9. The apprehended decrease in the original estimate for the year 1809-10, probably arises from circumstances not within the knowledge of the Accountant General when that account was first framed; and we rely on the assurances contained in the paragraph above quoted, that the strictest attention will be paid by you, both to improve the revenue, and to reduce the charges of the government in all practicable cases. It is our intention, at a future opportunity, to examine the several points communicated in your dispatches of preceding dates, relative to the subject of a surplus revenue in India.

(30 a' 34.) "Investment."

28. The several articles which are pointed out for our consideration in these paragraphs, have been fully answered by our letters in the commercial department.

(35.) "Expressing regret, that no new articles present themselves which may become proper objects of investment upon an enlarged scale, to enable you to extend your remittances to England."

29. This subject will be noticed in a subsequent part of our present dispatch.

(36 & 37.) "Balances."

30. From the unusually large amount of the balances in your different treasuries, S.R^s 3,00,81,000, we look forward with confidence to the extinction of a considerable

proportion of the public debt of your presidency, whenever the terms of the loans shall have enabled you to commence the discharge of them. The treasure supplied to Fort St. George, mentioned in these paragraphs, has already contributed to reduce the debts at that presidency.

31. It will afford us great satisfaction to find, that conformably to the observation in the latter part of the 37th paragraph, the surplus revenue of Bengal will be equal to any difference between the supplies of investment to England, and your drafts on us for payment of the interest of debts, and the sale of import goods. It must be remembered, however, that the Bombay government depends, in a great measure, on Bengal, for supplying the deficiency of its revenues, to meet the current charges. We are uncertain, if you had this in view when you made the observation in the 37th paragraph above-mentioned.

(38.) "Supplies to other Presidencies, and rates of Exchange."

32. From the Statement E referred to, we observe the supplies to other presidencies, between the 1st May and 31st July 1809, amounted to S.R^s 7,70,000; and it is satisfactory to find, that the rates of exchange for drafts on Bengal, are highly favourable.

(39 a' 44.) "Public Debt of India."

33. According to the statements referred to in these paragraphs, the total debt in India, on the 30th April 1809, amounted to S.R^s 27,12,91,238, being a diminution of the debts, on the 30th April 1808, of S.R^s 87,47,152. The debts, bearing interest, were, however, decreased within the year, in the sum of S.R^s 1,07,37,738; but as the debts at Madras and Bombay are calculated from the quick stocks of 31st January 1809; and as whatever may have been the diminution of the debts, it was occasioned by their transfer to this country, in drafts upon the Court, it is unnecessary to take notice of the information conveyed in these paragraphs, farther than as it relates to the general subject of the transferring of the debt.

FINANCE.

Para. 45 & 46. "Commence a general discussion, (extending to Para. 56,) concerning the transfer of the Debt to England. The drafts from the three Presidencies will not have fallen short, in the past year, of three millions sterling."

34. We come now to that part of your letter, which treats of the present and prospective demand for remittance from India to England, and the means which the former country possesses of satisfying that demand. These topics are handed in a series of Observations or Propositions, from which it

is intended to shew, that the demand is increased at the same moment that the means of supplying it have failed, by a sudden and large decrease in the export trade, particularly that of Bengal; and that for preventing the inconveniences which may be apprehended from the combined operation of these causes, remedial measures are requisite; whence, in conclusion, certain expedients are proposed, not indeed as specifically and necessarily resulting from the preceding reasoning, but as those which, in your opinion, seem best suited to the case.

35. The

35. The subjects in question are doubtless of great importance, and it is very proper, as it is also very much our wish, that they should be fully and fairly discussed.

36. No argument, however, is required to dispose us generally to promote the commerce, internal and external, of our territories, in every way in which, according to our judgment, it may be done compatibly with still higher interests. This is a conclusion to which we do not need to be impelled by any peculiar exigency in the financial or commercial state of those territories, though certainly such a crisis may call for our more particular attention; and where, added to this call, the case and credit of our home finances are so much concerned, we cannot fail to be impressed with the liveliest solicitude.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

37. We have it therefore extremely at heart, on every account, to prevent the demand of India on this country for territorial debt, from exceeding the commercial means which India possesses for meeting that demand, or to render those means commensurable to it.

38. But, agreeing with you in this ultimate object, and having, indeed, been the first to urge the prevention, by every possible endeavour of a large transfer of the public debt to England, we are not, therefore, prepared to express our conviction of the necessity or the suitableness of the measures you have proposed for obviating this evil.

39. But before we proceed to deliver our sentiments, particularly on those suggested measures, we wish to make some remarks upon the series of observations by which they are introduced, because part of these appear to contain positions liable to doubt, or to be inaccurately applied; and if tacitly passed over, might be supposed to have received our acquiescence, or might be more readily misapplied in future discussions.

40. This precaution is rather adopted, because the observations, though generally delivered in the absolute form, often contain only hypothetical reasoning, and about things uncertain or contingent; and you have, in the 85th paragraph, acknowledged a want of that full information of the commercial resources of India, and the commercial situation of Europe, which would be necessary to enable you to arrive at a satisfactory result.

41. The observation contained in your 35th paragraph, appears to be preliminary and fundamental to all your reasoning upon the subject now under consideration, and it therefore requires our first attention, though, in noticing it here, we shall somewhat anticipate what must naturally enter into the concluding part of this discussion.

42. You regret extremely that no articles present "themselves, which might become proper objects of investment upon a larger scale;" being, as you add, "most solicitous to extend your remittances to England at the present period, in any shape in which they could be effected with safety and advantage."

43. We give you full credit for the solicitude here expressed; but lament that, in contemplating the state of European commerce, you did not advert to the account given in our separate dispatch of the 3d August 1808, of the effects of the American commerce in Eastern productions in the marts of foreign Europe, upon the commerce of the Company in the same productions. We there stated to you, that the Americans, in virtue of their neutral character, had acquired "great and decisive advantages over the Company and British individuals in the Indian commerce." We might have added, that the Americans had obtained the supply of Indian goods at various places, which formerly used to be supplied by goods purchased from the Company, the immediate effect of which was stagnation, as far as the export trade was concerned in our home sales; the diminution of which, however, has since been regularly communicated to you by our letters in the commercial department.

44. Now a fair deduction lay open to you from this important fact, namely; that when you found the Americans, in consequence of the embargo imposed by their own government, ceasing to export goods from India, the markets in which they had supplanted our imports, would probably be again accessible to those imports; and had you reasoned in this manner, you would have seen the expediency of increasing your consignments to us, notwithstanding the discouraging accounts you had before received of the demand here; and thus a better provision would have been made for your increased draughts upon us, in payment of Indian debt, whence the other measures you have proposed to enable us to meet those increased draughts, would not have appeared to be necessary.

45. You will have found, from our Letter in the Secret Commercial Department, of 27th February 1810, that we have ourselves adopted this course of proceeding in an augmented order for investment, not merely arising from speculation, in consequence of the cessation of American exports from India, but from experience of the beneficial effect of that cessation upon our sales in this country. It is true, that the American exports may again revive; but in this case the ground of difficulty and apprehension under which your letter now before us, was written, will be in part removed. Of the bearing, however, which the increase or diminution of your commerce with America and foreign Europe, may have upon the capability of the Company to meet the transfer of Indian debt, we shall have occasion to speak more distinctly hereafter, and to state views entirely differing from those you appear to entertain on this head.

46. The opinion here expressed, seems not to coincide with that delivered in the 10th paragraph, where it is said, that "as soon
H " as

(47 a' 56.) "The large demand thrown upon the home treasury in the year past, has been the source
336.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

source of the most serious concern; but there is reason to apprehend, that a still larger portion of the Indian debt will be transferred at no distant period. The apprehension of sinister events may hasten it, but other circumstances may operate in producing the same result. The rate of Indian interest approximating more nearly to English interest, the charges of agency, the risk of disappointment, and other circumstances, deter the public creditor from leaving his property at a distance. The deposits of Government securities alone at Bengal amounts to, S.R^s 1,30,00,000, which it is to be apprehended will be remitted to England at an early period. Individuals returning to England, and even those resident in India, may be expected to remit at least a part of their funds.

"The present difficulty of effecting remittances through the channel of commerce, operates to cause the transfer of the public debt to England, as the bills upon the Court become a marketable substitute for commercial drafts on England; and from Bombay the bills on the Court are sent to Bengal, with the double view of becoming a remittance thither, and of supplying the Bengal capitalist with a remittance to England. Although one alledged principal cause of transfer of the debt, arising from the apprehension of untoward circumstances, may appear to be inconsistent with another, viz. the reduced rate of interest; yet they may be coexistent, and both operate at the same time. The public creditor, at a distance, will especially, be influenced by the first of these considerations; and a large transfer of the debt taking place, will tend to prevent a rise in the rate of interest, because the demand for public securities, as a remittance, will diminish the quantity in the market, and because the local resources of the Government will be increased, in proportion to the transfer of the debt to England. The demand for public securities will also be increased by the Government raising no new loans, and individuals will have no means of investing their growing funds.

"Under present circumstances, see no reason to apprehend a rise in the rate of interest at Calcutta; and much as you regret one of the consequences likely to result from the flourishing state of public credit in India (the sudden transfer of the debt to England in a manner to embarrass the Court,) it is evident that this state of things must be viewed in all other respects, as indicating great financial prosperity."

a corresponding proportion to the reduced rate of interest obtainable upon the public securities at home. Nor do the other reasons, besides this of apprehension from public events, which you think likely to occasion a still larger transfer of the Indian debt at no distant period, we must own, appear to us to be well founded. It is true, as you observe, that the capitalist has no longer the *same* motive for continuing his funds in India, that is to say, an interest of 10 per cent. per annum; but as far as we can judge of the general considerations which influence persons of that description resident in England, we conceive they have still, as above noticed, a *sufficient* motive, namely; an interest of 8 per cent. instead of rather more than 4, which is all they could obtain here; and between which, and the reduced Indian rate, there is certainly still a wide difference, a difference capable of affording to the proprietor of a moderate Indian capital, far more of the comforts and conveniences of life in this country.

49. It is also true, that persons who have returned to England, leaving their capital in India, in the hands of private agents, have thought themselves exposed to hazards, expense, and disappointment, the apprehension of which may have inclined some persons to order their property home. But we have just sent out instructions to our different governments in India, which we hope will effectually prevent all apprehended risks and inconveniences of this description. We have agreed, that the Company's officers shall become the depositaries of such Government securities as the owners shall chuse to place in their custody; that the property shall not be alienable but by special authority of the owner himself; that the principal and interest may be placed in new loans without expense to the individual; and that the interest annually or half yearly shall be remitted to the owner in England, directly

"as the transfer shall have taken place (at Fort St. George) to the full extent expected, there will no longer be the same reason to apprehend, that the measures which may be adopted for putting the debt in course of payment, or for reducing the rate of interest, will have the effect of causing the immediate transfer of the debt to England." Now we understand, from the Fort St. George financial letter, of 30th September last, that the operations you here speak of, namely; the conversion of the decennial loan, then become due, into a new loan, without the optional clause of receiving payment of the principal in England, had completely succeeded, as indeed you also state in the 9th paragraph of the present letter; so far, therefore, the example of Fort St. George appears to be in opposition to the apprehension you here entertain.

47. We have been aware, that any alarm excited by the course of public events, might operate to accelerate the transfer of Indian debt to England. It was the impulse of this opinion which dictated our instructions to you of 10th November 1803, and other similar orders, most urgently enjoining the exertion of your utmost efforts to prevent so heavy an inconvenience, as the transfer of any large portion of that debt to this country would occasion to us.

48. We are most happy, that the Government of Fort St. George have so far succeeded in accomplishing this object, in looking to the state of Europe, and the East; it seems to us, that any formidable attack upon the tranquillity of India, can be regarded no otherwise than as at least distant and problematical; and it is obvious, that if attempted at all, it must be opposed by very great difficulties. This too, is probably the opinion of the great majority of the European proprietors of the Indian debt; and unless they find cause to alter that opinion, or that any further material reduction takes place in the rate of interest, we do not see reason to apprehend that they will generally be disposed to transfer their property to England, and the more especially, as the Indian interest of 8 per cent. per annum, still bears

directly through the Company, who thus become the sole agents in the charge and management of these funds, without the intervention of individuals.

50. You mention the difficulty of effecting remittances at present through the channel of commerce, as another cause likely to operate to the transfer of the public debt, because persons, not holders of Government securities, and requiring a remittance to England, purchase those securities chiefly from the resident creditor; that is to say, bills on England for the accruing interest of those creditors.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

51. We find, that in point of fact, very little remittance has, for a series of years past, been made from India, through the medium of commerce, unless it be directly to England. For a few years, from 1801-2 to 1803-4, the importations of Indian goods to this country were unusually great; but in general, the average importations of the latter years have been nearly on a footing with, or have rather exceeded those of the years preceding that period.

52. We do not hence discover any failure in what may be termed the usual means of commercial remittance. If any fluctuations take place here, they are probably, in part, ascribable to the greater or less annual produce of indigo, which is now the grand staple of the private trade. On the other hand, the amount annually claimable from Government for interest, cannot now have increased, because the aggregate of the interest itself has been diminished. And if the actual amount of bills demanded for interest has of late become greater, the difference is probably but an inconsiderable sum, since you observe that they are only the *resident* creditors who dispose of such bills; and it is to be concluded, but a part of them. With respect to the conversion which you state to take place at Bombay, of Government securities into bills on the Court of Directors, for the double purpose of a remittance to Bengal and to England, we should conceive, that in as far as such transactions are encouraged by the better rate of exchange thus obtained, compared with the rate of the Bombay government for bills on Bengal, some alteration in the latter might obviate the inconvenience. But otherwise, whether bills be drawn on us from Bombay or Bengal, the result is the same, as far as our Treasury is concerned; for in as far as the capitalist of the latter presidency makes use of the bills issued by the Bombay government, he lessens the demand for bills from Bengal.

53. We sensibly feel the amount of the debt which the government of Bombay, in its financial operations of the year 1808-9, discharged by bills upon us; whilst we hope, from the success of the new loan, that, in future, such large transfers will not be required.

54. On the whole, this argument of the probable increase of the transfer of debt, from the want of commercial means of remittance, does not, even according to your own statement, appear to us to amount to much; and as it could not have been advanced, if you had, upon the cessation of American exports, increased our investments; so the orders lately transmitted to you for that purpose, will serve wholly to invalidate the argument. We doubt, indeed, whether there be any Europeans of property in the country, those engaged in commerce excepted, who are not holders of Government securities; and commercial men, who consign goods hither, must rather be drawers on, than remitters to England.

55. Another argument which you have maintained, that the apprehension of sinister events, disposing the Indian creditors to remove their property from that country, may be consistent with the continuance of a low rate of interest there, appears to us of little importance in the present discussion, even if it could be satisfactorily established. The probability seems to be, that if real apprehensions were entertained for the capital, it would hardly be allayed by increasing the rate of interest. But the argument, as you have handled it, is entirely of an hypothetical nature, resting upon a variety of assumptions concerning things future and unknown, so that the conclusions must be altogether uncertain; and we do not see the utility of going particularly into speculations upon the questions which this argument embraces.

56. With respect to the rate of interest on the public debt, it is certainly our wish, and our hope, that no occasion may hereafter arise to lead to any augmentation of it; and we agree with you in thinking, that, under present circumstances, no reason appears for apprehending an augmentation; but we cannot equally acquiesce in another observation, which you connect with this opinion, in the terms following: "Much as we regret one of the consequences likely to result from the flourishing state of public credit in India (the sudden transfer of the debt, in a manner likely to embarrass your Honourable Court,) it is evident that this state of things, in all other respects, must be viewed as indicating great financial prosperity." In the first place, the flourishing state of public credit itself, we must ascribe in a great degree, to the absence of that apprehension of sinister events, which you have supposed to be likely to hasten the transfer of the debt; but however gratifying to us this situation of public credit is, we are far from considering the Company as in a state of great financial prosperity; whilst the general accounts of India, for successive years, ending with the estimate for 1809-10, do not shew a surplus of income.

57. It is no new doctrine, that all the clear acquisitions of Europeans in India will, in some shape or other, be transferred to the mother country, unless they colonise in India; a practice,

Paras. 57 & 71. contain an exposition of the demands which exist on India for remittance to England.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

a practice, of which, happily, there has hitherto been but few examples. Ever since the revolution in Bengal in 1756, and particularly since the grant in 1765, of the Dewannee, which conferred upon the Company territorial revenue, as well as additional political power, and upon their servants, all the lucrative advantages flowing, in various ways, from the administration of the affairs of a great country, there has been, as is well known, a constant drain from India of the wealth, public and private, acquired there by Europeans.

58. For a number of years after the revolution this drain was excessive; and in the same period too, the importation of specie from Europe, which had subsisted in all former times of the connection between this quarter of the globe and India, ceased; the different European Companies, who, excepting the commanders and officers of the ships, and a few French individuals, after the fall of the French Company, were the only exporters to Europe, procured specie in the country for that part of their homeward investment which their imports of goods did not purchase; the English Company, by means of its territorial revenue; the other Companies, by drawing bills on Europe.

59. The effect of this state of things upon the prosperity of our territories was then strongly perceived; and it has long been well understood, that all property gained by Europeans in India, after defraying local expenses, must be ultimately transferred from that country; without any return in this description, however, is not strictly to be comprehended property of a fixed nature, such as factories, buildings, docks, machinery, &c. of which you speak, and which may indeed be transferred from one European to another; but whilst and in so far as they continue to belong to Europeans, may be said to be their fixed capital in the country, and must remain so unless transferred to natives, which they are not in general likely to be, being things which the superior means, energy, and skill of Europeans have produced, to the increase of the wealth of the country, and things which are employed by them to its still further improvement. But whether they amount in Bengal to your extreme computation, or not, we believe the rent payable from them, in England, to be very small.

60. The amount of the annual acquisitions of Europeans in India, or in other words, the average of their annual demand for remittance to Europe, has never been reduced to any certain calculation. Formerly the French, Dutch, and Danes, participated in these acquisitions; now they centre wholly with the British.

61. The investment sent home for the Company, in as far as it was not formerly purchased by exports in this country, has usually been denominated a tribute, and if considered as such, has fallen highly upon the Indian territories, being both moderate in its amount, and paid in manufactures, which have set the standard of quality high, and given permanent encouragement to the industry of the natives; but part of this investment has been, in fact, only the reimbursement of various political charges, paid in this country on account of the Indian government and territories; and for a series of years past, these charges, although greatly increased, have become a burthen upon our home treasury, from which they have been wholly defrayed, whilst the return of investment has been upon a more limited scale, notwithstanding our exports of goods and stores to India have been rather augmented; and as you shew, in your 94th paragraph, we have also imported bullion into Calcutta, in the last four years only, to the amount of near three millions sterling, so that, as we contend, the balance upon a fair statement of debits and credits between India and England, for a series of past years, is in favour of this country, or of the Company's home concerns, without charging any thing on account of tribute, or of the annual million, which the Act of 1793 allotted out of the territorial revenue, for the purposes of investment.

It is not necessary to go at large into the discussion of this subject here, but, in as far as the points immediately in question, the exports of goods and bullion from London to India, and exports of goods from India to London, for 10 years to the latest period are concerned, the accompanying Account, No. 1, will shew, that the amount of our consignments to our Three Presidencies have in that period exceeded the amount of the investments, which have been shipped by India on our account to London, in the sum of 94 lacks of Rupees.

62. The obvious inference arising from this view of the Company's export and import is, that no means of remitting private fortunes can have arisen of late from the Company's commerce in goods, stores, and bullion, with India, as the public exigencies of India have required larger supplies of goods, stores, and bullion, from England, than the amount of the cargoes of goods returned thither; so that the Company's imports from Europe having exceeded their exports to Europe, those exports could afford no means for remittance. We shall hereafter shew in what other manner those means have been furnished, and how essentially the Company have contributed, and do still contribute, to supply them.

63. It is true, that we have of late required, as a matter of evident policy and fitness, that the income from our territories should exceed the expenditure, at least one million sterling per annum; and you have, in the course of argument, supposed that this surplus was to be applied to investment; a supposition which did not require you to go into any speculation on the appropriation of it here; but in point of fact we have not stated that the surplus was to be sent home, and it is premature to speak of the present difficulty of remitting a fund which is not forthcoming, and for which, by the time it is realized, if it should then be required here, means of remittance may perhaps be found.

64. It is probable that the pressure upon the country, compared with the means of sustaining that pressure, in the first fifteen years, if not for a longer time after the revolution of

of 1756, for payment to foreign nations, was greater than it is at present; for more than twenty years past specie has again flowed into India from the western world; the export trade of India to the west, has, within that period, exceeded whatever it was before in any equal space, either anterior or subsequent to the revolution; the great staple of Indigo, manufactured by Europeans, which has risen up under our fostering care within that period, is more than an equivalent for the diminution in the sale of cotton fabrics, and the cotton trade carried on through all parts of the Indian Ocean, from the Gulphs of Persia and Arabia on the west, to China and Manilla on the east, chiefly by the activity and enterprize of Britons, is wonderfully augmented, to the obvious and great advantage of all the territories of British India, in which also the internal regulations of our Government, particularly the perpetual settlement of the land tenures, begin to shew their effects in increased cultivation.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

65. It may not be easy to form an accurate comparison between the annual acquisitions of Europeans in British India at present and in preceding periods. The number of our servants, civil and military, is certainly greatly augmented; and the allowances to them are, in general, upon a more ample scale than they were in earlier times. The saving, therefore, from these sources, ought to be much more considerable than formerly; but then such savings now constitute, with the interest that may accrue thereon, the only acquisitions of the great body of the servants, which was not the case in earlier periods, when connection and influence, which do not at present exist, with natives of different ranks and descriptions, were not uncommon. It must be owned, that the high rate of interest paid for a series of past years, upon a large and increasing mass of public debt, has been a source of such acquisition to Europeans, as could never have been derived by the employment of money in private hands, nor yet by lending to the public before the debt became considerable; and from this source, no doubt, the stock of European wealth has been much enlarged.

66. But if it were supposed that the annual acquisitions of Europeans, including those engaged in commerce, now exceeds on the whole what it was at former periods, it must be allowed on the other hand, that the amelioration of the country, produced by European government, and the improvement of its manufactures and commerce, by the means of European residents, place it now in a better condition to bear increased demands than it was formerly; to satisfy the drains to which it was then subjected, and on a general view of its circumstances, past and present, we do not see reason to apprehend, that a great country, which is in a state of improvement, notwithstanding fluctuations in its commerce, to which it has been always liable, will not continue capable of furnishing, besides any moderate public tribute which may at any time be due from it, remittances adequate to the payment of the interest on its debt to Europeans, or more generally, the amount of the annual acquisition of Europeans, now probably at its maximum.

67. But sudden demands for payment in this country, of millions of the *principal* of the Indian debt, form a question of quite another nature. It is not enough to say that it would be impracticable, in the actual circumstances of India, to expect such payments from it. It would also, in the most flourishing state which India has ever experienced, be unreasonable. The trade of any country cannot stretch itself all at once, to extraordinary payments of great magnitude to foreign States. England, the most commercial nation on earth, is not always able to satisfy foreign demands, through the medium of commerce, but is obliged at times, to export specie to certain parts for that purpose. Whilst, therefore, we entertain the utmost desire to adopt every practicable expedient, for enabling India to meet all the claims that may be made upon it, we never can expect that its own resources will serve to liquidate the principal of its territorial debt, payable in England, by any other than a gradual process; nor can we reckon this incompetency an unfavourable symptom of the state of the country.

(72 a' 83.) "On the present means of India to satisfy the demand on her in Europe, containing (more particularly from the 78th Para.) a review of the commodities which Bengal possesses for exportation."

68. The object more immediately in view, is a provision, by means of commerce, for the payment of the more ordinary demands on India, to the extent at least, to which remitters may require them; and we shall proceed to consider the views you have taken, in reference to this object, of the extent of the actual demand for the produce and manufactures of Bengal.

But it is always to be remembered, that the payments to be provided for by the medium of commerce, are payments to be made in *England*.

69. You have stated, that at the same moment in which there is an extraordinary demand for remittances to England, the means of supplying it have failed in a considerable degree, by a sudden and large decrease in the export trade of Bengal; and, to illustrate this last position, you give a comparative view of the exports to America and foreign Europe from Bengal, for four years ending with 1808-9, by which it appears, that the average of the first three years was 97 lacks of sicca rupees, and the amount of the last, 31st May, only S.R^a 5,71,000. showing a diminution of nearly 91 lacks in the last year.

70. Now, supposing the accuracy of this statement for 1808-9 to be corroborated by the accounts of the Reporter of External Commerce, which you mention not to have been made up, the fact of the diminished export does not apply to your argument, if it is intended in the sense which it seems obviously to import; viz.; that the exports to America and

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

foreign Europe, did, in former years, actually serve as the means of remittance; for, it appears from the registered accounts of the exports for a series of preceding years, that the Americans and foreign Europeans brought, in goods and bullion imported, the full value of the goods they carried away. And further, supposing, as there is every reason to believe, they would have done the same had they continued their trade, it follows, that this trade, if so continued to its former or to a greater amount, could have no ways provided in England for the payment here of bills drawn from India, even by private persons.

71. The whole of this argument, therefore, to show that the difficulty of providing for remittances to England, is enhanced by the cessation of the exports of foreign Europe and America from Bengal, proceeds, if we have rightly conceived its scope, upon mistake, and confounding things that are entirely distinct. Such foreign commerce as pays in full by imports, chiefly bullion, for what it takes away, though advantageous to India, can no otherwise subserve the object of providing for payments in England, than by its better enabling India to export bullion in its turn: but this is quite another question, which you afterward separately notice, as we shall also have occasion to do; and, therefore, we only observe now, as connected with the present point, that the imported bullion could generally come into the hands of those who should choose to remit to England in that article, only by purchase.

72. Of the importance of foreign trade to the general prosperity of India, there is no question; and, in this view, your representation of the decrease of exports to foreign Europe and America, is quite relevant. Concerning this decrease, we have already informed you that it has proceeded from acts of those countries themselves, which were quite out of our controul. But your reasoning upon it in this part of your letter, seems to look to no change; whereas the Americans and Portuguese are, as we learn (and which is established by your letter of 25th November 1809, which we received on 25th May 1810) already resuming their commercial enterprizes to India; and, if they continue them, as they probably will, the ground of your complaint as to the decline of foreign exports, will be in a considerable degree remitted.

73. We consider the review you have taken of the commodities Bengal possesses, applicable to foreign commerce, to be more particularly, though not exclusively, relevant to the trade between that country and England; and shall, according to this idea of it, frame our remarks respecting the several articles you have enumerated, adverting also, so far as appears necessary, to the trade between Bengal and foreign Europe and America.

INDIGO.

74. We think the view you have taken of this commodity is not sufficiently comprehensive and just. In the culture of this plant, it is liable to droughts and inundations which affect its produce. From these circumstances, and others in the state of the markets at home, the selling price here must be subject to variations. The cultivation, also, may be carried too far, and occasion, for a time, considerable inconvenience; but this is an evil that may be expected, in the end, to work its own cure; and though, from these several causes, individuals may, no doubt suffer, yet, speaking generally, the article appears to be established as a great staple of Bengal. It supplies much of the consumption of Europe, and no rival to it seems likely to arise. It will, therefore, probably, continue to be largely in demand, and may be fairly reckoned on as a considerable medium for remittance to England. The prices fell in our sales of last year; but, in the present, (as you have been informed from our commercial department,) have been run up unusually high.

PIECE GOODS.

75. We have lately had occasion to state to you the unfavourable change which has taken place in the markets of Europe, in respect to the cotton fabrics of India, (the first of its staples,) and the causes of that change. As far as the use of those fabrics is superseded in these kingdoms by the cotton manufactures of this country, aided by high protecting duties, there seems little prospect of recovery; but an extended intercourse between Great Britain and South America may afford new openings for them; and the suspension of the commerce of neutral nations with India, has afforded encouragement to the purchasers at our sales to extend their speculations in piece goods; nor is it clear that a return of free intercourse with the Continent of Europe, might not be followed by a revived demand for the fine fabrics of India, which were formerly much in request there; for, although more cotton goods are manufactured in Europe than ever, yet, on the other hand, the wear or consumption of cotton goods is much more general than formerly, and much of this consumption will, in all probability, continue to be supplied from India. There is a superior beauty and excellence in the high-priced Indian cotton goods, which must ever continue to render them desirable; and the low-priced goods are made at so cheap a rate, that they will remain saleable at a profit in Europe, when not checked by high duties.

RAW SILK.

76. You have been already informed of the increased importance of this article in our commerce, and of the consequent enlargement of our indents for it, which may be still further extended. To your observation, that "there is no ground to presume Bengal will obtain a large supply of the home market, when the trade of the Continent shall be restored

to,

to its ordinary course," it is obvious to reply that, as all the disadvantages you are describing in the letter before us, particularly those of a commercial nature, have proceeded, in a great degree, from a war of extraordinary duration, and the unexampled manner in which it has been carried on by the enemy, so the re-establishment of peace may be expected greatly to meliorate the present state of things, and to open new facilities for commerce, which will, on the whole, prove very beneficial to that of India and the Company.

SUGAR.

77. It is only in a time of peace, that the importation of this article from India can become considerable, the high freight even of Indian or extra ships from that distant country, during war, giving the sugar of the West Indies a decided advantage over it; and, upon general considerations, we are not desirous of carrying on trade in this commodity to any extent beyond the necessity of ballasting our ships.

COTTON.

78. Whenever it has appeared that this raw material had any prospect of a sale at the London market, we have been willing to encourage the importation thereof; and we continue in this disposition. The speculations in cotton, lately adopted, or now afloat, have evidently been induced by the suspension of the American intercourse with England; whilst the number of American ships which, notwithstanding the embargo in their own ports, have arrived with cotton in this country, have much reduced the price of that article, and disappointed the hopes of the importers from India. And, indeed, as the cotton of India is liable to the same disadvantage as the hemp and other productions of that country, which are of large bulk in proportion to their value, viz, the high rate of freight, particularly in time of war, we are afraid that it cannot sustain a competition with the upland cotton of Georgia, which, of late years, is wonderfully increased, is of better quality than the Indian cotton, although it is the worst of the American; and further, a voyage of four or five weeks only transports it from America hither.

SUNN HEMP.

79. It is our continued wish and endeavour to render this article an Indian staple, and a valuable resource for this country in time of exigency. But it cannot be denied, that besides the general disadvantage of high freight, as already mentioned, this bulky commodity may be exposed, on the return of peace with Russia, to great discouragements, not to be obviated by any effort of ours.

80. Passing over saltpetre, which partakes more of a political than a commercial nature, and the minor articles of drugs, the productions now enumerated constitute, equally in our estimation as in your own, the chief materials which India affords for commerce with Europe and America.

81. Of these, the only commodities of which you think the exportation may be increased to any considerable degree, are cotton and Sunn hemp. And it is evident, that the establishment of a steady improving trade with England in these articles, depends not on India, or on any means which we can adopt, but on the state of the relations between England and Russia, and America. And, as the present misunderstanding with the latter Power does not materially interrupt the importation of Georgian cotton, nor even a state of hostility with Russia prevent the hemp of that country from being introduced here in great abundance, there is the less opportunity afforded to articles of the same nature from our territories to establish themselves. In times of peace the obstacles must be still greater; so that with strong predilections in favour of this commerce, we fear the most sanguine speculator can hardly reckon on the regular importation of these commodities, bulky, as already observed, for their value, to any high amount, or, at least, soon enough to obviate the difficulties you now apprehend with respect to remittance.

84. "Ships might be built in India for sale in England, if they were allowed to carry home a freight of goods, in like manner as the Court have lately permitted the cotton ships."

82. We are not indisposed, as our letter of June 1802 has long since informed you, to the idea of permitting ships built in India to come home here for sale; nor should we be unwilling to allow them to bring each a cargo of gruff goods, in order to reduce, by freight, the expense of the first cost and

of the voyage. But, if this concession is to be acted upon, it must not be strained or abused. We mean strictly, that such ships are to be sold here, not to return to India; that the cargoes must consist of gruff goods, or raw materials, and the loading take place according to the rules now in use, in the case of ships permitted to come home with cotton. Our late instructions, however, in the commercial department, will have apprised you, that no ships can take the benefit of the present regulation, but such as are entitled to a British register. The comfort of the native seamen navigating such ships, is also a matter of weighty consideration, and for which you will make the necessary stipulations with the owners of the ships, as well as for their maintenance in England, and final return to India, without becoming a burthen upon us.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

85. a' 88. "Regret that India, at a time when its produce and manufactures have become unavailable as a remittance to Europe, has been called upon, not only for the annual interest of its debt, but for a part of the capital."

89. a' 05. "General reviews and results of the external Commerce of Bengal, for four years; exclusive of the Company's investment."

83. On the matter of these paragraphs, which contain some closing observations suggested by the preceding review, we have already had occasion to touch, and shall, therefore, go on to the next branch of your subject; in which, from paragraph 80 to 95, considering the general commerce of Bengal, as nearly connected with the question of its resources for the payment of foreign debt, you take a general view of all its external trade, exclusive of that carried on by the Company.

84. Here you give, in the first place, a statement of the exports of Bengal by sea for the same period of four years, ending with 1808-9; the accounts of which year are also made up from Custom House documents, not prepared by the Reporter of External Commerce.

85. Before we reason upon these accounts, we could have wished to have seen the complete and digested statement for the year 1808-9, and likewise to have under our inspection the accounts of the other presidencies, as the whole, viewed together, serve better for general conclusions; but, taking the result now presented to us, as it stands, it shews, in the last year, a diminution of export, of R^s 1,41,00,000; whence it follows, that, as the decrease to America and foreign Europe (whose exports form part of this general view) was 91 lacs, the remaining decrease of 50 lacs, must have been in the exports for the country trade, and to London on private account. The decrease of exports to London in that year, on account of individuals, appears from your statement in paragraph 74, to be about R^s 11,40,000.; the decrease in the exports to all India must, therefore, have been R^s 38,60,000.

86. Whether any of the exports for the country trade have circuitously effected remittances to London, or how far any usual supply of remittance through this medium may have failed in the last year, does not appear; but the deficiency, if any, cannot be very material.

87. Having stated the amount of goods, exclusive of the Company's, exported by sea from Bengal, in the four years ending with 1808-9, at - R^s 14,42,89,104

And the imports of goods also, excluding the Company's, for

the same period, at - - - - - 4,66,86,123

Leaving an excess of goods exported, of - - - - - 9,76,02,981;

Or say - R^s 2,44,00,000 per annum.

You take occasion to observe, that "this excess may be considered as representing the fund which Bengal, by means of its produce and manufacture, could have remitted annually, in discharge of its debt to England, and for the supply of the other presidencies and settlements; but that the fund was not applied in this manner *entirely*, a large proportion of the amount having been paid for by importations of bullion." You state afterwards the amount of these importations of bullion on private account, in the four years, at R^s 5,10,14,340. or - - - - - R^s per annum 1,27,53,585

Still leaving, thus, an excess of exports of goods, to the amount, per annum, of 1,16,40,415

Making, as before - - - - - R^s 2,44,00,000

The first observation to be made upon this passage is, that whatever part of these exports goes in payment of supplies to the other presidencies, cannot be reckoned as available for remittance to Europe; or, if it be supposed that any goods sent on this account to Madras or Bombay, might be afterwards consigned to Europe, and so serve as remittance, still such export will appear in the account of the exports from the other presidency whence it is shipped, and cannot be so stated in the Bengal accounts. If it be your meaning, in the passage before us, to infer, that whatever part of the exports in question go to foreign Europe, America, the Gulfs, or China, might, instead of being paid for in India, be paid for to us in England, for our bills on India, we are ready to admit that such a mode of payment is possible; but we shall hereafter have occasion to speak more fully and directly to this point. We may here remark, however, that, even upon this principle, the trade between the Gulfs and India could not, in the present circumstances of the world, be made available for remittances to Europe; and that the supplies from Bombay and Bengal to China do contribute to furnish part of our investment there. If, on the other hand, the meaning of the passage in question be, as the words may imply, that the goods exported from Bengal, or any other part of India, to foreign Europe and America, might, instead of being sent to those countries, be brought to London, this is a position which does not seem to be warranted, even supposing the several results of balances exhibited in your statements to be accurate; neither, if the position were theoretically true, do we see that any useful practical conclusion is to be derived from it.

88. In the active commerce which has been carried on by almost all Asia, and various parts of foreign Europe and America, with Bengal, bullion has every where been, and must be, an ingredient; and in the commerce, especially of foreign Europe, America, and the Gulfs, it is absolutely essential. These countries could maintain little or no intercourse with Bengal, without employing bullion; and therefore, to suppose, as your argument does, a trade

a trade carried on between them only by exchanges of goods, is much the same as to suppose the trade extinct. Nor, if it were possible to confine the trade to such exchanges, could this be attempted without violating both the system by which neutral nations are allowed to resort to the ports of British India, and the obvious policy of admitting the importation of bullion into them. And such infractions of the established system and policy being, we are perfectly aware, as entirely out of your contemplation, as they are contrary to our sentiments, any reasoning or position that implies or requires them, must be equally out of the question.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

89. But even supposing no difficulties of this kind to exist, and the trade of foreign countries with Bengal to be reduced to a mere exchange of goods, it does not appear to follow, as a thing of course, that its manufactures which used to be purchased by foreigners with bullion, would, in consequence, be provided, especially to the same amount, by funds in the country, to be sent to England or to the other British settlements in India; for in the recent cessation of the American and foreign European commerce, the contrary has happened. Nor, on the other hand, is it to be concluded, that if whilst the exports to foreign Europe and America were going on upon a large scale, the demand for England had increased, that also might not have been supplied. In no view, therefore, can we admit, that the amount of exports purchased in some late years by bullion, represents the annual fund which Bengal could have remitted by produce and manufactures provided from her own resources, to England for payment of debt, and to the other settlements, for supplies; or that those exports would have been so appropriated, or would have existed, if they had not been created by the foreign demand.

90. We have thought it expedient to state our opinion upon this point, because in such an important subject as the general one under consideration, namely, the foreign commerce of India, and the policy by which it ought to be regulated in connection with its financial state, the admission of ill-grounded or uncertain theories may be productive of various inconveniences.

91. We must now make some remark upon your statements above quoted, of Bengal exports and imports, exclusive of the Company's, for four years, ending 1808-1809.

The Exports are stated at	-	-	-	-	S.R ^l . 14,42,89,104
The Imports, in goods, at	-	-	-	S.R ^l . 4,66,86,123	
In bullion, at	-	-	-	5,10,14,340	

9 77,00,463

Leaving a surplus of	-	-	S.R ^l . 4,65,88,641
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or R^s. 1,16,47,160 per annum, which is then to be considered as the annual balance against Bengal *under this head*; but it is to be remembered, that this is a balance resulting from the aggregate of the private trade to London, the trade to foreign Europe and America, and also the trade to China, Manilla, the Gulphs, and all the Coast of India. And though it will not be difficult to ascertain how far all the export trade to London, foreign Europe and America, has furnished remittances to England, yet as part of the exports from Bengal were probably direct public supplies to the other presidencies, or were paid for by bills of exchange remitted from those presidencies, and from China to Bengal, it must be difficult, if not impracticable, to determine whether any and what sum was derived from the country trade for remittance to Europe. Proceeding according to this declaration, the Account, No. 2. which is taken from the Reporter of External Commerce, shews that the Americans have, on an average of ten years, ending 1807-8, imported into Calcutta to the annual amount of S.R^l. 50,70,000, and have exported to the amount of S.R^l. 53,00,000, the difference S.R^l. 2,30,000, therefore is the only sum for which bills could have been drawn; but from this inconsiderable annual sum of about £. 28,000. sterling, must be deducted, the profit which was gained upon their import cargoes, and a further reduction on account of the bullion being somewhat over-valued, in stating the sicca rupee at two shillings and sixpence, so that the American imports and exports may be considered to be exactly balanced in those years.

92. From the account No. 3, you will find, that foreign European nations have imported into Calcutta, on an average of the like ten years, to the amount of S.R^l. 26,48,000. per annum, and have exported to the amount of S.R^l. 25,50,000. As the amount of the imports has exceeded that of the exports, of course, no remittance of bills from India, for gains acquired by our servants and others, can have been drawn from this branch of commerce.

93. From the account No. 4. the annual importations of individuals from London into Bengal, of merchandize and bullion, have amounted, on an average of ten years, to S.R^l. 42,46,000. per annum, whilst the amount of their exports has been extended to the sum of S.R^l. 87,00,000; the surplus of exports here applicable to remittance is

S.R^l. 44,54,000

or £. 557,000 per annum.

A further source of remittance is in bills drawn on the Company at home. By the Account No. 5, which exhibits the bills so drawn from all the presidencies and from China, for a period of ten years, from 1800 to 1809 inclusive, the amount of the Bengal drafts is £. 3,734,241, or per annum - £. 373,424. Bills drawn from Bombay, you mention to be frequently sold in Bengal for remittance to England. It is well known also, that a part, and probably a considerable part of the China bills are disposed of in Bengal for the same

No. 3.
Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

purpose; supposing the bills of Bombay and China together, serve as remittance from Bengal, to the amount of	-	-	-	-	-	-	£. 300,000
Here is an aggregate of	-	-	-	-	-	-	£. 1,230,424

remitted annually from that country only; and as the exports by individuals from thence to London fell off but little in the last two years, and may be restored to their former standard, as the Company's exports will doubtless also be, in consequence of our late orders, there is no reason to apprehend that the means of affording an annual remittance to this extent will not remain.

94. It would be satisfactory to us to be able to extend this view to all India, but the reports of the external commerce of Madras and Bombay, do not seem to be in a fit state to be used for purposes of this sort.

95. In the 47th paragraph of our letter to Madras of 11th January 1809, (Public Department,) we have noticed an incongruity in the reports of the commerce of that presidency, which goes to swell the apparent amount of the private trade beyond its real extent, and we have apprised our Governor and Council, that we should possibly see occasion to resume the subject. You will therefore request our governments of Madras and Bombay to call upon the officers who compile the Reports of External Commerce, to explain and simplify the principles upon which they are drawn up; and from the information which you may receive in answer to your inquiries, you will cause a correct abstract to be framed and transmitted to us, of the external commerce of our three presidencies, the want of which is productive of inconvenience upon the present occasion.

96. But to return to the consideration of your letter. The reports from Madras and Bombay exhibit a considerable surplus of imports in bullion and goods from England, excluding always the Company's trade, foreign Europe, and America, above the exports to those several countries, which excess of imports could not have been allowed to remain there, but must have been sent to other parts of India or to China, and probably finally converted into returns by bills or by goods which do not appear in our accounts. However, if a part of them should be allowed to have continued in Bengal, and hence be deducted from the preceding balance of exports appearing to have been made from thence to London, it may be considered on the other hand, that the American exports from China, partly carried on, as we understand on credit, may have by means of bills furnished, a remittance for British property. Whatever judgment may be formed as to these points, it is evident that the amount of the bills drawn on the Company from all India and China, may be considered as remittance to London, and this alone amounts, according to the preceding account (No. 5,) to nearly a million and half sterling per annum; and as it cannot be doubted that the private trade has also furnished means of remittance, after paying for its imports into India, it is no extravagant assertion to advance, that the annual remittances to London on account of individuals, have been at the rate of nearly two millions per annum for a series of years past, and from sources within ourselves, independent of the commerce of foreigners, sources which are not likely to diminish in future. For means of remitting the interest of the Indian debt, therefore, it may be concluded, that no apprehension need be entertained, even if the whole of that interest were annually to be transferred; but it would seem that resident creditors at least generally keep their interest in the country to accumulate; and as to a sudden call for the transfer of a large portion of the principal of the debt to this country, we have already observed, that India has not been, nor can be at any period equal to such a draft. But we may be prepared here, by increased investment made in due time, for the payment of no inconsiderable part of the principal even of the India debt.

97. In coming thus to the conclusion of your observations on the demands on the country for remittance, and the means it possesses of supplying them, it may be proper to remark, that although, no doubt, those demands may be commensurate to all the transferrable property of Europeans, yet, that between the claims upon the company for remittances and *other wants* for the transfer of property, there is a material distinction, which in general reasoning ought not to be overlooked. The company are under a specific obligation to furnish bills for a certain portion of their debt, and the interest accruing upon it, and they must comply immediately with calls made upon them in virtue of this obligation; but no such general engagement subsists for the transmission of any other property from India to England, and where there is no right of demand on the Company for bills, persons wanting to remit, if they cannot otherwise find a medium, must continue their property in the country. This has been the case formerly, and the inconvenience which resulted from it, was rather to individuals than to the country at large. So it may be now, whatever the occasions shall be for remittance, those only for which the Company are under obligation must absolutely be made; and the rest, if the means of the country do not suffice for them also, will necessarily be suspended until those means become adequate.

98. This distinction alone seems to alleviate the unfavourable impression which the scope of your letter has a tendency to produce, in respect to an impending pressure upon the country; and we hope, that some of your reasonings, which contribute to the same effect, are obviated in the preceding observations.

99. After

Para. 96 to 113. "Proposals for an exchange of Debts and Credits on India, with details and observations arising out of it."

99. After having detailed the reasons which lead you to the conclusion, that there is an extraordinary demand for remittance on various accounts to England, when, at the same time, the means of supplying it have failed in a material degree, by a sudden and

Company's Answer to the Bengal Financial Letter of August 1809;—dated June 1810.

large decrease in the export trade of Bengal, you propose remedies for this evil, and these we now proceed to consider. They are reduced to two heads, first to adopt a system of exchanges, by which England, for bills on India, should receive specie here, to enable her to discharge the bills drawn on her from India for debt; second, to encourage and facilitate export of produce and manufactures from India, by some arrangements similar to the license for exporting cotton wool, whereby a channel for the remittance of private capital might be afforded.

(The same recapitulated in Paras. 119 & 120.)

100. It may be stated, as a preliminary remark on the first of these proposals, that it must suppose the revival of the trade of some at least of the neutral nations with India; for whilst the trade of foreign Europe thither is interdicted by the hostile policy of France, and that of America by the acts of her own Government, they can make no demand for goods, nor, consequently, for bills on India, to purchase them; and in the next place, if a revival of that trade be supposed, the exports may also be expected to rise nearly to their former standard. And in point of fact, as already advised in your letter in this department, dated 28th November 1809, the Americans and Portuguese are renewing their adventures to India. This, indeed, as we have also noticed, will not provide the immediate means of remittance, but will much obviate your argument, founded on the decrease of commerce, which decrease is assigned as a cause of your present proposal.

101. But to speak directly to this proposal. Although the system of policy by which our Indian possessions are governed, admit the ships of foreign nations who are in amity with this kingdom to resort to those possessions for the purposes of commerce, it was not the design of that policy, nor is it our wish, that as large a share of the trade of British India as can with commercial advantage, and in consistency with higher objects, be drawn to this country, should not in preference be brought hither. You have been informed, that the trade which foreigners, and the Americans in particular, have been enabled, by their neutral character, to carry on from India, whilst Great Britain was engaged in war, has supplanted, at various marts, the supplies of Indian goods which the emporium of London used formerly to furnish. Whilst, however, we leave foreigners in the enjoyment of the privileges of trade which the existing system allows them, we do not think we are in policy called upon to add to the advantages they already possess over us from our being involved in war, and thus to produce an aggravation of the inconveniences under which this country has laboured through the long duration of that war, in respect to the Indian commerce, but to accommodate foreigners with bills upon our Indian treasuries, would directly have this effect. It would serve to advance them in the rank of traders, and consequently to discourage the trade to England, whilst it imparted to the Company the character of agents, and agents for the promotion of the trade of foreigners, which certainly would place them in no popular light, either here or in India. This scheme would also contribute to prevent the exportation to India of British manufactures and produce, and to discourage British shipping and seamen. It would also deprive London of the incidental profit of repairing ships, and depress the artificers and trades dependant thereon, and diminish the British revenue by the amount of the duties which are paid upon goods imported for re-exportation, and finally tend to depress the East India Company, by aggrandizing our commercial rivals.

102. But it is necessary to look to the bearing of this scheme upon our finances in India. For a series of years past, and indeed whilst the urgency of the Company's affairs in India has rendered it annually requisite to borrow money at high interest, for the conduct of our concerns there, it would not have been practicable for our Governor General to have discharged immediately in silver, bills of exchange to any considerable amount, which we might have drawn in London, for cash received here by us. Such bills would have added to the financial embarrassments under which you laboured, and would have necessarily increased the extent of your annual loans, as the bills could have been discharged only by borrowing money at high interest, by issuing treasury notes at an unreasonable rate of discount, or by the more distressing measure of paying to foreign merchants the funds intended for our own investment. It is therefore self-evident, that any sums which we might have so received in London, would ultimately have formed an addition to our Indian debt, at an interest of 10 per cent. per annum.

103. But a consideration of a very important nature still remains to be mentioned. If it were understood, as, upon our adopting your scheme, it soon would be, by Americans and others, that the necessity of providing for the payment of drafts upon us, had induced us to give into it, the Company might be thought to be at their mercy, and the humiliating measure you suggest, of sending agents to America to negotiate for bills might not, after all, be effectual; so that whilst the demand on us was certain, the means of supply on which we had made ourselves dependent, might prove nugatory. These observations naturally grow out of the plan which you have submitted to our consideration.

No. 3.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;
dated June 1810.

104. But we should have imagined, that if you had really thought this plan of remittance proper to be adopted by us, you would at once have seen that there was a mode much better fitted for its execution, namely; that of receiving foreign money here for bills upon Bengal, which, no doubt, would be tendered to us, were we to express any inclination to receive the same; a mode, free indeed from the uncertainty and difficulties of the plan you have offered to us, but liable to all the other objections we have enumerated.

105. On the whole, therefore, we are so fully impressed with a sense of the impolicy of adopting the plan in question, and of the injurious result by which it would be followed, that even at such a moment as the present, although a sum has been offered us for bills on India, at a favourable exchange, we have not thought it right, notwithstanding the state of your treasuries, and all other existing circumstances, to accept it. And to adopt any plan of this sort as a system, we are convinced would be most impolitic, both in a commercial and financial view, as well as in respect to the general reputation of the Company.

106. With regard to Spain, moreover, it is at present in so unsettled a state, as, in all probability, to render the operations of the Phillippine Company, particularly with respect to the future, also very uncertain. We shall not, however, be inattentive to the general considerations that belong to this subject, and to the new relations between this country and Brazil; but it would be premature to enter into them now.

107. The instance you adduce (in paragraph 98,) of the exchanges now actually in operation between Bengal and China, is not in point, nor does it state all the facts accurately. It is true that Bengal sends to Canton through the medium of individuals, opium and cotton, and cotton also on account of the Company; and that the proceeds of those commodities are, to a considerable extent, paid into the Company's treasury, bills being given to individuals on the Supreme Government; but if it were also true, that the proceeds of these Indian commodities purchased the Company's tea investment sent to England, this would only be an exchange between parties of the same nation, government, and place, a transaction which would not bring the Company at all into the power of the other party, and one extremely different, from our becoming dependent for the payment of bills on the uncertain measures, and changeable politics, of foreign nations; but, in point of fact, the teas sent from Canton to England, are in great measure paid for by the woollens and other exports from this country, which cannot be discontinued without serious inconvenience at home; and the Select Committee at Canton have also been of late years in the habit of drawing bills upon us annually to a large amount, a practice certainly unnecessary, on account of the considerable supplies they receive from Bombay and Bengal, in addition to the imports from England, and which we have, therefore, directed to be discontinued.

108. Upon the second species of remedy you propose, which is introduced only in the recapitulation (paragraph 120) at the close of your letter, it may be observed, that it is brought forward after you declined augmenting the Company's investment, because no articles presented themselves which might become proper objects even for the purpose of remittance; and also, after you have upon a review of the chief commodities which Bengal furnishes for export trade, found that cotton and hemp are the only articles which may, with any prospect of advantage, be considerably extended; with respect to these two articles, moreover, the culture of hemp having been but recently commenced upon a large scale, the increase of its export can be only gradual, even if the state of Europe should be such as to continue the demand for it, and the trade in cotton (upon which we have made some remarks in the preceding part of this letter) we had before encouraged, by giving license to private ships to bring it to England, which instance you quote, in recommending "some arrangements similar to that license."

109. Your recommendation, therefore, plainly refers to some other enlargements; but after the opinions you have delivered on this head, it does not seem that you could have had any specific article in view, which we rather conclude, as you have pointed to nothing of that sort; and we are thus left with a general recommendation, without any explanation how it may or can be followed up. We can therefore only say, that whenever any new opening or new article for exportation from India to this country is discovered, we shall be disposed to afford it all proper encouragement.

110. In the mean time, and in concluding this subject, we revert to the change of circumstances which have taken place since your letter was written. The London market for Indian commodities is improved; orders have been sent you for a large increase of our investment; private merchants will also probably increase their consignments hither, and the American and Portuguese commerce to India is recommenced. It is to be expected, therefore, that the amount of your exports will be raised to its former standard, and that additional provision will thus be made here to meet the payment of bills drawn from India. The measures therefore you propose, if they were in themselves unexceptionable, will not be necessary for securing the means of remittances.

111. As the cessation of American exports from Bengal, was of itself and might have appeared to you a sufficient reason for the augmentation of our investment from thence, the revival of those exports may be thought to render such an augmentation no longer expedient,

expedient; but some new circumstances in the state of commerce, and particularly the increased connection of this country with South America, ought, in our opinion, to supersede this objection; and you will therefore, not only comply fully with our indents for the year 1811, but with those we may hereafter send you; and if you should at any time have to determine upon the quantum of investment, without being in possession of particular orders from us, or any clear and decisive facts to guide your judgment, you will incline to the more ample scale of provision, especially, if at the same time you find the demand for bills on us on account of the debt, either interest or principal, to exceed the ordinary medium; for it is, at all events, desirable that in such case our warehouses should be well stored with goods.

Company's Answer
to the Bengal
Financial Letter
of August 1809;—
dated June 1810.

112. If, on the other hand, you find yourselves at any time under the necessity of drawing bills, to an amount for which the goods sent us, over and above the value of all our exports to India, will plainly be no adequate provision, it becomes a question, a question which you have very properly agitated, whether, in such case, you should remit us bullion, in order to satisfy in full, so far at least as your means suffice, the demands upon us on account of Indian debt; and though we never have hitherto withdrawn, and do not now wish to withdraw, any of the precious metals from our territories, yet, in the case described, we must, upon due consideration, and on the clearest grounds, determine the question in the affirmative. We mean always to except the exportation of any circulating coin, the extraction of which would be productive of immediate inconvenience.

113. It was in this way that Bengal was, soon after it came under our government, distressed by the injurious acts of individuals, and even by the transfer of its specie on public account, beyond its own boundaries, at a time when it received no supply of bullion from Europe.

114. But circumstances are now much changed; Bengal and the other presidencies, in their proportion, have, on an average of many past years, received considerable annual importations of dollars or ingots of silver, which may be regarded merely as an article of merchandize, and may be occasionally re-exported, without materially affecting the state of the country. If the Company are now necessitated to have recourse to this expedient, it will not be as formerly it would have been, a discretionary act to realize a tribute from the country, for which no return was to be made; it will be a compulsive measure, in order to pay a debt incurred on account of the territory, and for which the territory ought indubitably to pay, wherever the creditor, in virtue of his right, chuses to require payment. The disadvantage to India of this mode of supply, compared to that of drawing bills upon it, must be acknowledged; perhaps also the economy of this mode may be less; but to the system of our becoming the instruments of facilitating commercial operations of foreign nations, which interfere with those of our own country, and especially to our becoming dependent on those nations for funds to meet regularly and effectually the discharge of engagements deeply involving the credit of the Company, it is our decided opinion, that there are insuperable objections.

We are, your affectionate Friends,

(Signed)

W. ASTELL.

R. THORNTON.

J. BOSANQUET.

A. ROBERTS.

S. REED.

J. A. BANNERMAN.

R. TWINING.

EDW. PARRY.

R. WILLIAMS.

S. TOONE.

R. C. PLOWDEN.

G. A. ROBINSON.

JOS. COTTON.

GEO. SMITH.

[No. 4.—Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 8 June 1813;—
This having been printed under Order of 5 July, is not here inserted.]

No. 5.

An ACCOUNT of the Description and Amount of SUPPLIES furnished from INDIA to CHINA, in the years 1798 and 1812.

	Bills paid.	Goods.	Cash to be paid in China for Cotton delivered to Commanders.	TOTAL.
1798:	£.	£.	£.	£.
Bengal - - - - -	150,000	—	—	
Madras - - - - -	106,097	—	—	
Bombay - - - - -	- - -	- - -	14,918	
	256,097	—	14,918	271,015
1812:				
Bengal - - - - -	514,738	89,356	—	
Madras - - - - -	- - -	11,311	—	
Bombay - - - - -	- - -	112,500	—	
	514,738	213,167	- - -	727,905

East India House, }
2d July 1813.

(Errors excepted,)

W^m Wright,
Auditor of India Accounts.

No. 6.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, of
28th April 1813;—for

An Account of Merchandize and Bullion respectively imported into and exported from the Presidency of Bengal, in each year, from 1795-6 to 1810-11 inclusive; distinguishing the trade with London on account of the East India Company; on account of their Commanders and Officers; and on account of Private Merchants; and also the Trade with Foreign Europe and with America.—And, similar Accounts of the Trade of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay respectively; from the year 1802-3 to 1810-11.

THE Company's Books do not enable the clerks to make up the Account in the manner ordered by the Honourable House; nor can any estimated distinction be made, so as to comply virtually with the Order, in any way satisfactory.

Office of Committee of Warehouses,
East-India House, 3d July 1813.

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS:

VIZ.

Advances by the Bengal Government to Indigo
Planters:—Financial Letter from Bengal (1809;) and one from the Court of Directors, in answer thereto:—Supplies furnished from India to China:—Merchandize and Bullion.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
10 July 1813.*

(East Indies.)

RESOLUTIONS

Reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of the Affairs of
The EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed, 3 June 1813.

1. *Resolved,*

THAT it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for a time to be limited; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

2. *Resolved,* That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the existing Restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China, shall be continued, and that the exclusive trade in Tea shall be preserved to the said Company for a time to be limited.

3. *Resolved,* That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding Resolution, it shall be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares or merchandize, which can now, or may hereafter be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom to any port within the limits of the Charter of the said Company, as hereinafter provided; and that all ships navigated according to Law, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's Charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares or merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basins, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the Orders of His Majesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such Orders in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the Session next ensuing.

Provided also, That no ship or vessel of less than 350 Tons, registered measurement, shall be permitted to clear out from any port in the United Kingdom, for any port or place within the limits aforesaid, or be admitted to entry in any port of the United Kingdom, from any place within those limits.

Provided also, That no ship or vessel shall proceed to any place within the limits of the Company's Charter, without a licence to be granted for that purpose; and that no ship or vessel clearing out from any port within the United Kingdom, shall proceed to any port or place within the limits of the Company's Charter,

RESOLUTIONS ON THE AFFAIRS OF

and under the government of the said Company, except to one of their principal settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island; and that every ship so proceeding, shall be furnished with a licence for that purpose from the Court of Directors.

Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any ship or vessel from proceeding to any place within the limits aforesaid, under the especial authority of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; but that all applications for licences to proceed to any place, not being one of the principal settlements of the said Company, shall be made to the Court of Directors, who shall, within fourteen days from the date thereof, transmit the same to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, with any representation which the said Court may think proper to make, upon the subject of such application; and that the said Court, if directed so to do, by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, shall issue their licence or licences accordingly.

Provided also, That no ship shall be permitted to clear out from any port of the United Kingdom for India, unless attested lists in duplicate shall have been delivered to the principal Officer of the Customs at the port of clearance, specifying the number and description of all persons embarked on board of the said ship, and all arms laden therein; and that all persons proceeding upon such ships shall, upon their arrival in India, be subject to all the existing regulations of the local governments, and to all other rules and regulations that may hereafter be established, with regard to the European subjects of His Majesty, resident in India.

Provided also, That upon any application made to the Court of Directors, by or on behalf of any person desirous of proceeding to India, the Court of Directors (unless they shall think fit to grant a licence for that purpose) shall transmit every such application, within the term of one month from the delivery thereof, to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; who, if they shall see no objection thereto, may, and they are hereby authorized to direct that such person or persons should, at the special charge of him or them, be permitted to proceed to India; and that any such person or persons so desiring to proceed, shall be furnished with a certificate by the Court of Directors, according to such form as shall be prescribed by the said Commissioners, signifying that such person or persons have so proceeded with the cognizance and under the sanction of the said Court of Directors; and that all such certificates shall be considered by the Governments in India as entitling such persons, while they shall properly conduct themselves, to countenance and protection in their several pursuits; subject to all such provisions and restrictions as now are in force, or may hereafter be judged necessary with regard to persons residing in India; provided always, that the said Court shall be at liberty to offer such representations to the said Commissioners, respecting persons so applying for permission to reside in India, as they may at any time think proper.

Provided also, That no such ship which shall have proceeded as aforesaid, shall be admitted to entry in any port of the United Kingdom, without a regular manifest, duly certified, according to such regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

Provided also, That no article manufactured of silk, hair, or cotton wool, or any mixture thereof, shall be entered or taken out of any warehouse, except for exportation, unless the same shall have been brought into the Port of London, and deposited in the warehouses of the said United Company; and that all such articles shall by them be exposed to public sale by auction, in order to ascertain the duties payable thereupon; and in all other ports, as well as the Port of London, such articles, when entered and taken out for exportation, shall be charged according to their value, under the regulations legally applicable in other cases to duties payable *ad valorem*.

Provided also, That on the return of every ship from India, lists of her Crew, specifying the number and description of all persons embarked on board the said ship, and all arms laden therein, shall be delivered to an officer of the Customs at the first port at which she shall arrive, and shall be by him transmitted to the Court of Directors, according to and subject to such provisions as may be made, with a view to the discovery of any British subject who may have gone to or remained in India contrary to law.

4. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the Government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company, according to the provisions, limitations and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India, shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of, according to the following order of preference:—

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as Native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores. Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred by the said Company in India. Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there. Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

Provided always, That the appropriation aforesaid shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to prejudice or affect the undoubted Sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in and over the said territorial acquisitions; nor to preclude the said United Company from the enjoyment of, or claim to any rights of property they now have, or to which they may hereafter be entitled, within the territories aforesaid.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the receipts into the Company's treasury in England, from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, or in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows:—First, in payment of Bills of Exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due. Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company. Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present, or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company; also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of the 33d Geo. III. cap. 52, shall have been exhausted; the said payments respectively to be made half-yearly. Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

6. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That when the principal of the debt, bearing interest in India, shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2*s.* the Bengal current rupee; 8*s.* the Madras pagoda; and 2*s.* 3*d.* the Bombay rupee; and the bonded debt in England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling; then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and the profits upon the trade, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been, or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been, or may be directed to be borne by the said Company, in virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company, in respect or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company, for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of 10½ per cent. per annum, in respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that

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of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one sixth part shall, from time to time, be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five-sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the Public, and at the disposal of Parliament.

Provided also, That if the Company's debts in India, after the same shall have been reduced to £. 10,000,000. sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount, or if their bond debt in England, after the same shall have been reduced to £. 3,000,000. shall be again increased beyond that sum, then, and so often as either of these cases shall happen, the surplus proceeds shall be appropriated to the reduction of such new debts respectively, until the debts in India shall be again reduced to £. 10,000,000. sterling, and the bond debt in England to £. 3,000,000. sterling.

7. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the said Company shall direct and order their books of account, at their several Presidencies and Settlements in India, at their Factory in China, at the Island of St. Helena, or elsewhere, and also in England, to be so kept and arranged, as that the same shall contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts and assets, appertaining to, or connected with, the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs; and that the same shall be made up in such manner that the said books shall contain and exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments, separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs; and that the arrangement of accounts, so to be made, shall be submitted to the approbation and sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

8. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that ships built within the British territories in the East Indies, and employed in the commerce between India and the United Kingdom, should, during the present war, and for Eighteen months after the conclusion thereof, be permitted to import any goods, wares or merchandize, the produce or manufacture of any countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter; except as aforesaid; or to export any goods, wares or merchandize, from the United Kingdom to the British Settlements in the East Indies, or to any of the places within the said limits, in the same manner as ships British built, and duly registered as such; and that after the expiration of the period above mentioned, the said India-built ships should be liable to such other provisions as Parliament may from time to time enact, for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation; and that effectual provision should be made, at the charge of the owners and commanders of such ships, for the maintenance, while in the United Kingdom, of the Asiatic sailors employed in the navigation, and for the return of such sailors to their native country.

9. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home, in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

10. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's Presidencies or Settlements of Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Governor of the Forts and Garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander in Chief of all the Forces in India, or of any provincial Commander in Chief of the Forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, subject, nevertheless, to the approbation of His Majesty, to be signified in writing under His Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

11. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the number of His Majesty's troops in India to be in future maintained by the said Company, be limited; and that any augmentation of force exceeding the number so to be limited, shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

12. *Resolved*,

12. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies, should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

13. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is the duty of this Country, to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

Provided always, That the authority of the local Governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.

14. *Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that the statutes and regulations framed, or to be framed by the Court of Directors, for the good government of the College established by the East India Company, in the County of Hertford, and of the Military Seminary of the said Company, in the County of Kent, as well as the establishment of offices connected therewith, or the appointment of persons to fill such offices, be subject to the controul and regulation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the power and authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall be construed to extend to the issuing or sending orders or instructions to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being transmitted to India, respecting the rules and regulations and establishments of the respective Colleges at Calcutta and Fort St. George, or any other Seminaries which may be hereafter established under the authority of the local Governments.

Provided always, That no Writer shall be appointed into the Service of the said Company, at any of the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, who shall not have received a Course of Instruction at the said College of Hertford.

3 June 1813.

RESOLUTIONS passed by the
Committee of the whole House, to whom
it was referred to consider of the Affairs of
The East India Company.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Printed by T. B. S. at the
Printers Office, No. 10, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

MISSIONS

Approved order by the House of Commons, in the year 1773, for the
appointment of a Committee to enquire into the Affairs of the
East India Company, and to report thereon to the House of Commons.
The Committee was appointed on the 17th of July 1773, and consisted of
the following Members of Parliament.

1773

1773

Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed.

(East Indies.)

RESOLUTIONS reported from the
Committee of the whole House, to whom
it was referred to consider of the Affairs of
The EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
3 June 1813.

THE
E I G H T H R E P O R T
OF THE
C O M M I S S I O N E R S

Appointed under an Agreement, concluded on the 10th
of July 1805, between The EAST INDIA Company
and The PRIVATE CREDITORS of the late NABOBS of
The CARNATIC.

(46 GEO. III. c. 133.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
10 December 1812.

THE REPORT	- - - - -	p. 257.
LIST (or Continuation) of CLAIMS	- - - - -	258.
Absolute ADJUDICATIONS <i>in favour</i> of Claimants	- - - - -	<i>ibid.</i>
Absolute ADJUDICATIONS <i>against</i> Claimants	- - - - -	347.
Conclusion of This Report	- - - - -	319.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
10 December 1812.

TO THE

Honourable The COMMONS of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
in Parliament assembled.

THE

EIGHTH REPORT of the Commissioners appointed
under an Agreement, concluded on the 10th July 1805, between
The EAST INDIA Company and The PRIVATE CREDITORS of the
late NABOBS of The CARNATIC.

IN Obedience to the 46th of the KING, cap. 133. §. 9.; which directs
the Commissioners in England, within twenty-one days after the
commencement of the next and every subsequent Session of Parliament,
to present to both Houses of Parliament, “ A List of all the Claims which
“ have been or shall be preferred to them or to the Commissioners in India
“ from time to time, and also a List of such Claims as from time to time shall
“ have been decided upon, either provisionally or absolutely, by the said
“ Commissioners, with the grounds of their decision thereon ;”—We present
to this Honourable House, A LIST of all the CLAIMS which have been
preferred since the date of our last Report, by Persons who describe them-
selves to be Creditors of the late Nabobs WALLAJAH and OMDUT UL
OMRAH, or of the late AMEER UL OMRAH, and have become Parties to
the Deed of Agreement with the East India Company.

LIST

LIST (in continuation) of CLAIMS preferred to the Commissioners, in England and in India, for investigating The DEBTS of the late NABOBS of The CARNATIC, by Parties who have executed the Deed of Agreement with The EAST INDIA COMPANY.

No.	CLAIMS.	AMOUNT of The Principal of The Claims, in the Coin specified.		Aggregate AMOUNT of The Principal and Interest, in Sterling Money.		
		S. Pag ^s	F. C.	£.	s.	d.
	The following CLAIMS were published in the Gazette of the 9 th & 13 th September 1806:					
1815	John Tulloh, Esquire, surviving Executor of the late Captain Henry Buck Bowles;—Debt of the Nabob Wallajah, 1 st June 1780, for arrears of pay, batta, &c. Principal	1,172	23 44	1,275	10 10	
1816	John Tulloh, Esquire, one of the Executors of the late Lieutenant Peter Bonnevaux;—Bond of Omdut ul Omrah, 20 th November 1777, for money lent	7,000	0 0	8,468	13 5	
1817	John Tulloh, Esquire, one of the Executors of the late General George Campbell;—Bond of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, 1 st December 1796, for money lent: upon which Bond, Pagodas 2,895 have been received on account of interest	10,000	0 0	4,332	19 0	
	The following Claim of Duttajée Row, Assignee of Roya Reddy Row;—Balance of an Account of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for money advanced, was noticed in the Gazette of November 4 th 1806, but not hitherto included in any of our Reports to Parliament	87,703	23 20	40,295	8 6	

THE Aggregate Sterling Amount of CLAIMS, specified in the List formerly presented to This Honourable House, and in this Continuation of it, as nearly as can be calculated from the imperfect manner in which many of the Claims are stated, is

£.	s.	d.
29,380,749.	1.	5.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

HAVING decided absolutely on many Claims since the date of our last Report, we conceive that the most proper manner of obeying the Act of Parliament, which requires us to state the grounds of every such decision, is to lay before This Honourable House, copies or abstracts of the Awards which we have made.

ABSOLUTE ADJUDICATIONS in favour of CLAIMANTS.

CLAIM N^o 52 in our First Report.

N^o 219.

CLAIM
N^o 117 in the London
Gazette of the 13
September 1806, and
N^o 52 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.
Lucia Cary Grat-
tan, Carolina
Cary Grattan,
and Frances Cary

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant Junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies of the one part, and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah

Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan of Hertingfordbury in the County of Herts, daughters and administratrixes, with the will annexed of the late Colonel John Grattan, formerly Quarter Master General of His Majesty's Forces in India, have by their attorney Charles Binny of Howland-street, Fitzroy-square, in the County of Middlesex, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan, as administratrixes aforesaid, have by their said attorney Charles Binny, executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, of the first part; John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex since deceased, of the second part; and the persons therein named as Trustees, of the third part; and have thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to them from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, and have further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to them from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the Interest to accrue thereon; the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the Trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan, under the description of the heirs of the said Colonel John Grattan, upon his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of

Abolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Grattan, daughters and administratrixes, with the will annexed, of the late Colonel John Grattan.

S. Ps.
four thousand Star Pagodas (4,000.) which with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of six thousand three hundred and

Ps. F. C.
thirteen Pagodas thirteen Fanams and sixty-eight Cash (6,313. 13. 68.) or two thousand five hundred and twenty-five Pounds six Shillings and sixpence sterling (£. 2,525. 6s. 6d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim subsequently made instead of the before-recited Claim by the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary

S. Ps.
Grattan, for the principal sum of nine thousand Star Pagodas (9,000.) with interest thereon: And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part of the debt which might appear to be due and owing from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part of the debt which might appear to be due and owing from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan; and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture; do find, That the said Colonel John Grattan died in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and that subsequently to his death repeated applications were made to the said Nabob Wallajah, by the representatives of the said Colonel Grattan, and also by Sir George

S. Ps.
Leith, for payment of the sum of nine thousand Star Pagodas (9,000.) as due to the Estate of the said Colonel Grattan, for services rendered by him to his said Highness: And we do further find, That the said Sir George Leith afterwards accepted, in behalf of the representatives of the said Colonel Grattan, a bond from the said Nabob Wallajah, for four thousand five

Ps.
hundred Pagodas (4,500.) bearing date the twenty-ninth Suffer, twelve hundred and nine of the Hegyra, corresponding with the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and conditioning that the said sum of four

thousand five hundred Pagodas (4,500.) should be paid by nine monthly instalments from the end of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, to Messieurs Colt and Baker, attornies of the said Sir George Leith: And we do further find, That the said condition in the said Bond was not fulfilled, no instalment or part of instalment having been paid: And we do further find, that the said Colonel John Grattan was appointed by the Nabob Wallajah to be his confidential agent at a salary of five hundred

Pagodas (500.) per month, in the month of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and continued in the service of his said Highness till the first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight: And we do further find, That on the first day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, there was owing to the said Colonel John Grattan from the said Nabob, the sum of nine thousand

Star Pagodas (9,000.) for arrears of Pay and Allowances, justly due for services bonâ fide rendered by him to the said Nabob Wallajah; and that the said Colonel John Grattan was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the representatives of the said Colonel John Grattan from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to seventeen thousand seven hundred and five Pagodas

four Fanams and one Cash (17,705. 4. 1.) or seven thousand and eighty-two Pounds and ten-pence sterling (£.7,082. os. 10d.): And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of seventeen thousand seven

hundred and five Pagodas four Fanams and one Cash (17,705. 4. 1.) or seven thousand and eighty-two Pounds and ten-pence sterling (£.7,082. os. 10d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah, to the representatives of the said Colonel John Grattan: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt, being a debt contracted for arrears of Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprized in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixteen thousand eight hundred and nineteen

Pagodas thirty-five Fanams and twenty-five Cash (16,819. 35. 25) or six thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven Pounds eighteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.6,727. 18s. 10d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan, as administratrixes aforesaid; and that the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixteen thousand eight hundred and nineteen Pagodas thirty-five Fanams and twenty-five Cash

(16,819. 35. 25.) or six thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven Pounds eighteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.6,727. 18s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of four hundred and forty-two Pagodas

twenty-six Fanams and twenty-eight Cash (442. 26. 28.) or one hundred and seventy-seven Pounds and one Shilling sterling (£.177. 1s. 0d.) being a further portion of the said debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce, and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of four

hundred and forty-two Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and twenty-eight Cash (442. 26. 28.) or one hundred and seventy-seven Pounds and one Shilling sterling (£.177. 1s. 0d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of four hundred and forty-two Pagodas

six Fanams and twenty-eight Cash (442. 26. 28.) or one hundred and seventy-seven Pounds and one Shilling sterling (£.177. 1s. 0d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly; and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of four hundred and forty-two Pagodas

twenty-six Fanams and twenty-eight Cash (442. 26. 28.) or one hundred and seventy-seven Pounds and one Shilling sterling (£.177. 1s. 0d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said demand at the instance of the said Lucia Cary Grattan, Carolina Cary Grattan, and Frances Cary Grattan, or of any other person or persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United

East

East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-seventh day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) *J^r Parkhouse.*

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
{ CHA. GRANT junior.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

CLAIM N^o 1 & 2 of N^o 135 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Nathaniel William Wraxall of London, hath by his Attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Nathaniel William Wraxall hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, of the first part; the said John Fordyce, of the second part; and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part; and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned, upon the trusts in the said articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration two Claims made by the said Nathaniel William Wraxall, one upon the Nabob

N^o 220.

CLAIM
N^o 1 & 2 of N^o 64 in
the London Gazette
of the 12 Aug. 1806;
and,
N^o 1 & 2 of N^o 135
in the First Report
to Parliament.

Nathaniel
William Wraxall.

Wallajah for the principal sum of sixteen thousand Pagodas (16,000), which with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four to the aggregate sum of thirty-

one thousand nine hundred and sixty pagodas (31,960.) or twelve thousand seven hundred and eighty-four Pounds sterling (£. 12,784.) the other upon Omdut ul Omrah for the principal sum

of forty-four thousand pagodas (44,000) which with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of fifty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety

Pagodas (58,190) or twenty-three thousand two hundred and seventy-six Pounds sterling (£. 23,276.) which two sums make the aggregate amount claimed by the said Nathaniel

William Wraxall, to be ninety thousand one hundred and fifty Pagodas (90,150) or thirty-six thousand and sixty Pounds sterling (£. 36,060.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said articles of Agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, for themselves and others, as assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Nathaniel William Wraxall, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find, That the said Nathaniel William Wraxall was appointed by his Highness the Nabob Wallajah to be his Minister in England, in conjunction with Mr. James Macpherson, and that he is entitled to remuneration for services bona fide rendered to his

Highness for a period of four years, at the rate of four thousand pagodas (4,000) per annum: And we do further find, That on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord

one

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

one thousand eight hundred and four, there was due to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall on this account, with interest at six per cent. per annum, the sum of thirty-one

Ps. F. C.

thousand seven hundred and fifteen Pagodas two Fanams and sixty-nine Cash (31,715. 2. 69.): And we do further find, that the said Nathaniel William Wraxall was subsequently appointed by his Highness Omdut ul Omrah to be his Agent in England, and that he did bonâ fide serve his Highness in that capacity from the twentieth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, to the 26th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety: And we do further find, That for the said services he is entitled to remuneration at the rate of two thousand Pagodas

Ps.

(2,000.) per annum for the period aforesaid; and that on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four there was due to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall on this account, with interest at six per cent. per annum, the sum of six

Ps. F. C.

thousand one hundred and eighty-four Pagodas sixteen Fanams and one Cash (6,184. 16. 1.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, that upon the 15th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of thirty-one thousand seven hundred and fifteen Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

two Fanams and sixty-nine Cash (31,715. 2. 69.) and no more, was justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall, and that the sum of six thousand one hundred and eighty-four Pagodas sixteen

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and one Cash (6,184. 16. 1.) and no more, was justly due and owing on the day and date aforesaid from the representatives of his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall, which two sums aforesaid make an aggregate sum of thirty-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine Pagodas eighteen Fanams and seventy Cash

Ps. F. C.

(37,899. 18. 70.) or fifteen thousand one hundred and fifty-nine Pounds fifteen Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£. 15,159. 15s. 8d.) due as aforesaid on the day and date aforesaid, to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt being a debt contracted for Civil Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprised in the first class of debts under the said Indenture: And we do further award and adjudge, that the sum of thirty-six thousand and four Pagodas twenty Fanams and two Cash

Ps. F. C.

(36,004. 20. 2.) or fourteen thousand four hundred and one Pounds fifteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 14,401. 15s. 10d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Nathaniel William Wraxall, and that the said Nathaniel William Wraxall hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of thirty-six thousand

Ps. F. C.

and four Pagodas twenty Fanams and two Cash (36,004. 20. 2.) or fourteen thousand four hundred and one Pounds fifteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 14,401. 15s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-

Ps. F. C.

four Pagodas forty Fanams and sixty-eight Cash (1,894. 40. 68.) or seven hundred and fifty-seven Pounds nineteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 757. 19s. 10d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly as assignees as aforesaid, and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four Pagodas forty Fanams and sixty-

Ps. F. C.

eight Cash (1,894. 40. 68.) or seven hundred and fifty-seven Pounds nineteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 757. 19s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and their successors or representatives are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever, in respect of the said debts claimed at the instance of the said Nathaniel William Wraxall or of any other person or persons whatsoever. In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the tenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed)

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT junior.

No. 221.

CLAIM N° 20 in our First Report.

CLAIM

N° 137 in the London
Gazette of the
10 January 1807;
and,
N° 20 in the First Re-
port to Parliament,

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed, indented and bearing date the 10th day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, between

“between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;” Send Greeting: Whereas Helen Burrington of Fitzroy Place London, Executrix of the late Colonel George Burrington formerly of Madras in the East Indies, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted herself, her heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by her under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Helen Burrington as Executrix aforesaid, hath executed certain articles of agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot, of the first part; John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part; and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to her as such Executrix from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said articles of agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the remaining survivors of the said Trustees who have executed the said articles of agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by Helen Burrington as Executrix aforesaid, upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven Pagodas and twelve Fanams

Ps. F.

(27,777. 12.) which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of forty-six thousand four hundred and fifty-seven Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

forty Cash (46,457. 22. 40.) or eighteen thousand five hundred and eighty-three Pounds and three-pence sterling (£. 18,583. os. 3d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said articles of agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Helen Burrington as Executrix aforesaid, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find that the said Nabob Wallajah granted a bond to the late Colonel Burrington, bearing date the first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, corresponding with the seventeenth Rujeb twelve hundred and seven of the Hegyra, for twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and

S. Ps. Anas.

seventy-seven Star Pagodas and twelve Anas (27,777. 12.) payable in four years, with interest at six per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That one part of the principal sum included in the said bond was for interest, and another part for a gift or present, and that the remainder was for money bonâ fide lent by or for the said Colonel George Burrington to or for the use of the said Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, notwithstanding the said bond was so composed as aforesaid, that upon making up the interest account according to the directions of the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, on the original advances to or for the use of the said Nabob Wallajah, by or for the said Colonel George Burrington, and on the repayments by or for the said Nabob Wallajah to or for the use of the said Colonel George Burrington, the balance due on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Colonel George Burrington, was seventy-three thousand

Ps. F. C.

five hundred and ninety-one Pagodas fourteen Fanams and sixty eight Cash (73,591. 14. 68.): And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, that upon the said fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the said sum of seventy-three thousand five hundred and

Ps. F. C.

ninety-one Pagodas fourteen Fanams and sixty-eight Cash (73,591. 14. 68.) or twenty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-six Pounds ten Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£. 29,436. 10s. 11d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Colonel George Burrington: And we do further award and order that the said debt being a debt contracted

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Helen Burrington,
Executrix
of Colonel George
Burrington.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

for money bonâ fide lent prior to the twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixty-nine

Ps. F. C.

thousand nine hundred and eleven Pagodas thirty-three Fanams and one Cash (69,911. 33. 1.) or twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-four Pounds fourteen Shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 27,964. 14s. 5d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Helen Burrington as Executrix aforesaid; and that the said Helen Burrington hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixty-nine thousand

Ps. F. C.

nine hundred and eleven Pagodas thirty-three Fanams and one Cash (69,911. 23. 1.) or twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-four Pounds fourteen Shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 27,964. 14s. 5d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three thousand six hundred and seventy-nine Pagodas twenty-three Fanams and sixty-seven

Ps. F. C.

Cash (3,679. 23. 67.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-one Pounds sixteen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£. 1,471. 16s. 6d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, Assignees as aforesaid; and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand six hundred and seventy-nine Pagodas twenty-

Ps. F. C.

three Fanams and sixty-seven Cash (3,679. 23. 67.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-one Pounds sixteen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£. 1,471. 16s. 6d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said bond or the debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Helen Burrington, or of any other person or persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, that the bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed) Jno Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 123 in our First Report.

N° 222.

CLAIM
N° 114 in the London
Gazette of the
13 September 1806;
and,
N° 123 in the First
Report to Parlia-
ment.

David Simpson,
Assignee of
James Graham,
Administrator
to the estate of
Captain Archi-
bald Graham
Campbell.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas David Simpson formerly of Teviot Bank in the County of Roxburgh, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, assignee of James Graham, administrator to the Estate of Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, did by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, execute the aforesaid Indenture, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said David Simpson did, by his attorney Charles Binny of Howland Street Fitzroy Square in the County of Middlesex, execute certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part; and did thereby transfer and assign to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up; and did further transfer and assign to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses

Absolute
Adjudication
in favour of
Claimants

Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: And whereas the said David Simpson departed this life in the month of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, and letters of administration to the estate of the said David Simpson have been since granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to Margaret Simpson of Teviot Bank aforesaid, widow of the said David Simpson, and the Reverend William Simpson of Edinburgh: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taking into consideration a Claim made by the said late David Simpson upon his said High-

ness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, for the principal sum of three thousand Pagodas (3,000) which, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate

sum of six thousand three hundred and seven Pagodas and twenty-one Fanams (6,307. 21.) or two thousand five hundred and twenty-three Pounds sterling (£2,523): And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said late John Fordyce, assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said David Simpson: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others, as assignees aforesaid for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said David Simpson, and having duly investigated the said Claims, according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell was in the military service of the said Nabob Wallajah, and that he was not in the employ of the United East India Company, when he entered into or while he was in the service of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a bond to the said James Graham "as administrator to the estate of the late Captain Graham Campbell," alias Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, bearing date the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, corresponding with the twenty-ninth Suffer, twelve hundred of the Hegyra, for the sum of three thousand

Pagodas (3,000) with interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum: And we do further

find, That the three thousand Pagodas (3,000.) the amount of the said Bond granted by the said Nabob Wallajah to the said James Graham, as administrator aforesaid, was part of a

sum of twenty-seven thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas (27,322.), and that

the said sum of twenty-seven thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas (27,322.) was in part composed of sums justly due from the said Nabob Wallajah to the late Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, for arrears of pay, batta and allowances, for services bona fide rendered by him to the said Nabob, and for pay advanced on the Nabob's account, to his Captain Archibald Graham Campbell's regiment, and in part also of interest on the said sum: And we do further find, That upon making up an account according to the directions of the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hun-

dred and five, the sum due upon the said bond for three thousand Pagodas (3,000.) on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell was four thousand six hundred and ninety-one Pagodas twenty-five

Fanams and seventy-eight Cash (4,691. 25. 78.) and no more: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of four thousand six hundred and ninety-one Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and

seventy-eight Cash (4,691. 25. 78.) or eighteen hundred and seventy-six Pounds twelve shillings and eleven Pence sterling (£1,876. 12s. 11d.) and no more, was and still is justly

due and owing on the said Bond for three thousand Pagodas (3,000.) from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell: And we do further Award and Order, that the said debt being a debt contracted by his said Highness Wallajah for Military Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we

do

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

do further Award and Adjudge, that the sum of four thousand four hundred and fifty-seven

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas one Fanam and forty-six Cash (4,457. 1. 46.) or seventeen hundred and eighty-two Pounds sixteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,782. 16s. 3d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Margaret Simpson and William Simpson, as administrators aforesaid, and that the said Margaret Simpson and William Simpson have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of four thousand four hun-

Ps. F. C.

dred and fifty-seven Pagodas one Fanam and forty-six Cash (4,457. 1. 46.) or seventeen hundred and eighty-two Pounds sixteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,782. 16s. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of one hundred and seventeen

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas twelve Fanams and sixteen Cash (117. 12. 16.) or forty-six Pounds eighteen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.46. 18s. 4d.) being a further portion of the said debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce; and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred

Ps. F. C.

and seventeen Pagodas twelve Fanams and sixteen Cash (117. 12. 16.) or forty-six Pounds eighteen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.46. 18s. 4d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of one hundred and seventeen Pagodas twelve Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

sixteen Cash (117. 12. 16.) or forty-six Pounds eighteen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.46. 18s. 4d.) being the remaining portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, as assignees aforesaid; and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred and seventeen Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

twelve Fanams and sixteen Cash (117. 12. 16.) or forty-six Pounds eighteen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.46. 18s. 4d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claims whatsoever in respect of the said Bond, or the Debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Margaret Simpson and William Simpson, or either of them, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the thirteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 1813 in our Seventh Report.

N° 223.

CLAIM

N° 1815 in the London
Gazette of the
23 November 1811;
and,

N° 1813 in the Seventh
Report to Parlia-
ment.

Thomas Davidson.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Thomas Davidson of Calcutta in the East Indies, hath by his attorney William Douglas Brodie of Madras, also in the East Indies, on the part of himself and partner Mr. John Tulloh, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Thomas Davidson hath by his attorney James Connell, also of Madras aforesaid, executed certain articles of agreement, bearing date the second day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot, of the first part; John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as trustees of the third part; and hath thereby transferred and assigned over

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Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

to the said Trustees one twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part, so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said articles of agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny being the only two of the said trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Thomas Davidson upon his said Highness the late Nabob

Ps.

Wallajah, for the principal sum of two thousand five hundred and two Pagodas (2,502), which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of five thou-

Ps. F.

sand one hundred and ten Pagodas fourteen Fanams (5,110. 14.) or two thousand and forty-four Pounds two Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£. 2,044. 2s. 8d.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, trustees as aforesaid for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Thomas Davidson, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a Bond to the said Thomas Davidson, bearing date the thirty-first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, corresponding with the ninth Rubeel ul awul twelve hundred and one of the

S Ps.

Hegyra, for the sum of two thousand five hundred and two Star Pagodas (2,502) with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted by the said Bond from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Thomas Davidson, was partly for money bonâ fide expended in the military service of his said Highness, and partly for military pay and allowances justly due for services bonâ fide rendered by the said Thomas Davidson to the said Nabob, and that the said Thomas Davidson was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was in the service of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Thomas Davidson and his representatives, was five thousand one hundred and nine Pagodas twenty-three Fanams and fifty-

Ps. F. C.

four Cash (5,109. 23. 54.) or two thousand and forty-three Pounds sixteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 2,043. 16s. 7d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of five thousand one hundred and nine Pagodas twenty-three Fanams and fifty-four Cash

Ps. F. C.

(5,109. 23. 54.) or two thousand and forty-three Pounds sixteen shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 2,043. 16s. 7d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, to the said Thomas Davidson and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt, being a debt contracted by his said Highness Wallajah for military pay and allowances is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of four thousand eight hundred and fifty-four Pagodas three

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and forty-eight Cash (4,854. 3. 48.) or nineteen hundred and forty-one Pounds twelve Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 1,941. 12s. 10d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Thomas Davidson; and that the said Thomas Davidson hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of four thousand

Ps. F. C.

eight hundred and fifty-four Pagodas three Fanams and forty-eight Cash (4,854. 3. 48.) or nineteen hundred and forty-one Pounds twelve Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 1,941. 12s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of two hundred and

Ps. F. C.

fifty-five Pagodas twenty Fanams and six Cash (255. 20. 6.) or one hundred and two Pounds three Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£. 102. 3s. 9d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny assignees as aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of two hundred and fifty-five Pagodas twenty

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and six Cash (255. 20. 6.) or one hundred and two Pounds three Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£. 102. 3s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all

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Claim

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Claim whatsoever, in respect of the said Bond or the Debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said Thomas Davidson or of any other person or persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) *Geo. Parkhouse.*

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 323 in our Fifth Report.

N° 224.

CLAIM
N° 698 in the London
Gazette of the
2 September 1809;
and,
N° 323 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.
John Tulloh,
James Connell,
and *William*
Douglas Brodie,
Attornies of
William Fairlie.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas William Douglas Brodie of Madras in the East Indies, by virtue of an Assignment bearing date the thirtieth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, from Martin Ketchy since deceased, to John Tulloh, James Connell, and him the said William Douglas Brodie, as attornies of William Fairlie, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Martin Ketchy did previously to the date of the said Assignment execute certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part; John Fordyce of the second part; and the Persons therein named as Trustees, of the third part; and did thereby transfer and assign over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up; to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the Trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said William Douglas Brodie upon his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah

S. Ps.

for the principal sum of one hundred and thirty-two Star Pagodas (132.) which, with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of two hundred and eighty-seven Star Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and twenty-three

S. P. F. C.

Cash (287. 27. 23.) or one hundred and fifteen Pounds one Shilling and two-pence sterling (£.115. 1s. 2d.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, Trustees as aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said William Douglas Brodie, and having duly investigated the said Claim, according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Wallajah was, on the thirtieth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, indebted

Ps.

to the said Martin Ketchy in the principal sum of one hundred and thirty-two Pagodas (132.) for arrears of Military Pay due to him for services bonâ fide rendered to the said Nabob Wallajah, and that the said Martin Ketchy was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was in the service of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due on the fifteenth day of May,

in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah, to the representatives of the said Martin Ketchy, was three hundred and thirty-five Pagodas eight Fanams and fifty-seven Cash (335. 8. 57.) or one hundred and thirty-four Pounds one Shilling and nine-pence sterling (£. 134. 1s. 9d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of three hundred and thirty-five Pagodas eight

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Fanams and fifty-seven Cash (335. 8. 57.) or one hundred and thirty-four Pounds one Shilling and nine-pence sterling (£. 134. 1s. 9d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah, to the representatives of the said Martin Ketchy: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Wallajah, for Military Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of three hundred and eighteen Pagodas eighteen Fanams and

sixty-two Cash (318. 18. 62.) or one hundred and twenty-seven Pounds seven Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£. 127. 7s. 8d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the assignees aforesaid of the said Martin Ketchy, namely, to the said John Tulloh, James Connell, and William Douglas Brodie, as attornies of the said William Fairlie; and that the said John Tulloh, James Connell, and William Douglas Brodie, as attornies aforesaid, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three

hundred and eighteen Pagodas eighteen Fanams and sixty-two Cash (318. 18. 62.) or one hundred and twenty-seven Pounds seven Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£. 127. 7s. 8d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And that the sum of sixteen Pagodas thirty-one Fanams

and seventy-five Cash (16. 31. 75.) or six Pounds fourteen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 6. 14s. 1d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, assignees as aforesaid: And that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum

of sixteen Pagodas thirty-one Fanams and seventy-five Cash (16. 31. 75.) six Pounds fourteen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 6. 14s. 1d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claims whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed at the instance of the said William Douglas Brodie, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped) in the presence of
(Signed) Jⁿ Parkhouse.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 2 of N° 101 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas William Ruddiman of London hath by his Attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said William Ruddiman hath executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as Trustees of

N° 226.

CLAIM
N° 2 of N° 72 in the
London Gazette of
the 12 August 1806;
and,
N° 2 of N° 101 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

William
Ruddiman.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

of the third part; and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up; and hath further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up; to receive and hold the said one other fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas, the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said William Ruddiman upon his Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah,

Ps.
for the principal sum of five thousand Pagodas (5,000.) which, with interest on the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of seven thousand two hundred and twelve

Ps. F.
Pagodas and twenty-one Fanams (7,212. 21.) or two thousand eight hundred and eighty-five Pounds sterling (£. 2,885.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce as Assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said William Ruddiman: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as Assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said William Ruddiman, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find, That the said William Ruddiman did from the years one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five render medical services to Omdut ul Omrah, and that he had the sanction of the Madras Government for attending his Highness: And we do further find, That there was due to him as a remuneration from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for services bonâ fide rendered by him to his said

Ps.
Highness, the sum of five thousand Pagodas (5,000.): And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said William Ruddiman on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to seven thousand two hun-

Ps. F. C.
dred and ten Pagodas five Fanams and sixty-one Cash (7,210. 5. 61.): And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of seven thousand two hundred and ten Pagodas five Fanams and sixty-

Ps. F. C.
one Cash (7,210. 5. 61.) or two thousand eight hundred and eighty-four Pounds one Shilling and two-pence sterling (£. 2,884. 1s. 2d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said William Ruddiman and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt being a debt contracted for civil pay and allowances by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of six thousand eight

P. F. C.
hundred and forty-nine Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and thirty-eight Cash (6,849. 26. 38.) or two thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine Pounds seventeen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 2,739. 17s. 1d.), being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said William Ruddiman, and that the said William Ruddiman hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of six thousand eight hundred and forty-nine Pagodas twenty-

Ps. F. C.
six Fanams and thirty-eight Cash (6,849. 26. 38.) or two thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine Pounds seventeen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 2,739. 17s. 1d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of one hundred and eighty Pagodas ten Fanams and

Ps. F. C.
fifty one and a half Cash (180. 10. 51½.) or seventy-two Pounds two Shillings and one halfpenny sterling (£. 72. 2s. 0½d.) being a further portion of the said debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the Executors named in the Will of the said John Fordyce; and that the said James King as such Executor hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

hundred and eighty Pagodas ten Fanams and fifty-one and a half Cash (180. 10. 51½.) or seventy-two Pounds two Shillings and one halfpenny sterling (£.72. 2s. 0½.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of one hundred and eighty Pagodas ten Fanams and

Ps. F. C.
fifty-one and a half Cash (180. 10. 51½.) or seventy-two Pounds two Shillings and one halfpenny sterling (£.72. 2s. 0½.) being the remaining portion of the said debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, as Assignees aforesaid; and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred and

Ps. F. C.
eighty Pagodas ten Fanams and fifty-one and a half Cash (180. 10. 51½.) or seventy-two Pounds two Shillings and one halfpenny sterling (£.72. 2s. 0½.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever in respect of the said debt claimed at the instance of the said William Ruddiman, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of
(Signed) Jⁿ Parkhouse.

(Signed)

{ BENJⁿ HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 2 of N° 109 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Robert Storey of London, hath by his attorney, John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Robert Storey hath executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as Trustees of the third part; and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever, relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Robert Storey upon his Highness the

S. Ps.
late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of five thousand Star Pagodas (5,000.) which with interest upon the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four to the aggregate sum of nine thousand

P. F.
nine hundred and twelve Pagodas twenty-one Fanams (9,912. 21.) or three thousand nine hundred and sixty-five Pounds sterling (£.3,965.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement, of the

N° 227.

CLAIM
N° 2 of N° 12 in the
London Gazette of
the 12 August 1806;
and,
N° 2 of N° 109 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

Robert Storey.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Robert Storey, and having duly investigated the said Claim, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find that the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, granted a bond to Doctor Storey for the sum of five

S. Ps.

thousand Star Pagodas (5,000.) bearing date the first Rubbeeoolawul, twelve hundred and one of the Hegyra: And we do further find, That the debt so constituted by the said bond was justly due for Medical Services bonâ fide rendered by the said Robert Storey to the said Nabob, and that the said Robert Storey was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said Robert Storey and his representatives on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, was ten thousand two hundred and seventeen Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and thirty-five Cash

Ps. F. C.

(10,217. 22. 35.) or four thousand and eighty-seven Pounds and three-pence sterling (£. 4,087. os. 3d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, that upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of ten thousand two hundred and

Ps. F. C.

seventeen Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and thirty-five Cash (10,217. 22. 35.) or four thousand and eighty-seven Pounds and three-pence sterling (£. 4,087. os. 3d.) and no more, was and is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Robert Storey and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, that the said debt being a debt contracted by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah for Civil Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, that the sum of nine thousand seven hundred and six Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and forty-nine Cash

Ps. F. C.

(9,706. 27. 49.) or three thousand eight hundred and eighty-two Pounds thirteen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 3,882. 13s. 2d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Robert Storey, and that the said Robert Storey hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of nine thousand seven hundred and six

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and forty-nine Cash (9,706. 27. 49.) or three thousand eight hundred and eighty-two Pounds thirteen Shillings and two-pence (£. 3,882. 13s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of five hundred and ten Pagodas thirty-six

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and sixty-six Cash (510. 36. 66.) or two hundred and four Pounds seven Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 204. 7s. 1d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, as assignees aforesaid, and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of five hundred and ten Pagodas thirty-six Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

sixty-six Cash (510. 36. 66.) or two hundred and four Pounds seven Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 204. 7s. 1d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, that all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said bond, or the debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Robert Storey or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed)

(Signed)

Jno Parkhouse.

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT junior.

CLAIM N° 571 in our Fifth Report.

N° 228.

CLAIM
N° 192 in the London
Gazette of the
17 June 1809; and,
N° 571 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.

Edward Holland,
Assignee of
Captain William
Smith.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitten Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah the second son of his said Highness the Nabob

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;” Send Greeting: Whereas Edward Hollond now of London, assignee of Captain William Smith formerly an Officer in the service of their Highnesses the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, hath by his attornies Harrington and Company of Fort St. George in the East Indies, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid, Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Edward Hollond, as assignee aforesaid, hath executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the fourteenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, and John Fordyce of Whitehall in the said County of Middlesex, since deceased of the second part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce, his executors, administrators and assigns, one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him as such assignee from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot and the Carnatic, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby assigned to him the said John Fordyce, his executors or administrators: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Edward Hollond, as assignee aforesaid, upon his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the

Ps.

principal sum of four thousand four hundred and ninety-nine Pagodas (4,499.) which, with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of six thousand three

Ps. F. C.

hundred and thirty Pagodas thirty-seven Fanams and forty-four Cash (6,330. 37. 44.) or two thousand five hundred and thirty-two Pounds seven Shillings and one Penny sterling (£.2,532. 7s. 1d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce, as assignee aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Edward Hollond, and having duly investigated the said Claims, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find that the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah granted a Bond to the said Captain William Smith, bearing date the first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, corresponding with the seventh Suffer, twelve hundred and twelve of

Ps.

the Hegyra, for the sum of four thousand four hundred and ninety-nine Pagodas (4,499.) with interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, from the first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven: And we do further find, That the debt so constituted by the said Bond from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Captain William Smith was for Pay and Allowances justly due for services bonâ fide rendered by him to the said Nabob and to the Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That the sum of

Ps. F. C.

two hundred and eighty-six Pagodas ten Fanams and twenty-eight Cash (286. 10. 28.) was also due from the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Captain William Smith, for Pay and Allowances from the first day of August to the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, the day of his discharge from the service of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the said Captain William Smith was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabobs: And we do further find, That the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah paid to the said Captain William Smith, on the twenty-fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and

Ps.

ninety-eight, the sum of three hundred and seventy-five Pagodas (375.): And we do further find, That upon the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the aggregate sum of six thousand two hundred and forty-two Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

five Fanams and seventy-two Cash (6,242. 5. 72.) was due from the representatives of the said Nabobs to the representatives of the said Captain William Smith: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of six thousand two hundred and forty-two Pagodas five Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

seventy-two Cash (6,242. 5. 72.) or two thousand four hundred and ninety-six Pounds seventeen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.2,496. 17s. 2d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabobs to the representatives of the said Captain William Smith: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt, being a debt contracted by their said Highnesses for Military Pay and Allowances,

is

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

is and shall be comprised in the First Class of debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of five thousand nine hundred and thirty Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

one Fanam and thirty-three Cash (5,930. 1. 33.) or two thousand three hundred and seventy-two Pounds and four-pence sterling (£.2,372. os. 4d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said Edward Hollond, as assignee aforesaid, and that the said Edward Hollond hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of five

Ps. F. C.

thousand nine hundred and thirty Pagodas one Fanam and thirty-three Cash (5,930. 1. 33.) or two thousand three hundred and seventy-two Pounds and four-pence sterling (£.2,372. os. 4d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three hundred and twelve Pagodas four

1s. F. C.

Fanams and thirty-nine Cash (312. 4. 39.) or one hundred and twenty-four Pounds sixteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.124. 16s. 10d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce; and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three hundred

Ps. F. C.

and twelve Pagodas four Fanams and thirty-nine Cash (312. 4. 39.) or one hundred and twenty-four Pounds sixteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.124. 16s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and their successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond or the debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said Edward Hollond, as assignee aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the twenty-third day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed)

(Signed) *Jno Parkhouse.*

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THOMAS COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N^o 145 in our Second Report.

No. 229.

CLAIM

N^o 146 in the London
Gazette of the
27 June 1807;
and,

N^o 145 in the Second
Report to Parlia-
ment.

Doctor
John Briggs.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Doctor John Briggs of Worcester, hath, by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said John Briggs hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the fourteenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, and the said John Fordyce of the second part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce, his executors, administrators and assigns, one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot and the Carnatic, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby assigned to him the said John Fordyce, his executors or administrators: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn,

and

and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Briggs upon his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of fourteen thousand

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

three hundred and fifty pagodas (14,350.) which, with interest upon the same, is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

four, to the aggregate sum of nineteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine Pagodas (19,650.) or seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-three Pounds and twelve Shillings sterling (£. 7,863. 12s. 0d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce, as assignee aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said John Briggs; and having duly investigated the said Claims, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That Doctor John Briggs was employed as a Physician by the Nabob Wallajah, and by the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah: And we do further find, That the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah granted a Bond to John Briggs Doctor, bearing date the sixth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, corresponding with the seventeenth Remzan twelve hundred and twelve of the Hegyra, for the sum of three thousand five hundred Star

Pagodas (3,500.) payable in twelve months, with interest at one per cent. per mensem from the sixth day March aforesaid: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted by the said Bond from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said John Briggs was due to him the said John Briggs for medical attendance on the said Nabobs: And we do further find, That the said John Briggs had the sanction of the then Governor of Madras for entering into the service of his Highness Omdut ul Omrah: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said John Briggs, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to four thousand eight

hundred Pagodas eleven Fanams and forty Cash (4,800. 11. 40.) or one thousand nine hundred and twenty Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 1,920. 2s. 3d.): And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the said fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the said sum of four thousand eight hundred Pagodas

eleven Fanams and forty Cash (4,800. 11. 40.) or one thousand nine hundred and twenty Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 1,920. 2s. 3d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the said John Briggs and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt, being a debt contracted for civil pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of four thousand five hundred and sixty Pagodas ten

Fanams and seventy-four Cash (4,560. 10. 74.) or one thousand eight hundred and twenty four Pounds two Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 1,824. 2s. 2d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said John Briggs, and that the said John Briggs hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of four thousand five

hundred and sixty Pagodas ten Fanams and seventy-four Cash (4,560. 10. 74.) or one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four Pounds two Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 1,824. 2s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of two hundred

and forty Pagodas and forty-six Cash (240. 0. 46.) or ninety-six Pounds and one Penny sterling (£. 96. 0s. 1d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the Executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce, and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of two hundred and forty Pagodas and

forty-six Cash (240. 0. 46.) or ninety-six Pounds and one Penny sterling (£. 96. 0s. 1d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah and their successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond, or the sum claimed at the instance of the said John Briggs or of any other person or persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid, shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) J^{no} Parkhouse.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 723 in our Fifth Report.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

N° 230.

CLAIM
N° 195 in the London
Gazette of the
17 June 1809: and,
N° 723 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.

John King Lane,
Administrator
to the Estate of
Francis de Dieu.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas John King Lane, administrator in India to the estate and effects of Francis de Dieu, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture in behalf of the said estate, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said John King Lane hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said trustees one-twentieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debts should be liquidated or made up; to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving trustees who have become parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John King Lane as administrator aforesaid, upon a Bond for arrears of pay, upon his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of twelve thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Star Pagodas and twelve Fanams

Ps. F. C.

(12,589. 12. 0.) which with interest upon the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of sixteen thousand and ninety-three Pagodas twenty Fanams and sixty-two Cash

Ps. F. C.

(16,093. 20. 62.) or six thousand four hundred and thirty-seven Pounds eight Shillings sterling (£.6,437. 8s. 0d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement, of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, for themselves and others as Assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said John King Lane, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find, That Mr. Francis de Dieu late husband of Ann Lane, now wife of John King Lane, was employed by his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah in the capacity of surgeon, and that he was not in the employ of the United East India Company during the period for which the arrears are charged: And we do further find, That a Bond carrying interest at twelve per cent. per annum, for twelve thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Star Pagodas and twelve

S. Ps. F.

Fanams (12,589. 12.) bearing date the twenty-third Rubbecofsanee twelve hundred and fourteen of the Hegyra, corresponding with the twenty-fourth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, was granted by the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to Mrs. de Dieu on account of arrears of pay due to Doctor de Dieu deceased, to the twenty-sixth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine: And we do further find, That there was justly due and owing from his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said John King Lane as Administrator aforesaid, for services bonâ fide rendered by the said Francis de Dieu, the sum of twelve thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Pagodas thirty-one

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and forty Cash (12,589. 31. 40.) which with interest up to the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to sixteen

Ps. F. C.

thousand and ninety-three Pagodas twenty Fanams and sixty-two Cash (16,093. 20. 62.) or

six thousand four hundred and thirty-seven Pounds eight Shillings sterling (£6,437. 8s. od.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of sixteen thousand and ninety-three Pagodas

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Ps. F. C.
twenty Fanams and sixty-two Cash (16,093. 20. 62.) or six thousand four hundred and thirty-seven Pounds and eight Shillings sterling (£6,437. 8s. od.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the representatives of the said Doctor de Dieu: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt being a debt contracted by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah for services bonâ fide performed, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of fifteen thousand two hundred and eighty-eight Pagodas thirty-four Fanams and thirty-five Cash

Ps. F. C.
(15,288. 34. 35.) or six thousand one hundred and fifteen pounds ten shillings and seven-pence sterling (£6,115. 10s. 7d.) being a portion of the said debt, is due and owing to the said John King Lane as Administrator aforesaid, and that the said John King Lane hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of fifteen thousand two hundred and eighty-eight Pagodas thirty-four Fanams and thirty-five Cash

Ps. F. C.
(15,288. 34. 35.) or six thousand one hundred and fifteen Pounds ten Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£6,115. 10s. 7d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of eight hundred and four Pagodas twenty-eight Fanams and twenty-seven Cash

Ps. F. C.
(804. 28. 27.) or three hundred and twenty-one pounds seventeen shillings and five-pence sterling (£321. 17s. 5d.) being the remainder of the said debt, is due and owing to the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, as Assignees aforesaid, and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eight hundred and four Pagodas

Ps. F. C.
twenty-eight Fanams and twenty-seven Cash (804. 28. 27.) or three hundred and twenty-one Pounds seventeen Shillings and five-pence sterling (£321. 17s. 5d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said bond or the debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said John King Lane, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the thirteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,

(Signed)

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

(Signed) George Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 1 of N° 17 in our First Report.

N° 231.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed, indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Alexander Binny, formerly of Edinburgh, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Alexander Binny hath by his attorney Charles Binny, executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein

CLAIM

N° 1 of N° 119 in the
London Gazette of
the 13 September
1806; and,
N° 1 of N° 17 in the
First Report to
Parliament.

Alexander Binny.

named

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every debt or sum of Money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up; and hath further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of Money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up; to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and they the said John Fordyce and the several before-mentioned Parties have submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Alexander Binny upon his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum

S. Rs.

of eight thousand Sicca Rupees (8,000.) which, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of twelve thousand eight hundred Sicca

S. Rs.

Rupees (12,800.) or one thousand six hundred Pounds sterling (£. 1,600.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Binny: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Binny, and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, Do find, That the said Captain Alexander Binny commanded the Nabob's galley, called the Success, belonging to his said Highness Wallajah, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and that the said galley was placed by his said Highness under the orders of the then Governor General of Bengai, for the purpose of transporting troops to the Mauritius: And we do further find, That the said Captain Binny incurred a loss by the stores which he laid in for the use of the officers, and that his Highness the said Nabob expressed his approbation of the said Captain Binny for having refused to receive the amount of the loss aforesaid, from the said Governor Ge-

S. Rs.

neral: And we do further find, That the sum of eight thousand Sicca Rupees (8,000.) or the sum of two thousand four hundred and fifty-five Pagodas twenty-four Fanams and sixty

P. F. C.

Cash (2,455. 24. 60.) was on the eleventh day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four justly due to the said Captain Binny for the amount of the loss as aforesaid, from his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That on the thirty-first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, there were due from his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to

P. F.

the said Captain Binny, two several sums; viz. fifty-two Pagodas and eight Fanams (52. 8.)

1s

on account of a non-accepted bill, and one hundred and ten Pagodas (110.) for money paid on his Highness's account to Mr. Tulloh, both which sums amounting together to one hun-

P. F. C.

dred and sixty-two Pagodas and eight Fanams (162. 8. 0.) are charged in Captain Binny's account of salary, although like the Claim which is the subject of this award, they properly belong to the Second Class of Debts, therefore taken out of that account: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said Captain Alexander Binny and his assigns, on these accounts, from the representatives of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to three thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight Pagodas

P. F. C.

two Fanams and thirty-two Cash (3,878. 2. 32.) or one thousand five hundred and fifty-one Pounds four Shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 1,551. 4s. 5d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of three thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight Pagodas two Fanams

P. F. C.

and thirty-two Cash (3,878. 2. 32.) or one thousand five hundred and fifty-one Pounds

four

four Shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 1,551. 4s. 5d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah to the said Alexander Binny and his assigns: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted for money bonâ fide lent or advanced subsequent to the twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, is and shall be comprised in the Second Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of three thousand six hundred

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

and eighty-four Pagodas six Fanams and thirty-eight Cash (3,684. 6. 38.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-three Pounds thirteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 1,473. 13s. 3d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Alexander Binny, and that the said Alexander Binny hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand six hundred and eighty-four Pagodas six

Fanams and thirty-eight Cash (3,684. 6. 38.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-three Pounds thirteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 1,473. 13s. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of ninety-six Pagodas

thirty-nine Fanams and seventy-seven Cash (96. 39. 77.) or thirty-eight Pounds fifteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 38. 15s. 7d.) being a further portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce, and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of ninety-six Pagodas

thirty-nine Fanams and seventy-seven Cash (96. 39. 77.) or thirty-eight Pounds fifteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 38. 15s. 7d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that

the sum of ninety-six Pagodas thirty-nine Fanams and seventy-seven Cash (96. 39. 77.) or thirty-eight Pounds fifteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 38. 15s. 7d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of ninety-six

Pagodas thirty-nine Fanams and seventy-seven Cash (96. 39. 77.) or thirty-eight Pounds fifteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 38. 15s. 7d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and their successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever, in respect of the said Debt or Debts claimed at the instance of the said Alexander Binny, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the thirteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

(Signed) { BENJ. HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 2 of N° 17 in our First Report.

N° 232.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed, indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Alexander Binny, formerly of Edinburgh, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Alexander Binny hath by his attorney Charles Binny, executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four,

CLAIM
N° 2 of N° 112 in the
London Gazette of
the 13 September
1806; and,
N° 2 of N° 17 in the
First Report to
Parliament.

Alexander Binny.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt shall be liquidated or made up, and have further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and they the said John Fordyce, and the several before-mentioned parties, have submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Alexander Binny upon his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the principal sum of forty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-eight Pagodas, and twelve

Ps. F. C.

Fanams (46,488. 12. 0.) which with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of fifty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-one

Ps. F.

Pagodas and twelve Fanams (54,391. 12.) or twenty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six pounds ten shillings and three pence sterling (£.21,756. 10s. 3d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce, as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Binny: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Binny, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That Captain Alexander Binny was, on the twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, appointed by the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to be his Vakeel or Agent at Calcutta, with a special direction that he should consider himself as such from the first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five: And we do further find, that the rate of salary allowed by his said Highness from the first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, to the first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six,

A. Rs.

was two thousand Arcot Rupees (2,000.) per month, but that from and after the said last mentioned date it was increased by his said Highness to three thousand Arcot Rupees

A. Rs.

S. Rs.

(3,000.) per month, and three hundred and fifteen Sicca Rupees (315.) per month for house rent: And we do further find, that the said Nabob granted a bond to the said Captain Alexander Binny, bearing date the thirtieth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, for the sum of twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight Pagodas

Ps.

(28,968.) which said sum consisted in part of principal money for arrears of pay and allowances justly due for services bona fide rendered to the said Nabob, up to the thirtieth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, and in part of interest on the said principal money: And we do further find, That the said Captain Alexander Binny continued in the employ of his said Highness as his agent aforesaid, and rendered services as such, not only from the period of his appointment on the first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, to the thirtieth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred aforesaid, but from and after that time, to the fifteenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, the day of the death of his said Highness: And we do further find, That on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, there was due from the representatives of his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah, to the said Captain Alexander Binny, for arrears of Salary and Allowances, and interest at six per cent. per annum, the aggregate sum of forty-five thousand seven

Ps. F. C.

hundred and forty-four Pagodas fourteen Fanams and three Cash (45,744. 14. 3.) or eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-seven Pounds fourteen Shillings and eight-pence sterling

sterling (£.18,297. 14s. 8d.): And we do further find, That a sum equal on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to ten thousand

Ps. F. C.

eight hundred and sixty-four Pagodas twenty-nine Fanams and seventy Cash (10,864. 29. 70.) or four thousand three hundred and forty-five Pounds seven Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.4,345. 17s. 9d.) was paid by the Government of Madras, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, to the said Captain Alexander Binny, in part payment thereof, for which said sum of four thousand three hundred and forty-five Pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.4,345. 17s. 9d.) a Claim has been preferred to us by the said Company: And we do further find, That the sum of thirty-four thousand eight

Ps. F. C.

hundred and seventy-nine Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and thirteen Cash (34,879. 26. 13.) or thirteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-one Pounds sixteen Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£.13,951. 16s. 11d.) remained due to the said Captain Alexander Binny, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of thirty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and thirteen Cash (34,879. 26. 13.) or thirteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-one Pounds sixteen Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£.13,951. 16s. 11d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the said Captain Alexander Binny and his Assigns: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted by the said Omdut ul Omrah for pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of thirty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-two Pagodas seventeen Fanams and four

Ps. F. C.

Cash (32,592. 17. 4.) or thirteen thousand and thirty-six Pounds nineteen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.13,036. 19s. 2d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Alexander Binny, and that the said Alexander Binny hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of thirty-two thousand five hundred

Ps. F. C.

and ninety-two Pagodas seventeen Fanams and four Cash (32,592. 17. 4.) or thirteen thousand and thirty-six Pounds nineteen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.13,036. 19s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of eleven hundred and forty-three Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-four and one half

Ps. F. C.

Cash (1,143. 25. 4½.) or four hundred and fifty-seven Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence half-penny sterling (£.457. 8s. 10½d.) being a further portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce, and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eleven hundred and forty-three

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-four and one half Cash (1,143. 25. 4½.) or four hundred and fifty-seven Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence halfpenny sterling (£.457. 8s. 10½d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of eleven hundred and forty-

Ps. F. C.

three Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-four and one half Cash (1,143. 25. 4½.) or four hundred and fifty-seven Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence half-penny sterling (£.457. 8s. 10½d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eleven hundred and forty-three Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-

Ps. F. C.

four and one half Cash (1,143. 25. 4½.) or four hundred and fifty-seven Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence halfpenny sterling (£.457. 8s. 10½d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond, and the said Debt or Debts, claimed at the instance of the said Alexander Binny, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the thirteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE,
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

N^o 233.

CLAIM
N^o 130 in the London
Gazette of the
13 September 1806.

John Tulloh,
Executor of the
late Colonel
Peter Daille
Bonnevauz.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them, the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas John Tulloh of Madras in the East Indies, executor of the late Colonel Peter Daille Bonnevaux late of the East Indies aforesaid, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said John Tulloh hath executed certain Articles of Agreement of the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or Sum of Money owing to him from his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned, upon the Trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have become Parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Tulloh as executor aforesaid, upon his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of seven thousand

Ps. Pagodas (7,000.) which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of twenty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine Pagodas seven Fanams and thirty-seven

Ps. F. C.

Cash (21,159. 7. 37.) or eight thousand four hundred and sixty-three Pounds thirteen Shillings and five-pence sterling (£8,463. 13s. 5d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny as Trustees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said John Tulloh, as executor aforesaid, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture: do find, That the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah granted a Bond to Lieutenant Peter Bonnevaux alias Colonel Peter Daille Bonnevaux, bearing date the twentieth day of November in the year of Christ one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, for the sum of seven

S. Ps.

thousand Star Pagodas (7,000.) with interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, payable in three months: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted by the said Bond from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Colonel Peter Bonnevaux, was not for military pay and allowances as claimed by the said John Tulloh, but for money *bonâ fide* lent by the said Colonel Peter Bonnevaux to the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the representatives of the said Colonel Bonnevaux, was sixteen thousand

Ps. F. C.

two hundred and sixty-eight Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and seventeen Cash (16,268. 32. 17.) or six thousand five hundred and seven Pounds ten Shillings and two-pence sterling (£6,507. 10s. 2d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of sixteen thousand two

Ps. F. C.

hundred and sixty-eight Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and seventeen Cash (16,268. 32. 17.) or six thousand five hundred and seven Pounds ten Shillings and two-pence sterling (£6,507. 10s. 2d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the representatives of the said Colonel Bonnevaux: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah for money lent, is and shall be comprised

comprised in the Second Class of Debts, under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of fifteen thousand four hundred and fifty five Pagodas thirteen Fanams and sixty-five Cash (15,455. 13. 65.) or six thousand one hundred and eighty-two Pounds two Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£6,182. 2s. 8d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to John Tulloh as executor aforesaid, and that the said John Tulloh hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of fifteen thousand four hundred and fifty-five Pagodas thirteen Fanams and sixty-five

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Cash (15,455. 13. 65.) or six thousand one hundred and eighty-two Pounds two Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£6,182. 2s. 8d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of eight hundred and thirteen Pagodas eighteen Fanams and thirty-two Cash (813. 18. 32.) or three hundred and twenty-five Pounds seven Shillings and six-pence sterling (£325. 7s. 6d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, assignees as aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of

eight hundred and thirteen Pagodas eighteen Fanams and thirty-two Cash (813. 18. 32.) or three hundred and twenty-five Pounds seven Shillings and six-pence sterling (£325. 7s. 6d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond, or the Debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said John Tulloh, executor as aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be and is hereby declared to be null and void. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped) in the presence of,
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE,
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT, Junior.

CLAIM N° 112 in our First Report.

N° 235.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hainpstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Edward Stracey of the City of London, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Edward Stracey hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moutray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have become parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn,

CLAIM
N° 26 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N° 112 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.
Edward Stracey.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Edward Stracey upon his Highness Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of one thousand five

hundred Pagodas (1,500.) which, with the arrears of interest, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of three thousand six hundred and ninety-three Pagodas twenty-five Fanams

Ps. F. C.

and seventy-one Cash (3,693. 25. 71.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven Pounds eight Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£. 1,477. 8s. 11d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, for themselves and others Assignees as aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Edward Stracey; and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture,

Ps.

do find, That the sum of one thousand five hundred Pagodas (1,500.) which the said Edward

Ps.

Stracey stated to be remaining due to him on a Bond for three thousand Pagodas (3,000.) granted to him by his Highness Omdut ul Omrah, was on the seventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, justly due to the said Edward Stracey from his Highness Omdut ul Omrah, for money bonâ fide advanced by the said Edward Stracey to his said Highness: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the Representatives of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Edward Stracey and his Representatives, was three thousand six hundred and ninety-two Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

thirty-six Fanams and sixty-five Cash (3,692. 36. 65.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven Pounds three Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 1,477. 3s. 1d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of three thousand six hundred and ninety-two Pagodas thirty-six

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and sixty-five Cash (3,692. 36. 65.) or one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven Pounds three Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 1,477. 3s. 1d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the Representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Edward Stracey and his Representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah for money lent, is and shall be comprised in the Second Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of three thousand

Ps. F. C.

five hundred and eight Pagodas nine Fanams and sixty-two Cash (3,508. 9. 62.) or one thousand four hundred and three Pounds five Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£. 1,403. 5s. 11d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Edward Stracey; and that the said Edward Stracey hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand five hundred and eight Pagodas nine Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

sixty-two Cash (3,508. 9. 62.) or one thousand four hundred and three Pounds five Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£. 1,403. 5s. 11d.) in the Fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of one hundred and eighty-four Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and three Cash

Ps. F. C.

(184. 27. 3.) or seventy-three Pounds seventeen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 73. 17s. 2d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, as Assignees aforesaid; and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred and eighty-four Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

twenty-seven Fanams and three Cash (184. 27. 3.) or seventy-three Pounds seventeen Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 73. 17s. 2d.) in the Fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed at the instance of the said Edward Stracey, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And

Ps.

we do further Award and Order, That the said Bond for three thousand Pagodas (3,000.) or any other Bond or Security of which the aforesaid principal sum of fifteen hundred Pagodas

Ps.

(1,500.) was a part, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be null and void. In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 121 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Emanuel Samuel of the City of London hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant junior, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Emanuel Samuel upon his Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal

S. Ps.
sum of three thousand six hundred Star Pagodas (3,600.) which, with interest upon the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of four thousand one hundred and twenty-five Star

S. Ps.
Pagodas (4,125.) or one thousand six hundred and fifty Pounds sterling (£1,650.) and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find that the said Emanuel Samuel did serve the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah under a Commission from his said Highness as Counsel or law adviser in matters relative to his Treaties and his rights under the law of nations: And we do further find, That the said Emanuel Samuel was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into, or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That there was justly due and owing on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the said late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Emanuel Samuel, for pay and allowances for services bonâ fide rendered by him the said Emanuel Samuel to the said late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the sum of three thousand eight hundred and forty-two Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and one Cash

Ps. F. C.
(3,842. 22. 1.) or one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven Pounds and three-pence sterling (£1,537. os. 3d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of three thousand eight hundred

Ps. F. C.
and forty-two Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and one Cash (3,842. 22. 1.) or one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven Pounds and three-pence sterling (£1,537. os. 3d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Emanuel Samuel, and that the said Emanuel Samuel hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of three thousand eight hundred

Ps. F. C.
and forty-two Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and one Cash (3,842. 22. 1.) or one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven Pounds and three-pence sterling (£1,537. os. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt being a debt contracted for civil pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed by the said Emanuel Samuel, or of any other person or persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,

(Signed)

Geo. Parkhouse.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

N° 236.

CLAIM
N° 102 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N° 121 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

Emanuel Samuel.

CLAIM N^o 9 in our First Report.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

N^o 237.

CLAIM
N^o 31 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N^o 9 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

Alexander Brodie.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed, indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Alexander Brodie, now of Bath in the County of Somerset, hath by his Attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Alexander Brodie hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce one-fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, and hath further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the Interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Alexander Brodie upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah for the balance of account on a Bond with interest, stated to be due on the fifteenth day of May in the year our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounting to seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty Pagodas three Fanams and sixty-one

Ps. F. C.

Cash (74,480. 3. 61.) or twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and ninety-two Pounds and nine-pence sterling (£.29,792. 0s. 9d.): And having also taken into consideration an amended Claim delivered in by the said Alexander Brodie, stating and claiming the balance due on the said Bond to be ninety-eight thousand six hundred and forty-three Pagodas

Ps.

(98,643.) or thirty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-seven Pounds and four Shillings sterling (£.39,457. 4s. 0d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Brodie: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Brodie, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That a Bond was granted by the late Nabob Wallajah to the said Alexander Brodie

Ps.

for ninety-five thousand Pagodas (95,000.) dated the first day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, payable in six months, with interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, for the better payment of which Bond certain jewels were pledged in mortgage: And we do further find, That the said Debt so constituted by the said Bond from the Nabob Wallajah to the said Alexander Brodie, was for the sum of ninety thousand

Pagodas

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Pagodas (90,000.) bonâ fide advanced by him the said Alexander Brodie to and for account of the said Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said Alexander Brodie from the said late Nabob Wallajah on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to sixty-six thousand three

Ps. F. C.

hundred and thirty-three Pagodas thirty-six Fanams and Four Cash (66,333. 36. 4.) or twenty-six thousand five hundred and thirty-three Pounds ten Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.26,533. 10s. 10d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of sixty-six thousand

Ps. F. C.

three hundred and thirty-three Pagodas thirty-six Fanams and four Cash (66,333. 36. 4.) or twenty-six thousand five hundred and thirty-three Pounds ten Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.26,533. 10s. 10d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah to the said Alexander Brodie and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted for money lent to the said Nabob Wallajah prior to the twelfth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixty-three thousand and seventeen Pagodas six Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

seventy-six Cash (63,017. 6. 76.) or twenty-five thousand two hundred and six Pounds seventeen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.25,206. 17s. 4d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Alexander Brodie; and that the said Alexander Brodie hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixty-three thou-

Ps. F. C.

sand and seventeen Pounds six Fanams and seventy-six Cash (63,017. 6. 76.) or twenty-five thousand two hundred and six Pounds seventeen Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.25,206. 17s. 4d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixteen hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas fourteen Fanams and forty-four

Ps. F. C.

Cash (1,658. 14. 44.) or six hundred and sixty-three Pounds six Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.663. 6s. 9d.) being a further portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce; and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixteen hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

fourteen Fanams and forty-four Cash (1,658. 14. 44.) or six hundred and sixty-three Pounds six Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.663. 6s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of sixteen hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas fourteen Fanams and forty-four Cash

Ps. F. C.

(1,658. 14. 44.) or six hundred and sixty-three Pounds six Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.663. 6s. 9d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixteen hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas fourteen Fanams and forty-four Cash

Ps. F. C.

(1,658. 14. 44.) or six hundred and sixty-three Pounds six shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.663. 6s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed at the instance of the said Alexander Brodie, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the thirteenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamp d)
in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are

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4 E

Nº 242.

CLAIM
Nº 129 in the London
Gazette of the
13 September 1806.

John Fulloh,
Executor of Cap-
tain Henry Buck
Bowles.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part; Send Greeting: Whereas John Tulloh of Madras in the East Indies, executor to the will of Captain Henry Buck Bowles deceased, late of Madras aforesaid, hath by his Attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said John Tulloh hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the second day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned, upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have become parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Tulloh executor as aforesaid, upon his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of eleven hundred and seventy-two Pagodas

Ps. F. C.
twenty-three Fanams and forty-four Cash (1,172. 23. 44.) which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight

Ps. F. C.
Pagodas thirty-five Fanams and forty-four Cash (3,188. 35. 44.) or twelve hundred and seventy-five Pounds ten Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.1,275. 10s. 10d.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, Trustees as aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said John Tulloh as executor aforesaid; and, having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That on the first day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, the sum of eleven hundred and seventy-two Pagodas twenty-three Fanams and forty-

Ps. F. C.
four Cash (1,172. 23. 44.) was due from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Henry Buck Bowles: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Henry Buck Bowles was for arrears of military pay justly due for services bonâ fide rendered by him to the said Nabob, and that the said Henry Buck Bowles was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the representatives of the said Henry Buck Bowles on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and eighteen Cash

Ps. F. C.
(3,188. 22. 18.) or twelve hundred and seventy-five Pounds eight Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,275. 8s. 3d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of three thousand one hun-

Ps. F. C.
dred and eighty-eight Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and eighteen Cash (3,188. 22. 18.) or twelve hundred and seventy-five Pounds eight Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,275. 8s. 3d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Henry Buck Bowles: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Wallajah for military pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of three thousand and twenty-nine Pagodas four Fanams and twenty-six

Ps. F. C.
Cash (3,029. 4. 26.) or twelve hundred and eleven Pounds twelve Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.1,211. 12s. 10d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said John Tulloh, executor as aforesaid, and that the said John Tulloh, executor as aforesaid, hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand

and

and twenty-nine Pagodas four Fanams and twenty-six Cash (3,029. 4. 26.) or twelve hundred and eleven Pounds twelve Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£1,211. 12s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of one hundred and fifty-nine Pagodas seventeen

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and seventy-two Cash (159. 17. 72.) or sixty-three Pounds fifteen shillings and five-pence sterling (£63. 15s. 5d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, assignees as aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one hundred and fifty-nine Pagodas seventeen Fanams and seventy-two

Ps. F. C.

Cash (159. 17. 72.) or sixty-three Pounds fifteen Shillings and five-pence sterling (£63. 15s. 5d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed at the instance of the said John Tulloh or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the twenty-second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,

(Signed)

Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 1282 in our Fifth Report.

N° 243.

CLAIM
N° 176 in the London
Gazette of the
17 June 1802; and,
N° 1,282 in the Fifth
Report to Parlia-
ment.

Sir Benjamin
Sullivan, knight.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them, the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Sir Benjamin Sullivan knight, of Madras in the East Indies, did execute the aforesaid Indenture, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan also executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, the late John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness Omdut ul Omrah, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have become Parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan has since departed this life, and George Sullivan Martin, one of the executors named in the will of the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan, took out probate of the said will: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan upon a Bond from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, subsequently Sir Benjamin Sulivan, bearing date the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, for the principal sum of seventy-two thousand and seventy four Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

thirty-two Fanams and four Cash (72,074. 32. 4.) which, with the arrears of interest is
stated.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of one hundred and eighteen thousand five hundred

Ps. F. C.

and twenty-three Pagodas nineteen Fanams and sixty-one Cash (118,523. 19. 61.) or forty-seven thousand four hundred and nine Pounds seven Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.47,409. 7s. 9d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, as Trustees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah granted a Bond bearing date the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, to Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, for seventy-two thousand and

Ps. F. C.

seventy-four Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and four Cash (72,074. 32. 4.): And we do further find, That the consideration of the said Bond consisted of two other Bonds, and a Tunkah granted in part payment of one of the said Bonds by the said Omdut ul Omrah to Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, with interest thereon from their respective dates to the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, thereby creating a compound interest from and after that date: And we do further find, That the

Ps.

sum of five thousand two hundred and sixty-two Pagodas (5,262.) was paid by the said Omdut ul Omrah, and received by the said Mr. Benjamin Sullivan in part payment of the said Bond for seventy-two thousand and seventy-four Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and four Cash

Ps. F. C.

(72,074. 32. 4.) dated the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three: And we do further find, That the consideration of the

Ps.

said two original Bonds, viz. one for the sum of ten thousand Pagodas (10,000.) dated the twenty-second day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and

Ps.

seventy-eight, and another for the sum of sixteen thousand Pagodas (16,000.) dated the second day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, was for services rendered by Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, as Secretary and Law Adviser to the said Omdut ul Omrah: And we do further find, That the said Mr. Benjamin Sullivan did bonâ fide render services to the said late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the fifteenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, to and after the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five: And we do further find, That the balance due on the said original Bonds granted by the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, up to the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, making an aggregate sum of sixty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-five Pagodas eighteen Fanams and seventy-seven Cash

Ps. F. C.

(67,265. 18. 77.) or twenty-six thousand nine hundred and six Pounds three Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£.26,906. 3s. 8d.) was and is a full and adequate remuneration for all the bonâ fide services rendered or performed by the said Mr. Benjamin Sullivan to the said Omdut ul Omrah, whether before or after he ascended the musnud: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of sixty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-five Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

eighteen Fanams and seventy-seven Cash (67,265. 18. 77.) or twenty-six thousand nine hundred and six Pounds three Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£.26,906. 3s. 8d.) and no more, is justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the representatives of the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah for civil pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixty-three thousand nine hundred and two Pagodas seven Fanams and forty-one Cash

Ps. F. C.

(63,902. 7. 41.) or twenty-five thousand five hundred and sixty Pounds seventeen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£.25,560. 17s. 6d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said George Sullivan Martin, one of the executors of the said Sir Benjamin Sullivan, and that the said George Sullivan Martin hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixty-three thousand nine hundred and two Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

seven Fanams and forty-one Cash (63,902. 7. 41.) or twenty-five thousand five hundred and sixty Pounds seventeen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£.25,560. 17s. 6d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of three thousand three hundred and sixty-three

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas eleven Fanams and thirty-six Cash (3,363. 11. 36.) or one thousand three hundred and forty-five Pounds six Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.1,345. 6s. 2d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny as assignees aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand three hundred

hundred

hundred and sixty-three Pagodas eleven Fanams and thirty-six Cash (3,363. 11. 36.) or one thousand three hundred and forty-five Pounds six Shillings and two-pence sterling (£1,345. 6s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond of the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, or the Debt claimed thereon at the instance of George Sullivan Martin, executor as aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the twenty-ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Rs. F. C.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) *Geo. Parkhouse.*

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
{ THO. COCKBURN.
{ CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 26 in our First Report.

N° 244.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being under a certain Deed, indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Nathaniel Edward Kindersley of Blackheath in the County of Kent, administrator of Dawsonne Drake formerly of Madras in the East Indies, and mortgagee of James Graham, administrator to the estate of Captain Archibald Graham Campbell formerly of Madras aforesaid, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall, in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted the Claim of the said deceased Dawsonne Drake to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatever relating to the said Claim made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas Nathaniel Edward Kindersley as administrator aforesaid, hath also executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of Money owing to him as such administrator from his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the Trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have become Parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: And whereas Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company of Madras, mortgagees of William Webb, second mortgagee of James Graham administrator as aforesaid, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas John Neill of Madras in the East Indies, mortgagee of the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, mortgagees of William Webb second mortgagee of James Graham administrator as aforesaid, hath by his attornies Messieurs Parry and Pugh of Madras aforesaid, executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by Nathaniel Edward Kindersley as administrator and mortgagee aforesaid, upon his said Highness Wallajah, for a portion of a bond for the principal sum of fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas two Fanams and

CLAIM
N° 73 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N° 26 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

N. E. Kindersley,
Administrator of
Dawsonne Drake,
and Mortgagee
of *James Graham,*
Administrator to
the Estate of
Captain
A. G. Campbell.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Ps. F. C.
forty Cash (14,322. 2. 40.) which, with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, is stated to amount to the aggregate sum of thirty thousand one hundred and twelve Pagodas

Ps. F. C.
two Fanams and forty Cash (30,112. 2. 40.) or twelve thousand and forty-four Pounds sixteen Shillings and sixpence sterling (£. 12,044. 16s. 6d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, as Trustees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the portion of the said bond claimed as aforesaid, by the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley as aforesaid: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made for a portion of the said Bond, by the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, mortgagees of William Webb second mortgagee to the said James Graham, administrator as aforesaid: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made for a portion of the said Bond by the said John Neill, mortgagee of Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, mortgagees of William Webb second mortgagee of the said James Graham, administrator as aforesaid, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell was in the service of the said Nabob Wallajah, and that he was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was in the employ of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a Bond to the said James Graham, as administrator to the estate of the late Captain Graham Campbell, alias Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, bearing date the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, corresponding with the twenty-ninth Suffer twelve hundred of the Hegyra, for the sum of fourteen thousand three hundred and

Ps.
twenty-two Pagodas (14,322.) with interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That the fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas

Ps.
(14,322) the amount of the said Bond granted by the said Nabob Wallajah to the said James Graham, as administrator aforesaid, was part of a sum of twenty-seven thousand

Ps.
three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas (27,322.) and that the said sum of twenty-seven

Ps.
thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas (27,322) was in part composed of sums justly due from the said Nabob Wallajah to the late Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, for arrears of pay, batta and allowances, for services bonâ fide rendered by him to the said Nabob, and for pay advanced on the Nabob's account to his Captain Archibald Graham Campbell's regiment, and in part also of interest on the said sums: And we do further find, That the said James Graham, as administrator aforesaid, did mortgage the said Bond for

Ps.
fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas (14,322.) to the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley, as administrator of Dawsonne Drake, under a Deed bearing date the tenth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, for securing payment of three thousand one hundred and sixty-three Pagodas two Fanams

Ps. F. C.
and seventy Cash (3,163. 2. 70.) with interest at 12 per cent. per annum from that date: And we do further find, That the said James Graham as administrator aforesaid, did mortgage his remaining interest in the said bond to Mr. William Webb, under a Deed bearing date the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and

Ps.
ninety-three, in security for a Debt of six thousand and ninety-eight Pagodas (6,098.) with interest at six per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That the said William Webb did on the fourteenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, assign over all his interest in the said Bond to the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, and that the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, did on the thirty-first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, assign over their interest in the said Bond to the said John Neill, in security for

Ps.
the payment of a Bond for six thousand Pagodas (6,000.) from the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, to the said John Neill, with interest at ten per cent. per annum, which Bond is also dated the thirty-first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due upon the said Bond for fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two Pagodas

Ps.
(14,322.) on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, was twenty two thousand three hundred and

Ps. F. C.
ninety-seven Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and seventy-eight Cash (22,397. 32. 78.) or eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 8,959. 2s. 3d.): And we do further find, That the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley administrator and mortgagee as aforesaid, and John Neill assignee and mortgagee as aforesaid, and Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny Trustees as aforesaid, have mutually agreed that the sum which shall be adjudicated to be due to the representatives of the said Captain Archibald

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Archibald Graham Campbell, shall be awarded in the name of the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley administrator and first mortgagee as aforesaid, it being understood between the said Parties, that the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley shall pay over to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, Trustees as aforesaid, the full one-twentieth part of the principal and interest awarded upon the Claims made by the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley administrator and mortgagee as aforesaid; it being also understood between the said Parties, that the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley shall account from time to time to the said John Neill, for dividends or sums of money which he shall receive by virtue of the said award, until the Debt due by the said Archibald Graham Campbell to the said Dawsonne Drake, with interest, shall be discharged, when the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley shall transfer the surplus stock, or dividends, or sums of money, arising from the said stock or any arrears of dividends, to the said John Neill; and the said John Neill having first applied the balance of principal and interest so transferred, to the discharge of the Debt due to him as aforesaid, to the extent of William Webb's Claim thereon, with six per cent. interest, under which Claim he the said John Neill derives, shall transfer the surplus principal and interest to the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, and the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, having first applied the balance of principal and interest so transferred, to the discharge of the remainder of the Debt due to them as aforesaid, shall transfer the surplus principal and interest to the legal representative or representatives of the said late Captain Archibald Graham Campbell; provided always nevertheless, that the equity of redemption is reserved to the legal representative or representatives of the said late Captain Archibald Graham Campbell: And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of twenty-two thousand three hundred and ninety-seven Pagodas thirty-

two Fanams and seventy-eight Cash (22,397. 32. 78.) or eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.8,959. 2s. 3d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing on the said Bond, from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Captain Archibald Graham Campbell: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted by his said Highness Wallajah, for military pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the said sum of twenty-two thousand three hundred and ninety-seven

Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and seventy-eight Cash (22,397. 32. 78.) or eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.8,959. 2s. 3d.) be registered in the name of Nathaniel Edward Kindersley administrator and mortgagee as aforesaid, and that the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley as aforesaid, hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of twenty-two thousand three hundred

and ninety-seven Pagodas thirty-two Fanams and seventy-eight Cash (22,397. 32. 78.) or eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine Pounds two Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.8,959. 2s. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, subject to the conditions of the aforesaid Agreement, between the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley, the said John Neill, and the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever, in respect of the said Bond or the Debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Nathaniel Edward Kindersley, the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, the said William Webb, the said Messieurs Tulloh, Brodie, Haliburton and Company, the said John Neill, or the legal representative or representatives of the said late Captain Archibald Graham Campbell, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further award and order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the fifth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped) in the presence of (Signed) Geo. Parkhouse. (Signed) BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE. (Signed) THO. COCKBURN. (Signed) CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 130 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and

N° 245.

CLAIM
N° 78 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N° 130 in the 1st Report
to Parliament.
Captain A. Tod.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them, the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Captain Alexander Tod of Edinburgh, hath by his Attorney, John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Alexander Tod hath executed certain Articles of Agreement dated the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce, one-fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, and hath further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one other fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Alexander Tod upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of six thousand and

Ps.

twenty Pagodas (6,020.) which with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of sixteen thousand four hundred and eighty-five Pagodas thirty-two

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and twenty-seven Cash (16,485. 32. 27.) or six thousand five hundred and ninety-four Pounds six Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.6,594. 6s. 2d.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce, as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Tod: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others, as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Alexander Tod, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a Bond to Captain Alexander Tod, bearing date the twenty-seventh Rubbee ul awul eleven hundred and ninety-four of the Hegyra, or third day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, for the sum of five thousand five hundred and twenty

S. Ps.

Star Pagodas (5,520.): And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted another Bond to the said Captain Tod, for the sum of five hundred Star Pagodas (500.) bearing date the same day as the before-mentioned Bond for five thousand five hundred

S. Ps.

and twenty Star Pagodas (5,520.): And we do further find, That no valuable consideration was given for the said Bond for five hundred Star Pagodas (500.): And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallajah purchased of the said Captain Alexander Tod a state carriage, which he the said Captain Tod had brought from England, and that the said

Ps.

Bond for five thousand five hundred and twenty Star Pagodas (5,520.) was granted by the said Nabob to the said Captain Tod, in compensation of a loss to that amount sustained by him in the mode by which his Highness paid for the said carriage: And we do further find, That the aggregate amount due to the said Captain Alexander Tod, and his representatives, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to twelve thousand one hundred and ninety-three Pagodas thirty-eight

Fanams

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Ps. F. C.
Fanams and six Cash (12,193. 38. 6.) or four thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven Pounds eleven Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.4,877. 11s. 3d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the said fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of twelve thousand one hundred and nine-three

Ps. F. C.
Pagodas thirty-eight Fanams and six Cash (12,193. 38. 6.) or four thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven Pounds eleven Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.4,877. 11s. 3d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the said Captain Alexander Tod and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted for Goods sold and delivered prior to the twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of eleven thou-

Ps. F. C.
sand five hundred and eighty-four Pagodas eight Fanams and seventy Cash (11,584. 8. 70.) or four thousand six hundred and thirty-three Pounds thirteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.4,633. 13s. 9d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Captain Alexander Tod; and that the said Captain Alexander Tod hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-

Ps. F. C.
four Pagodas eight Fanams and seventy Cash (11,584. 8. 70.) or four thousand six hundred and thirty-three Pounds thirteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.4,633. 13s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three hundred and four Pagodas thirty-five

Ps. F. C.
Fanams and forty-eight Cash (304. 35. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-one Pounds eighteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.121. 18s. 9d.) being a further portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said John Fordyce; and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three hundred and

Ps. F. C.
four Pagodas thirty-five Fanams and forty-eight Cash (304. 35. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-one Pounds eighteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.121. 18s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabob of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three hundred and four Pagodas thirty-five Fanams

Ps. F. C.
and forty-eight Cash (304. 35. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-one Pounds eighteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.121. 18s. 9d.) being the remaining portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, as assignees aforesaid; and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three

Ps. F. C.
hundred and four Pagodas thirty-five Fanams and forty-eight Cash (304. 35. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-one Pounds eighteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£.121. 18s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever in respect of the said two Bonds claimed at the instance of the said Captain Alexander Tod, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the aforesaid two Bonds shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company: In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
(Signed) CHA. GRANT Junior.
Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 50 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the 10th day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob

N° 246.

CLAIM
N° 75 in the London
Gazette of the 12th
August 1806; and,
N° 50 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

Robert Gibbings,
Executor of Co-
lonel Robert Gib-
bings.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Robert Gibbings of the City of Cork in Ireland, one of the executors to the estate of Colonel Robert Gibbings late of Madras in the East Indies, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Robert Gibbings as executor aforesaid hath executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, between several persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees, one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him as such executor from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest to accrue thereon; the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the remaining survivors of the said Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Robert Gibbings, as executor aforesaid, upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of fifty-six

Ps. F. thousand one hundred and eighty-six Pagodas and twenty-nine Fanams (56,186. 29.) which with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of one hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and sixty Pagodas forty Fanams and sixty

Ps. F. C. Cash (120,660. 40. 60.) or forty eight thousand two hundred and sixty-four Pounds seven Shillings and eight-pence sterling (£. 48,264. 7s. 8d.); and having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, for themselves and others as Assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Robert Gibbings as executor aforesaid, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings advanced at various payments on account of his

S. Ps. Highness the Nabob Wallajah, the sum of forty-six thousand Star Pagodas (46,000.) to Rung Row, Fousdar and Renter of Madura: And we do further find, That on the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, a settlement of Accounts took place between the said Rung Row and the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings, on which the balance due to the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert

Ps. Gibbings was stated to amount to fifty-five thousand three hundred Pagodas (55,300.), and for the said balance the said Rung Row gave the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings two bonds, both bearing date the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven

Ps. hundred and eighty-one, one for the sum of thirty thousand Pagodas (30,000.) the other for the

Ps. sum of twenty-five thousand three hundred Pagodas (25,300.) and we do further find, That the said balance included compound interest and exchange at four per cent. on forty-six thousand

Ps. Pagodas (46,000.) between Madras and Madura: And we do further find, That on the twenty-fourth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, the sum due for interest on the said two bonds made up at compound interest

Ps. amounted to eight thousand one hundred and fifty-four Pagodas (8,154.) for which said sum

Ps. of eight thousand one hundred and fifty-four Pagodas (8,154.) the said Rung Row gave another bond to the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings, antedated the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one: And we do further find, That upon a settlement of Accounts between Rung Row and Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings, the balance due to the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings on the first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, was stated to amount to the sum of fifty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-nine Pagodas

Ps. F. C. twenty-nine Fanams and twenty-four Cash (56,189. 29. 24.): And we do further find, That the said balance, being composed of compound interest, is inadmissible under the provisions of the aforesaid indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

eight hundred and five: And we do further find, That the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings was justly entitled to be credited with the difference of exchange between Madras and Madras, and that the average rate of such difference was three per cent.: And we do further find, That upon opening the Accounts and making them up from the date of the first advances, according to the principles of the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, crediting the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings with the exchange of three per cent. and debiting him with the sums received by him, there was justly due and owing to the representatives of the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the aggregate sum of twenty-six thousand five

Ps. F. C.

hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and forty Cash (26,558. 22. 40.) or ten thousand six hundred and twenty-three Pounds eight shillings and four-pence sterling (£.10,623. 8s. 4d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, do hereby award and adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of twenty-six thousand five hundred and

Ps. F. C.

fifty-eight Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and forty Cash (26,558. 22. 40.) or ten thousand six hundred and twenty-three Pounds eight Shillings and four-pence sterling (£. 10,623. 8s. 4d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gibbings: And we do further Award and Order, That the said debt being a Debt contracted for money lent prior to the twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, to the renter of the said Nabob Wallajah on account of his Highness, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of twenty-five thousand

Ps. F. C.

two hundred and thirty Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-six Cash (25,230. 25. 46.) or ten thousand and ninety-two Pounds four Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£.10,092. 4s. 11d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Robert Gibbings as executor aforesaid, and that the said Robert Gibbings as executor aforesaid, hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of twenty-five thousand two hundred and

Ps. F. C.

thirty Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and forty-six Cash (25,230. 25. 46.) or ten thousand and ninety-two Pounds four Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£. 10,092. 4s. 11d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas thirty-eight Fanams and seventy-four Cash (1,327. 38. 74.) or five hundred and thirty-one Pounds three Shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 531. 3s. 5d.) being the remaining portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

thirty-eight Fanams and seventy-four Cash (1,327. 38. 74.) or five hundred and thirty-one Pounds three shillings and five-pence sterling (£. 531. 3s. 5d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said two Bonds, or the Debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said Robert Gibbings, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the said three original bonds shall be, and they are hereby declared to be null and void. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
{ CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed)

Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 44 in our First Report.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and

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the

N° 247.

CLAIM

N° 110 in the London
Gazette of the 13th
September 1806;
and,
N° 44 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

William Duffin,
Executor of Ma-
jor Peter David-
son.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas William Duffin of the City of York, executor of the late Major Peter Davidson, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said William Duffin hath by his attorney, Charles Binny, executed certain Articles of Agreement, dated the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce, one-fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, and hath further transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees, one other fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot, or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one other fortieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas the said John Fordyce did execute the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and did also execute the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said William Duffin as executor aforesaid, upon his Highness the late

^{Ps.}
Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of seven thousand Pagodas (7,000.) which, with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of sixteen

^{Ps.}
thousand one hundred and sixty-eight Pagodas (16,168.) or six thousand four hundred and sixty-seven Pounds and four Shillings sterling (£.6,467. 4s. 0d.) and having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Fordyce, assigned as aforesaid for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid, by the said William Duffin, as executor aforesaid: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said William Duffin, as executor aforesaid: And having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions, and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah jointly with Captain Charles Rumley, granted a Bond to the late Major Peter Davidson, bearing date the fifth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, for the sum

^{S. Ps.}
of seven thousand Star Pagodas (7,000.): And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted by the said joint Bond of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and Captain Charles Rumley,

^{S. Ps.}
was for the said sum of seven thousand Star Pagodas (7,000.) bonâ fide advanced by the said Major Peter Davidson to the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah: And we do further find, That on the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, the said Major Peter Davidson received from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah in

^{Chucks.}
part discharge of the said joint Bond, the sum of four thousand Chuckras (4,000.) or the sum

^{Ps.}
of Pagodas two thousand and fifty (2,050.): And we do further find, That the aggregate sum remaining due on the said joint Bond to the representatives of the said Major Peter Davidson on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to twelve thousand and sixty-one Pagodas four Fanams and nineteen

^{Ps. F. C.}
Cash (12,061. 4. 19.) or four thousand eight hundred and twenty-four Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.4,824. 8s. 10d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of twelve thousand and sixty-

^{Ps. F. C.}
one Pagodas four Fanams and nineteen Cash (12,061. 4. 19.) or four thousand eight hundred and twenty-four Pounds eight Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.4,824. 8s. 10d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the representatives of the said Major Peter Davidson: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted for money lent to his said Highness Omdut ul Omrah, is and shall be comprised in the Second Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of eleven thousand four hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas one Fanam and

Ps. F. C.

seventy-five Cash (11,458. 1. 75.) or four thousand five hundred and eighty-three Pounds four Shillings and sixpence sterling (£.4,583. 4s. 6d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to William Duffin executor as aforesaid; and that the said William Duffin hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eleven thousand

Ps. F. C.

four hundred and fifty-eight Pagodas one Fanam and seventy-five Cash (11,458. 1. 75.) or four thousand five hundred and eighty-three Pounds four Shillings and sixpence sterling (£.4,583. 4s. 6d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And that the sum of three hundred and

Ps. F. C.

one Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and twelve Cash (301. 22. 12.) or one hundred and twenty Pounds twelve Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.120. 12s. 2d.) being a further portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to James King of Tavistock Place in the County of Middlesex, one of the executors named in the will of the said late John Fordyce; and that the said James King hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum

Ps. F. C.

of three hundred and one Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and twelve Cash (301. 22. 12.) or one hundred and twenty Pounds twelve Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.120. 12s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three hundred and one Pagodas twenty-

Ps. F. C.

two Fanams and twelve Cash (301. 22. 12.) or one hundred and twenty Pounds twelve Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.120. 12s. 2d.) being the remaining portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to Charles Binny, George Moubray and Valentine Conolly, as assignees aforesaid, and that the said Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three

Ps. F. C.

hundred and one Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and twelve Cash (301. 22. 12.) or one hundred and twenty Pounds twelve Shillings and two-pence sterling (£.120. 12s. 2d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever in respect of the said joint Bond, claimed at the instance of the said William Duffin executor as aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the original Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled, and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

(Signed) { BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
CHA. GRANT junior,

CLAIM N° 110 in our First Report.

N° 248.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Mr. John Stewart formerly of Madras in the East Indies, and now of London, did by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, execute the aforesaid Indenture, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said John Stewart did execute certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob

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CLAIM
N° 18 in the London
Gazette of the 12
August 1806; and,
N° 110 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.
John Stewart.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

of Arcot of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and did thereby transfer and assign over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, and the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned, upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Stewart upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, for the principal sum of nineteen thousand five hundred

^{Ps.} Pagodas (19,500.) which with interest upon the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to

^{Ps.} fifty-eight thousand six hundred and eighty-five Pagodas (58,685.) or twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-four Pounds sterling (£. 23,474.): And having also taken into consideration another Claim made by the said John Stewart on his Highness the late

^{Ps.} Nabob Wallah Jah, for the principal sum of two thousand Pagodas (2,000.) which with interest on the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to six thousand and nineteen Pagodas

^{Ps.} (6,019.) or two thousand four hundred and seven Pounds and twelve shillings sterling (£. 2,407. 12 s. 0 d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said John Stewart; and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said John Stewart was appointed Civil Secretary to his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah in the month of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and continued in that situation until the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, without having received any remuneration whatsoever: And we do further find, That on the twenty-first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the said John Stewart was appointed a Lieutenant in the army of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, at the pay of one hundred

^{Ps.} and twenty-five Pagodas (125.) per month, to commence from the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four: And we do further find, That from the first day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the said John Stewart was allowed an additional salary of

^{Ps.} seventy-five Pagodas (75.) per month, as Secretary to the Ameer, then Captain General of the Nabob's forces: And we do further find, That on the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five his salary was further increased

^{Ps.} fifty Pagodas (50.) per month, making his pay altogether as Captain and Secretary to the

^{Ps.} Ameer, two hundred and fifty Pagodas (250.) per month: And we do further find, That the said John Stewart continued in the service of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, as Captain and Secretary aforesaid to the Ameer, till the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, the date of his discharge, and that the arrears of pay and allowances due to him as such on the said day amounted to

^{Ps.} two thousand Pagodas, (2,000.): And we do further find, That no part of this balance has ever been discharged: And we do further find, That a salary at the rate of five hundred

^{Ps.} Pagodas (500.) per month, from the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, to the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, is a fair and adequate remuneration for all the services both civil and military, which the said John Stewart rendered to the said Nabob Wallah Jah: And we do further find, That after deducting the payments made by his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah to the said John Stewart, the balance due to the said John Stewart as Civil Secretary to his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, and as Captain and Secretary to the Captain General, amounted on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, to twelve thousand

^{Ps.} six hundred Pagodas (12,600.): And we do further find, That the said John Stewart was not in the employ of the said United East India Company when he entered into, or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the aggregate

sum

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

sum due to the said John Stewart for arrears of civil and military pay and allowances, amounted on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and four, to thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and twelve Pagodas, twenty-two Fanams

Ps. F. C.

and forty-three Cash (37,912. 22. 43.) or fifteen thousand one hundred and sixty-five Pounds and three-pence sterling (£. 15,165. os. 3d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and twelve Pagodas twenty-two Fanams and forty-three Cash

Ps. F. C.

(37,912. 22. 43.) or fifteen thousand one hundred and sixty-five Pounds and three-pence sterling (£. 15,165. os. 3d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah to the said John Stewart and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted for civil and military pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of thirty-six thousand and sixteen Pagodas thirty-eight Fanams and seventeen Cash

Ps. F. C.

(36,016. 38. 17.) or fourteen thousand four hundred and six Pounds fifteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 14,406. 15s. 3d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said John Stewart, and that the said John Stewart hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of thirty-six thousand and sixteen Pagodas thirty-

Ps. F. C.

eight Fanams and seventeen Cash (36,016. 38. 17.) or fourteen thousand four hundred and six Pounds fifteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£. 14,406. 15s. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, and that the sum of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five

Ps. F. C.

Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and twenty-six Cash (1895. 26. 26.) or seven hundred and fifty-eight Pounds and five Shillings sterling (£. 758. 5s. 0d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny as assignees aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-

Ps. F. C.

five Pagodas twenty-six Fanams and twenty-six Cash (1,895. 26. 26.) or seven hundred and fifty-eight Pounds and five Shillings sterling (£. 758. 5s. 0d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallah Jah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Debts, claimed at the instance of the said John Stewart or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) { BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
 { CHA. GRANT junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 2 of N° 85 in our First Report.

N° 249.

CLAIM
N° 2 of N° 69 in the
London Gazette of
the 12 August 1806;
and,
N° 2 of N° 85 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

Sir John Mac-
pherson Baronet.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Onirah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Sir John Macpherson Baronet, of Brompton Grove in the Parish of Kensington in the County of Middlesex, hath by his Attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Sir John Macpherson has executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot of the first part, the said John Fordyce of

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the remaining survivors of the said Trustees who have become Parties to the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors, and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Sir John Macpherson upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of eighty-five thousand two hundred and sixty-four Pagodas three

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and sixty-six Cash (85,264. 3. 66.) which, with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand one hundred and

Ps. F. C.

nine Pagodas eleven Fanams and sixty-six Cash (128,109. 11. 66.) or fifty-one thousand two hundred and forty-three Pounds fourteen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£. 51,243. 14s. 6d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Sir John Macpherson: And having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That during the years of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, Sir Charles Oakley Baronet, one of the constituted Attornies at Madras of the said Sir John then Mr. Macpherson, accepted for him the said Sir John Macpherson various Bills of Exchange drawn on account of the said Nabob Wallajah by the late Colonel Lauchlin Mac Leane then his said Highness's Agent in England, upon him the said Sir John Macpherson, and also advanced as Attorney aforesaid several sums of money to the said Colonel Lauchlin Mac Leane as his Highness's Agent aforesaid, the total amount of which bills and advances was twenty-seven thousand four hundred and nine Pagodas

Ps. F. C.

twenty-seven Fanams and forty-seven Cash (27,400. 27. 47.): And we do further find, That the said Sir Charles Oakley in accepting the said bills, and advancing the said sums, so acted at the special request and on account of the said Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That payments were at different times made by his said Highness Wallajah to the said Sir Charles Oakley as constituted Attorney of the said Sir John Macpherson, in part discharge of the Debts so constituted as aforesaid: And we do further find, That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, the said Sir Charles Oakley presented an account current to his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah, in which the balance against his said Highness was stated to amount to forty-six thousand

Ps. F. C.

three hundred and forty-four Pagodas two Fanams and thirty-two Cash (46,344. 2. 32.): And we do further find, That the said balance of forty-six thousand three hundred and forty-

Ps. F. C.

four Pagodas two Fanams and thirty-two Cash (46,344. 2. 32.) was assigned by the said Sir Charles Oakley to the said Sir John Macpherson: And we do further find, That by making up an account of the sums paid and received as aforesaid by the said Sir Charles Oakley Attorney as aforesaid, according to the principles of the said Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, the aggregate sum due to the said Sir John Macpherson on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to seventy-four thousand four hundred and

Ps. F. C.

forty-seven Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and forty-seven Cash (74,447. 27. 47.) or twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine Pounds one Shilling and three-pence sterling (£. 29,779. 1s. 3d.): And we do further find, That by a Deed of Indenture bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, between the said Sir John Macpherson of the one part, the United East India Company, and William Ramsay Secretary to the said East India Company, and William Wright Auditor of the Indian Accounts of the said United East India Company, the said John Macpherson did, for certain conditions therein stated, assign and transfer unto them the said William Ramsay and the said William Wright, their executors, administrators, and assigns, all the Debts claimed by the said Sir John Macpherson under the said Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, to have and to hold the same unto the said William Ramsay and the said William Wright their executors, administrators, and assigns absolutely for ever, but upon the trusts and for the intents and purposes, and subject to the powers and provisions in the said Deed of Indenture of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine men-

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Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

tioned and set forth: And we do further find, That the said William Ramsay and the said William Wright as assignees aforesaid, have executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of seventy-four thousand four hundred and forty-seven Pagodas twenty-seven Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

forty-seven Cash (74,447. 27. 47.) or twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine Pounds one Shilling and three-pence sterling (£. 29,779. 1 s. 3 d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Sir John Macpherson and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted for money lent to his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah, prior to the twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, is and shall be comprized in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of seventy thousand seven hundred and twenty-

Ps. F. C.

five Pagodas eleven Fanams and forty-one Cash (70,725. 11. 41.) or twenty-eight thousand two hundred and ninety Pounds two Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 28,290. 2 s. 2 d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said William Ramsay and the said William Wright assignees as aforesaid, and that the said William Ramsay and the said William Wright have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of seventy thousand seven hundred and twenty-five Pagodas eleven Fanams and forty-one

Ps. F. C.

Cash (70,725. 11. 41.) or twenty-eight thousand two hundred and ninety Pounds two Shillings and two-pence sterling (£. 28,290. 2 s. 2 d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, subject to the conditions of the before-mentioned Deed of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine; and that the sum of three thousand seven

Ps. F. C.

hundred and twenty-two Pagodas sixteen Fanams and six Cash (3,722. 16. 6.) or one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight Pounds nineteen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 1,488. 19 s. 1 d.) being the remaining portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny as assignees aforesaid; and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two Pagodas sixteen Fanams and six Cash

Ps. F. C.

(3,722. 16. 6.) or one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight Pounds nineteen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 1,488. 19 s. 1 d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demands whatsoever in respect of the said Debt, claimed at the instance of the said Sir John Macpherson Baronet, or of any other person or persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Charles Grant have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
{ CHA. GRANT Junior.

CLAIM N° 1 of N° 106 in our First Report.

N° 250.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas the late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan Baronet, formerly of Madras in the East Indies, did by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, execute the aforesaid Indenture, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan did execute certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, be-

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CLAIM

N° 1 of N° 4 in the
London Gazette of
the 12 August 1806;
and,
N° 1 of N° 106 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

Sir Richard Jo-
seph Sullivan Ba-
ronet.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

tween several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabob of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and did thereby transfer and assign over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the only three of the said Trustees who have executed the said Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan hath since departed this life, and the Right honourable John Sullivan, executor of the said late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, hath taken out letters of Administration from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, to the estate of the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, and hath as such also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan upon his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the sum of

Rs.
one hundred thousand Rupees (100,000.) which, with interest upon the same, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to two hundred and thirty-nine thousand two hundred and twenty-two Rupees

Rs.
(239,222.) or twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and two Pounds and fifteen Shillings sterling (£.29,902. 15s. 0d.): And having also taken into consideration a Claim which has been substituted for the aforesaid Claim by the executors of the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, through their Agents in India, Messieurs Abbott and Maitland, and which is stated to amount to the aggregate sum of four hundred and seventy-five thousand four hundred and

Rs. F. C.
forty Rupees eleven Fanams and seventy-two Cash (475,440. 11. 72.) and one hundred and

Ps. F. C.
one thousand two hundred and ninety-five Pagodas and ten Fanams (101,295. 10. 0.) or in all ninety-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-four Pounds four Shillings and six-pence farthing sterling (£.94,854. 4s. 6½d.): And having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That his Highness the late Nabob Wallajah granted two Bonds to the said late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, both bearing date the fifteenth Zeehidge eleven hundred and ninety-six of the Hegyra, or the twenty-second day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand

Rs.
seven hundred and eighty-two, for one hundred thousand Rupees (100,000.) each: And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallajah also granted to the said Sir Richard Joseph

Rs.
Sullivan an agreement to pay to him annually one lac of Rupees (100,000.) and twelve

Ps.
thousand Pagodas (12,000.) as long as he should continue to hold the appointment of Minister from the Government of Bengal at the Durbar of him the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan was employed as his Minister to the Bengal Government by his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, and that he the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan rendered bonâ fide services to him the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the employment of the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan as the Minister of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, was sanctioned by the then Governor General, and that the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan was accredited by him as Minister aforesaid: And we do further find, That the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan incurred expenses and losses in the employ of his Highness the said Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That the

Rs.
sum of one hundred thousand Rupees (100,000.) or twenty-eight thousand five hundred

Ps. F.
and seventy-one Pagodas and eighteen Fanams (28,571. 18.) with interest thereon, from the twenty-second day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, is an adequate remuneration for all the services rendered by the said late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan to the said late Nabob Wallajah, and for all expences and losses incurred by him in the employ of his said Highness: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the representatives of the said Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to sixty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-eight Pagodas six Fanams and sixty-two

Ps. F. C.
Cash (68,338. 6. 62.) or twenty-seven thousand three hundred and thirty-five Pounds five Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.27,335. 5s. 4d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of sixty-eight thousand

Ps. F. C.
three hundred and thirty-eight Pagodas six Fanams and sixty-two Cash (68,338. 6. 62.) or
twenty-

twenty-seven thousand three hundred and thirty-five Pounds five Shillings and four-pence sterling (£.27,335. 5s. 4d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, to the representatives of the late Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt, being a Debt contracted for civil pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of sixty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-one Pagodas ten Fanams and fifty-two

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Ps. F. C.
Cash (64,921. 10. 52.) or twenty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight Pounds ten Shillings and one Penny sterling (£.25,968. 10s. 1d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the Right honourable John Sullivan as executor aforesaid; and that the said Right honourable John Sullivan hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of sixty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-one Pagodas ten Fanams and

Ps. F. C.
fifty-two Cash (64,921. 10. 52.) or twenty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight Pounds ten Shillings and one Penny sterling (£.25,968. 10s. 1d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of three thousand four hundred and sixteen Pagodas thirty-eight

Ps. F. C.
Fanams and ten Cash (3,416. 38. 10.) or one thousand three hundred and sixty-six Pounds fifteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,366. 15s. 3d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, as assignees aforesaid; and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three thousand four hundred and sixteen Pagodas thirty-eight Fanams and ten Cash

Ps. F. C.
(3,416. 38. 10.) or one thousand three hundred and sixty-six Pounds fifteen Shillings and three-pence sterling (£.1,366. 15s. 3d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture, for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever, in respect of the said two Bonds and the said Agreement, or the Debt or Debts claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Right honourable John Sullivan as executor aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the two original Bonds and the Agreement aforesaid, shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn have hereunto set out hands, the nineteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) { BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
 { THO. COCKBURN.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of,

(Signed) *Jno Parkhouse.*

CLAIM N° 89 in our First Report.

N° 252.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas General John Murray of London, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said General John Murray hath executed certain Articles of Agreement, bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said John Fordyce, one-fortieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, or from any one of them, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one-fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, and hath further transferred

CLAIM
N° 143 in the London
Gazette of the 10th
January 1807; and,
N° 89 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

General John
Murray.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one other fortieth part of every debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the late Nabobs of Arcot or the Ameer ul Omrah, and of the interest to accrue thereon, the said one other fortieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt shall be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-fortieth part so to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Charles Binny, George Moubray, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said General John Murray upon his Highness the Nabob

Omdut ul Omrah, for the principal sum of four thousand Pagodas (4,000.) which with interest upon the same is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of five thousand seven

hundred and ninety Pagodas (5,790.) or two thousand three hundred and sixteen Pounds sterling (£.2,316.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said late John Fordyce as assignee aforesaid, for the one-fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said General John Murray: And having also taken into consideration a Claim made by certain of the Trustees named in the said Articles of Agreement of the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, for themselves and others as assignees aforesaid, for the other fortieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said General John Murray: And having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said General (then Lieutenant Colonel) John Murray going upon an expedition under the command of Sir Alured Clarke to the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, was entrusted by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with a letter and also a picture to be presented to his Highness the Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That the said General John Murray, with the permission of the Commander in Chief, proceeded from the Cape to Madras, for the sole purpose of executing his Royal Highness's Commission, in the month of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, where he arrived in the month of March following, after the death of the said Nabob Wallajah: And we do further find, That the said General John Murray presented the said letter and the said picture to his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah: And we do further find, That his said Highness conforming to the usage of the Durbar in such cases, did think fit to remunerate the said General John Murray, and did in consideration of his trouble and expenses from and to the Cape and of his intermediate residence in India, promise to the said General John Murray the sum of three thousand Pounds sterling (£.3,000.) of which his said Highness

paid in part three thousand five hundred Pagodas (3,500.): And we do further find, That the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to complete the said sum of three thousand Pounds sterling (£.3,000) so promised as aforesaid, granted to the said General John Murray an order or obligation on Messieurs Kindersley and Company, bearing date the eighth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, for the

sum of four thousand Pagodas (4,000.) which his Highness undertook to repay at the rate of one thousand Pagodas (1,000.) every fourteenth of the month until the whole should be fully discharged: And we do further find, That no part of the said order for four thousand

Pagodas (4,000) was discharged by Messieurs Kindersley and Company, his said Highness having no funds in their hands, and not having paid the instalments aforesaid, and that no part thereof hath since been paid by them or either of them or by any Person or Persons

whatsoever: And we do further find, That the said sum of four thousand Pagodas (4,000.) so payable as aforesaid under the said order bearing date as aforesaid, was then justly due for trouble and expences as aforesaid to the said General John Murray: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said General John Murray on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to five thousand four

hundred and ninety-one Pagodas twenty-one Fanams and twenty-four Cash (5,491. 21. 24.) or two thousand one hundred and ninety-six Pounds twelve Shillings and one Penny sterling (£.2,196. 12s. 1d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of five thousand four hundred and

ninety-one Pagodas twenty-one Fanams and twenty-four Cash (5,491. 21. 24.) or two thousand one hundred and ninety-six Pounds twelve Shillings and one Penny sterling (£.2,196. 12s. 1d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said General John Murray

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny, being the only two of the said Trustees who have executed the said Articles of Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners appointed under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said James Balfour upon his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of four hundred and

Ps.
forty Pagodas (440.) which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of one thousand and thirty-nine Star Pagodas fourteen Fanams and seventeen Cash

Ps. F. C.
(1,039. 14. 17.) or four hundred and fifteen Pounds fourteen Shillings and six-pence sterling (£. 415. 14s. 6d.); and having taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny Trustees as aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said James Balfour: And having duly investigated the said Claims, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a Bond to Mr. Henry Price bearing date the first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, or the eleventh Ramzan eleven hundred and ninety-five of the

P. Ps.
Hegyra for the sum of four hundred and forty Phuli Pagodas (440.) with interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted by the said Bond, from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Henry Price, was for arrears of pay and allowances justly due for services bonâ fide rendered by him to the said Nabob Wallajah, and that the said Henry Price was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the said Bond and the interest thereon was assigned by the said Henry Price to Sashapilla of Madras aforesaid: And we do further find, That the said Sashapilla having departed this life, his son and heir Jya Pillay assigned the said Bond to the said James Balfour: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Henry Price, was

Ps. F. C.
one thousand and thirty-nine Pagodas thirteen Fanams and twenty-two Cash (1,039. 13. 22.) or four hundred and fifteen Pounds fourteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 415. 14s. 7d.): And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of one thousand and thirty-nine Pagodas thirteen Fanams and

Ps. F. C.
twenty-two Cash (1,039. 13. 22.) or four hundred and fifteen Pounds fourteen Shillings and seven-pence sterling (£. 415. 14s. 7d.) was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallajah to the representatives of the said Henry Price: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted for arrears of pay and allowances, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum

Ps. F. C.
of nine hundred and eighty seven Pagodas fourteen Fanams and fifty-seven Cash (987. 14. 57.) or three hundred and ninety-four Pounds eighteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 394. 18s. 10d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said James Balfour assignee as aforesaid, and that the said James Balfour hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of nine hundred and eighty-seven Pagodas four-

Ps. F. C.
teen Fanams and fifty-seven Cash (987. 14. 57.) or three hundred and ninety-four Pounds eighteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 394. 18s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic,

Ps. F. C.
and that the sum of fifty-one Pagodas forty Fanams and forty-five Cash (51. 40. 45.) or twenty Pounds fifteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£. 20. 15s. 9d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny assignees as aforesaid, and that the said Samuel Johnson and Charles Binny have and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of fifty-one Pagodas forty Fanams and forty-five

Ps. F. C.
Cash (51. 40. 45.) or twenty Pounds fifteen Shillings and nine-pence sterling (£. 20. 15s. 9d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond or the Debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said James Balfour, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India

India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn have hereunto set our hands, the tenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) *Jno Parkhouse.*

(Signed) { BENJN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN

CLAIM N° 437 in our Fifth Report.

N° 257.

CLAIM
N° 370 in the London
Gazette of the 8 July
1809; and,
N° 437 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.

*Mrs. Mary
Magdalen Fother-
ingham, Adminis-
tratrix to the
Estate of Captain
John Everitt.*

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse Baronet of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County Esquire, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Mrs. Mary Magdalen Fotheringham of Madras in the East Indies, daughter and administratrix to the Estate of Captain John Everitt, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted herself, her heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by her under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Mrs. Mary Magdalen Fotheringham daughter and administratrix as aforesaid, upon his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah, for the principal sum of three thousand

S. Ps.

nine hundred and nineteen Star Pagodas (3,919.) which with the arrears of interest is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of nine thousand and eighty-nine Pagodas twenty

Ps. F. C.

Fanams and seventy-five Cash (9,089. 20. 75.) or three thousand six hundred and thirty-five Pounds and sixteen Shillings sterling (£.3,635. 16s. 0d.) and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Captain John Everitt was a military officer in the service of the said Nabob Wallah Jah, and that he was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabob: And we do further find, That the said Nabob Wallah Jah granted a Bond to the said late Captain John Everitt, bearing date the sixth Jemadecussanee eleven hundred and ninety-six of the Hegyra, or the nineteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, for the sum of three thousand nine hundred and nineteen

S. Ps. Annas.

Star Pagodas eight and one-quarter Annas (3,919. 8½.) with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from the second day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two: And we do further find, That the sum of three hundred and

Ps. Annas.

thirty-two Pagodas seven and five-eighths Annas (332. 7½.) was paid to the said Captain Everitt: And we do further find, That the sum of three thousand five hundred and eighty-

Ps. Annas.

seven Pagodas and five-eighths Annas (3,587. ¾.) was on the second day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, due from the said Nabob Wallah Jah to the said Captain Everitt with interest at six per cent. per annum: And we do further find, That on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, there was justly due and owing from the representatives of the said Nabob Wallah Jah to the representatives of the said Captain John Everitt, the sum of eight thou-

P. F. C.

sand three hundred and twenty-nine Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and one Cash (8,329. 25. 1.) or three thousand three hundred and thirty-one Pounds sixteen Shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.3,331. 16s. 10d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of of eight thousand three hundred and

Ps. F. C.

twenty-nine Pagodas twenty-five Fanams and one Cash (8,329. 25. 1.) or three thousand three hundred and thirty-one Pounds sixteen shillings and ten-pence sterling (£.3,331. 16s. 10d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing from the representatives of his said Highness the late Nabob Wallah Jah to the said Mrs. Mary Magdalen Fotheringham administratrix as aforesaid, to the Estate of the said late Captain John Everitt, and that the said Mrs. Mary Magdalen Fotheringham as administratrix aforesaid, hath

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of eight thousand ^{Ps. F. C.} three hundred and twenty-nine Pagodas twenty five Fanams and one Cash (8,329. 25. 1.) or three thousand three hundred and thirty-one Pounds sixteen shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 3,331. 16s. 10d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Order, that the said Debt being a Debt contracted for Military Pay and Allowances, is and shall be comprised in the first Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallah Jah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond or the Debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said Mrs. Mary Magdalen Fotheringham or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, that the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn have hereunto set our hands, the seventeenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) { BENJⁿ HOBHOUSE.
 } THO. COCKBURN.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presense of,
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

N^o 260.

CLAIM N^o 97 in our First Report.

CLAIM
N^o 76 in the London
Gazette of the 12
August 1806; and,
N^o 97 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.
Captain Robert
Powney.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse Baronet of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Cockburn Esquire of Hampstead in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Robert Powney of the City of London, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex; since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: And whereas the said Robert Powney hath executed certain Articles of Agreement bearing date the third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between several Persons describing themselves as Creditors of the late Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and of the late Ameer ul Omrah of the first part, the said John Fordyce of the second part, and the Persons therein named as Trustees of the third part, and hath thereby transferred and assigned over to the said Trustees one-twentieth part of every Debt or sum of money owing to him from their Highnesses the said Nabobs and the said Ameer ul Omrah, and of the interest which should have accrued thereon, the said one-twentieth part to be taken upon the sum at which the principal and interest of the said Debt should be liquidated or made up, to receive and hold the said one-twentieth part so thereby to them assigned upon the trusts in the said Articles of Agreement mentioned and set forth: And whereas George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, being the remaining surviving Trustees who have executed the said Agreement, have also executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and have thereby submitted themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by them under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Robert Powney upon their said late Highnesses the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut

^{Ps.} ul Omrah, for the principal sum of four thousand eight hundred and thirty Pagodas (4,830.) which with the arrears of interest, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of six thousand

^{Ps. F. C.} four hundred and sixty Pagodas five Fanams and three Cash (6,460. 5. 3.) or two thousand five hundred and eighty-four Pounds and one Shilling sterling (£. 2,584. 1s. 0d.): And having taken into consideration a Claim made on behalf of the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly, as Trustees aforesaid, for the one-twentieth part as aforesaid of the sum claimed as aforesaid by the said Robert Powney, and having duly investigated the said Claims according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find,

find, That on the first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, the sum of four thousand six hundred and ninety Pagodas (4,690.) was due from the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah to the said Robert Powney: And we do further find, That the Debt so constituted from the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah to the said Robert Powney, was for arrears of military pay justly due for services bona fide rendered by him to the said Nabobs; and that the said Robert Powney was not in the employ of the United East India Company when he entered into or while he was employed in the service of the said Nabobs: And we do further find, That the aggregate sum due to the said Robert Powney on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, amounted to six thousand two hundred and seventy-

Absolute
Adjudications
in favour of
Claimants.

one Pagodas nine Fanams and seventy-five Cash (6,271. 9. 75.) or two thousand five hundred and eight Pounds nine Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£2,508. 9s. 11d.): And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That upon the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, the sum of six thousand two hundred and seventy-one Pagodas nine Fanams and

seventy-five Cash (6,271. 9. 75.) or two thousand five hundred and eight Pounds nine Shillings and eleven-pence sterling (£2,508. 9s. 11d.) and no more, was and still is justly due and owing in respect of the said Claim from the representatives of their said Highnesses the late Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah to the said Robert Powney and his representatives: And we do further Award and Order, That the said Debt being a Debt contracted by their said Highnesses Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah for military pay, is and shall be comprised in the First Class of Debts under the said Indenture: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That the sum of five thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven

Pagodas twenty-eight Fanams and twenty-seven Cash (5,957. 28. 27.) or two thousand three hundred and eighty-three Pounds one Shilling and five-pence sterling (£2,383. 1s. 5d.) being a portion of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said Robert Powney; and that the said Robert Powney hath and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of five thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven Pagodas twenty-eight Fanams and twenty-seven

Cash (5,957. 28. 27.) or two thousand three hundred and eighty-three Pounds one Shilling and five-pence sterling (£2,383. 1s. 5d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic; and that the sum of

three hundred and thirteen Pagodas twenty-three Fanams and forty-eight Cash (313. 23. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-five Pounds eight Shillings and six-pence sterling (£125. 8s. 6d.) being the remainder of the said Debt, is due and owing to the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, and Valentine Conolly assignees as aforesaid; and that the said George Moubray, Charles Binny, Valentine Conolly, and shall have right to participate to the amount of the said sum of three hundred and thirteen Pagodas

twenty-three Fanams and forty-eight Cash (313. 23. 48.) or one hundred and twenty-five Pounds eight Shillings and six-pence sterling (£125. 8s. 6d.) in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and their successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Debt claimed at the instance of the said Robert Powney or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn have hereunto set our hands, the third day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) { BENJ^N HOBHOUSE.
 { THO. COCKBURN.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

in the presence of

(Signed) J^{ro} Parkhouse,

Secretary.

THE Aggregate Sterling Amount of Claims adjudicated abso-	£.	s.	d.
lutely in favour of Claimants, to this date, is	627,664	17	8

The Aggregate Sterling Amount of Claims provisionally adjudi-	£.	s.	d.
cated in favour of Claimants, to this date, is	46,768	7	9

TOTAL - £. 674,433 5 5

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

ABSOLUTE ADJUDICATIONS *against* CLAIMANTS.

CLAIM N° 1 of N° 101 in our First Report.

N° 225.

CLAIM

N° 1 of N° 72 in the
London Gazette of
the 12 August 1806;
and,
N° 1 of N° 101 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

*Dr. William
Ruddiman.*

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County of Middlesex, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County of Middlesex, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas William Ruddiman of London, hath by his attorney, John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said William Ruddi-

man for the principal sum of three thousand five hundred Pagodas (3,500.) alleged to be due for arrears of salary from the first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, to the first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, to the said William Ruddiman, as physician of the late Nabob

Wallajah; which sum of three thousand five hundred Pagodas (3,500.) with interest on the same, is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of five thousand two hundred and ninety-three

Pagodas thirty-one Fanams and forty Cash (5,293. 31. 40.) or two thousand one hundred and seventeen Pounds ten Shillings sterling (£2,117. 10s.); and having duly investigated the said Claim, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said William Ruddiman was physician to his said Highness the Nabob; and that when the said William Ruddiman took leave of his Highness on the first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, for the purpose of proceeding to England, his Highness promised to continue to him his salary during absence: And we do further find, That during the period for which the said arrears are claimed, no services were rendered by the said William Ruddiman to the said Nabob: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That the said William Ruddiman has no Claim on the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, in respect of the said debt against the said late Nabob Wallajah: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all demand whatsoever in respect of the said debt, claimed at the instance of the said William Ruddiman, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed)

(Signed)

Jn° Parkhouse

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN,
CHA. GRANT Junior.

N° 234.

CLAIM N° 5 in our First Report.

CLAIM

N° 109 in the London
Gazette of the
13 September 1806;
and,
N° 5 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

John Dyneley,
Executor of the
surviving Execu-
tor of the late
John Andrews.

and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas John Dyneley of London, one of the executors of the surviving executor of the late John Andrews, formerly of Madras in the East Indies, hath executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said John Dyneley, executor as aforesaid, upon a Bond or obligation from the said Nabob Wallajah to the said John Andrews, bearing date sixteenth Rejeb eleven hundred and eighty-six

S. Ps.

of the Hegyra, for the principal sum of ten thousand Star Pagodas (10,000.) which with the arrears of interest, is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of thirty-five thousand nine

Ps.

hundred and ninety-five Pagodas (35,995.) or fourteen thousand three hundred and ninety-eight Pounds sterling (£. 14,398.); and having duly investigated the said Claim, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Nabob Wallajah granted a Bond or obligation, bearing date the sixteenth Rejeb eleven hundred and eighty-six of the Hegyra, to Mr. Andrews for ten thousand Star Pagodas

S. Ps.

(10,000.) by way of a compliment, payable on the last day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three: And we do further find, That the said Bond or obligation was granted by the said Nabob Wallajah to the said Mr. Andrews alias Mr. John Andrews, without any valuable consideration whatever: And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That the said John Dyneley executor as aforesaid, has no Claim on the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private Debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, in respect of the said Bond: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said Bond, or the Debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said John Dyneley, executor as aforesaid, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond or obligation aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the eleventh day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

in the presence of,

(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

CLAIM N° 122 in our First Report.

N° 238.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs, and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas the late George Anderson formerly of Madras in the East Indies, did by a deed of assignation dated the twenty-third day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, with an accompt having reference thereto of the same day and date, (the aggregate amount of which is four hundred

S. Ps.

and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-two Star Pagodas (448,792) "assign and make over to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster baronet, his heirs and assigns for ever, his whole Claims by bonds, notes, running accompts or otherways against his Highness the Nabob of Arcot, or the Honourable the East India Company, or John Hollond esquire, thea

CLAIM
N° 105 in the London
Gazette of the
12 August 1806;
and,
N° 122 in the First Re-
port to Parliament.
The Right Ho-
nourable Sir
John Sinclair
Baronet, Legatee
of the late
George Anderson.

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

then Governor General of Madras, of whatever kind, &c. &c.:" And whereas the said Sir John Sinclair baronet, now the Right honourable Sir John Sinclair baronet, as assignee aforesaid, hath by his attorney John Fordyce of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex, since deceased, executed the aforesaid Indenture of the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the said Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, that we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Sir John Sinclair as assignee aforesaid, upon the late Nabob Wallajah, for the principal sum of eighty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-three Pagodas

(87,283.) being part of the items inserted in the said accompt, which sum with interest at five per cent. from the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, to the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, is stated to amount to one hundred and fifty-two thousand seven

Ps. F. C.

hundred and forty-five Pagodas ten Fanams and forty Cash (152,745. 10. 40.) or sixty-one thousand and ninety-eight Pounds two Shillings sterling (£. 61,098. 2s.) and having duly investigated the said Claim, according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That nothing is due from the said Nabob Wallajah, his successors or representatives, in respect of the said Claim, or any item in the said accompt to the said Sir John Sinclair assignee as aforesaid: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, that the said Sir John Sinclair assignee as aforesaid, hath no right in respect of the said Claim or any item in the said accompt, to participate in the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic: And we do further Award and Adjudge, that all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said demand or of any other item in the said accompt, claimed at the instance of the said Sir John Sinclair assignee as aforesaid, or of any other person or persons, assignee or assignees, representative or representatives of the said late George Anderson: In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands the sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

(Signed)

{ BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT junior.

N^o 239.

CLAIM N^o 221 in our Fifth Report.

CLAIM
N^o 462 in the London
Gazette of the
15 July 1809; and,
N^o 221 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.

Anatha Ramoo
Chitty, Grandson
and Heir of
Ramoo Chitty.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Anatha Ramoo Chitty of Madras in the East Indies, grandson and heir of Ramoo Chitty deceased, hath by his attorneys Messieurs Harington and Company, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, that we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Anatha Ramoo Chitty, grandson and heir of Ramoo Chitty as aforesaid, upon a Bond said to be from the Nabob Wallajah to Ramoo Chitty Soucar, bearing date as alleged the twenty-fifth Ramzan eleven hundred and ninety-eight of the Hegyra, corresponding with the twelfth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven

S. Ps.

hundred and eighty-four, for the sum of sixty thousand Star Pagodas (60,000) which with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of one hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-six Pagodas forty-one Fanams and

Ps. F. C.

thirty-three Cash (132,936. 41. 33.) or fifty-three thousand one hundred and seventy-four Pounds

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

Pounds fifteen shillings and ten-pence sterling (£. 53,174. 15s. 10d.) and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That no evidence whatsoever has been adduced to support the said Claim, or the alleged grounds thereof, and that the said Anatha Ramoo Chitty, though duly summoned to appear personally before the Commissioners at Madras, did not appear to make good his Claim: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge that the said Anatha Ramoo Chitty, grandson and heir of Ramoo Chitty as aforesaid, has no Claim on the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, in respect of the said alleged bond, or the debt claimed thereon: And we do further Award and Adjudge, that all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said bond, or the debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Anatha Ramoo Chitty, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, that the original bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company: In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the sixteenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed) BENJⁿ HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT junior.
Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of
(Signed) Geo. Parkhouse.

THE following Claims are of the same description as the one immediately preceding, the Parties having suffered Judgment to go by default, and therefore similar Awards against them have been also passed. For the purpose of avoiding unnecessary trouble and expense, we do not give the Awards at length, but merely an ABSTRACT.

			Ps.	F. C.	£.	s.	d.
CLAIM N ^o 244 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N ^o 241, dated 17 July 1812, against	Aroonachella Chitty, son of Payerana Chitty - - - - -	138,375.	0. 0.	55,350.	0. 0.	
CLAIM N ^o 1108 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD, N ^o 253, dated 27th October 1812, against	Ranganathum, son and heir of the late Anibalavana Moodely - - -	109,552.	3. 60.	43,820.	16. 8.	
CLAIM N ^o 1431 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Verasamy Braminy, son and heir of the late B. Paupiah Braminy - -	139,019.	7. 38.	55,607.	13. 5.	
CLAIM N ^o 1084 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Ramasamy Pillay, son and heir of the late Comarasamy Pillay - -	69,740.	25. 0.	27,896.	4. 9.	
CLAIM N ^o 384 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		and Condapah Naick, son and heir of the late Soobaroya Naick - - -	129,082.	7. 40.	51,632.	17. 5.	
CLAIM N ^o 233 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD, N ^o 254, dated 3d November 1812, against	Sashawgerry Row, son and heir of the late Beemana Naick - - -	214,600.	0. 0.	85,840.	0. 0.	
CLAIM N ^o 1177 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Vencatarameyer, son and heir of the late Naranayer - - - - -	127,506.	30. 0.	75,002.	13. 8.	
CLAIM N ^o 1395 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Appoo Chitty, brother and heir of the late Soobooramaneyer Chitty -	157,545.	6. 20.	63,018.	1. 2.	
CLAIM N ^o 1397 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		and Vencatarama Chitty, son and heir of the late Gooroonada Chitty - -	64,871.	23. 60.	25,948.	12. 4.	

CLAIM N° 731 in our Fifth Report.

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

N° 240.

CLAIM

N° 503 in the London
Gazette of the
15 July 1809; and,
N° 131 in the Fifth Re-
port to Parliament.

Lutchomoo Boye,
Widow of
Vencata Row,
Son of *Shathajee*
Naig.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Benjamin Hobhouse of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, Thomas Cockburn of Hampstead in the said County, and Charles Grant junior of Lincoln's-Inn in the said County, being the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part;" Send Greeting: Whereas Lutchomoo Boye of Arcot in the East Indies, widow of Vencata Row son of Shathajee Naig, hath by her attorney Sreenavas Row also of the East Indies aforesaid, executed the aforesaid Indenture, and hath thereby submitted herself, her heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order, and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by her under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Lutchomoo Boye as aforesaid upon a Bond said to be from the Nabob Wallajah to Dadajee Naik Soukar, bearing date as alleged, the fifth Zehij twelve hundred and two of the Hegyra, for the principal sum of fifty-five thousand

S. Ps.

Pagodas (55,000.) which with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon, is stated to amount on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of ninety-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-two

Ps. F. C.

Star Pagodas three Fanams and sixty Cash (98,152. 3. 60.) or thirty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty Pounds seventeen Shillings and one Penny sterling (£. 39,260. 17s. 1d.), and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the said Bond for fifty-five thousand

S. Ps.

Star Pagodas (55,000.) purports on the face it, to be a Bond from the said Nabob Wallah Jah to the said Dadajee Naik Soukar for so much received from him the said Dadajee Naik by way of loan: And we do further find, That no valuable consideration whatsoever appears to have been given by or for the said Dadajee Naik Soukar alias Shathajee Naig, or received by his said Highness the Nabob Wallajah or by any other Person or Persons on his account for the said alleged Bond: And we, the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, do hereby Award and Adjudge, That the said Lutchomoo Boye has no Claim on the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, in respect of the said alleged bond against the said late Nabob Wallajah: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property and revenues of the said Nabob Wallajah and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said alleged Bond, or the Debt claimed thereon, at the instance of the said Lutchomoo Boye or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the Bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company. In Witness whereof, we the said Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Charles Grant, have hereunto set our hands, the seventeenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJN. HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.
CHA. GRANT Junior.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of,
(Signed) *Geo. Parkhouse.*

THE following Claims are of the same description as the one immediately preceding, being founded upon alleged Bonds, for which no consideration appears to have been given; and therefore similar Awards against the Parties have been also passed. For the purpose of avoiding unnecessary trouble and expense, we do not give the Awards at length, but merely an **ABSTRACT.**

A B S T R A C T.

			Ps.	P.	C.	£.	s.	d.
CLAIM N° 531 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 251, dated 20th October 1812, against	Gentoor Kistnasawny Braminy, grandson and heir of the late Guntoor Vencatachellum Braminy - - - - -	378,391.	21.	22.	151,356.	21.	0.
CLAIM N° 1240 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Soobaroyalao, alias Soobarow, son and Heir of the late Samaroyer Soucar - - - - -	241,805.	12.	30.	96,722.	1.	8.
CLAIM N° 1071 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 256, dated 13th November 1812, against	Rajah Veghi Rughoonat Tohndiman Behadur, by his Attorney Ro Soubarow - - - - -	10,807.	11.	0.	4,324.	3.	0.
CLAIMS N° 526, 522, and 521, in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Robert Orme and George Arbuthnot, Executor in India of the late Walter Grant - - - - -	449,566.	9.	71.	179,826.	17.	0.
CLAIM N° 1168 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Saumoo Doss Balakistnama Doss, adopted son and heir of Balakistnama Doss Semboos Doss - - - - -	396,601.	3.	24.	158,640.	4½.	0.
CLAIM N° 623 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 258, dated 20th November 1812, against	Jacob Arathoon, Assignee of Kariman Nissa Begoom, alias Chotty Begoom - - - - -	343,618.	13.	0.	137,447.	6.	5.
CLAIM N° 624 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Omdythoon Nisa Begum - - - - -	286,931.	41.	0.	114,772.	15.	2.
CLAIM N° 625 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 258, dated 20th November 1812, against	Omdothoon Nisa Begum - - - - -	84,115.	43.	0.	33,646.	7.	7.
CLAIM N° 626 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Hiftikare Dowlah Bahauda - - - - -	14,343.	12.	0.	5,737.	6.	2.
CLAIM N° 211 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Omdothoon Nisa Begum - - - - -	36,000.	0.	0.	14,400.	0.	0.
		Kariman Nissa Begoom, alias Chotty Begoom - - - - -	10,419.	35.	0.	4,167.	18.	3.
		Durmass Moodelly and Soobramoney Pillay - - - - -	8,215.	3.	0.	3,286.	0.	6.
		Soobramoney Pillay - - - - -	25,598.	28.	0.	10,239.	9.	0.
		Andrew Berry, Assignee of Naick, Hanamunt Ramajee, and Appoo Row - - - - -	74,965.	8.	50.	29,986.	0.	0.
CLAIM N° 624 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 261, dated 7th December 1812, against	Jacob Arathoon, Assignee of Omdothoon Nisa Begum - - - - -	6,049.	32.	0.	2,419.	17.	9.
CLAIM N° 627 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Durmass Moodelly - - - - -	18,412.	39.	0.	7,365.	3.	0.
CLAIM N° 625 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 261, dated 7th December 1812, against	Hafiz Mahomed Nasser Khawn - - - - -	19,483.	5.	0.	7,793.	4.	10.
CLAIM N° 625 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Mahomed Nasser Khawn - - - - -	3,223.	13.	0.	1,289.	6.	3.
CLAIM N° 628 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Omdothoon Nisa Begum - - - - -	11,979.	20.	0.	4,991.	15.	7.
		Mahomed Nasser Khawn - - - - -	29,497.	18.	0.	11,798.	19.	1.
		Mahomed Naser Khawn - - - - -	16,232.	9.	0.	6,492.	17.	7.
		Casheah Moodellic - - - - -	12,793.	25.	0.	5,117.	8.	6.
		Messieurs Crawford and Erwin - - - - -	7,773.	31.	0.	3,109.	9.	6.
		Vencata Petty Soucar - - - - -	138,244.	17.	0.	55,297.	15.	0.
CLAIM N° 538 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	AWARD N° 262, dated 8th December 1812, against	Surdar ul Omrah Hafiz Mahomed Nazer Cawn Bahauder, for Careem ul Nessa Begum - - - - -	249,868.	18.	38.	99,947.	6.	5.
CLAIM N° 540 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Surdar ul Omrah Hafiz Mahomed Nazer Cawn Bahauder, in the name of Edward Boisdaine - - - - -	98,117.	15.	13.	39,246.	18.	10½.
CLAIM N° 539 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Omdut ul Nessa Begum - - - - -	113,922.	31.	77.	45,569.	2.	1.
CLAIM N° 542 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Surdar ul Omrah Hafiz Mahomed Nazer Cawn Bahauder, in the name of Darmasana Moodelly - - - - -	33,489.	24.	40.	13,395.	16.	8.
CLAIM N° 541 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.		Darmasana Moodelly - - - - -	38,308.	14.	0.	15,323.	6.	8.
		Darmasana Moodelly - - - - -	39,220.	33.	56.	15,688.	6.	4.
		Chinniah Moodelly - - - - -	15,184.	9.	72.	6,073.	13.	10½.

CLAIM N° 1 of N° 104 in our First Report.

Absolute
Adjudications
against
Claimants.

N° 259.

CLAIM
N° 1 of N° 103 in the
London Gazette of
the 12th August 1806,
and,
N° 1 of N° 104 in the
First Report to Par-
liament.

Roya Reddy Row
Assignee of
Gopaul Row.

TO all to whom these Presents shall come: We, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse Baronet of Whitton Park in the County of Middlesex, and Thomas Cockburn Esquire of Hampstead in the said County, being two of the Commissioners and Referees acting in England for the time being, under a certain Deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and five, "between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part; and the several Persons whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, and who respectively are or claim to be Creditors of his Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, eldest son and successor of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, and of his Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the second son of his said Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, and now also deceased, or of some or one of them the said several Nabobs and the said Ameer, of the other part; Send Greeting:" Whereas the late Roya Reddy Row of Madras in the East Indies, Assignee of Gopaul Row, did execute the aforesaid Indenture, and did thereby submit himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to the judgment, award, order and determination of the Commissioners under the aforesaid Indenture, in all things whatsoever relating to the several Claims made by him under the said Indenture: Now know ye, That we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn having taken into consideration a Claim made by the said Roya Reddy Row, assignee as aforesaid, upon a Bond said to be from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Gopaul Row, bearing date as alleged, the eleventh Suffer twelve hundred and thirteen of the Hegyra, or the twenty-sixth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, for the

S. Fs.

sum of thirty-eight thousand five hundred Star Pagodas (38,500.) which with the arrears of interest alleged to be due thereon is stated to amount, on the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, to the aggregate sum of forty-nine thousand six hundred and seventy Star Pagodas eleven Fanams and forty Cash

S. Ps. F. C.

(49,670. 11. 40.) or nineteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight Pounds two Shillings and two-pence halfpenny sterling (£. 19,868. 2s. 2½d.) and having duly investigated the said Claim according to the covenants, provisions and directions of the aforesaid Indenture, do find, That the bond said to be granted to the said Gopaul Row purports on the face of it to be a bond from the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the said Gopaul Row: And we do further find, That the said bond is not the bond of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, but a forgery: And we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn do hereby Award and Adjudge, That the said Roya Reddy Row, Assignee of Gopaul Row as aforesaid, has no Claim against the said late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah on the fund provided by the aforesaid Indenture for satisfaction of the private debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, in respect of the said alleged bond or the debt claimed thereon: And we do further Award and Adjudge, That all the property of the said Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and his successors or representatives, are and shall be for ever acquitted and discharged from all Claim whatsoever in respect of the said alleged bond or the debt claimed thereon at the instance of the said Roya Reddy Row, Assignee as aforesaid of Gopaul Row, or of any other Person or Persons whatsoever: And we do further Award and Order, That the bond aforesaid shall be cancelled and delivered up to the Court of Directors of the said United East India Company: In witness whereof we the said Benjamin Hobhouse and Thomas Cockburn have hereunto set our hands, the twenty-third day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

(Signed)

{ BENJN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.

Signed (being first duly stamped)
in the presence of

(Signed) Jno Parkhouse,
Secretary.

THE following Claims, which are of the same description as the one immediately preceding, being founded upon Forgeries, similar Awards upon them have been entered up. For the purpose of avoiding unnecessary trouble and expense, we do not give the Awards at length, but merely an ABSTRACT.

A B S T R A C T.

		Ps.	F.	C.	£.	s.	d.
CLAIM No. 1123 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	Duttajee Row, Assignee of the late	100,738.	23.	20.	40,295.	8.	6.
	Roya Reddy Row - - - - -						
	Roya Reddy Row, Assignee of Rama	41,885.	40.	1.	16,754.	7.	1.
	Row Putmajee - - - - -						
	Duttajee Moorleapah - - - - -	115,443.	32.	28.	46,177.	11.	8.
	Thomas Hart Davis, Assignee of						
	Duttajee Moorleapah - - - - -	38,567.	39.	25.	15,427.	2.	11½.
	Vettul Doss Samoo Doss Soucar,						
	Assignee of Duttajee Row - - - - -	44,048.	9.	69.	17,619.	5.	10.
	Duttajee Moorleapah, Assignee of An-						
CLAIMS Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, of No 87 in the First Report to Parliament.	natapah Naick - - - - -	1,495.	23.	0.	598.	4.	0.
	Roya Reddy Row, Assignee of Gar-						
	davady Narain Chitty - - - - -	11,291.	2.	70.	4,516.	4.	5.
	Narrain Chitty - - - - -						
	James Sutherland, Assignee of Roya	57,624.	16.	77.	23,049.	15.	3.
	Reddy Row and Duttajee Mar-						
	lapah - - - - -	6,957.	32.	33.	2,783.	1.	8.
	Roya Reddy Row, Assignee of Na-						
	rasingah Row - - - - -	1,181.	41.	24.	472.	15.	3.
	Roya Reddy Row, in the name of						
CLAIM No 1125 in the Fifth Report to Parliament.	Boujungah Row - - - - -	9,372.	37.	77.	3,749.	2.	8.
	Jeevanah Naick, in behalf of Roya						
	Reddy Row - - - - -	6,912.	21.	0.	2,765.	0.	0.
	Messieurs Colt, Hart and Weston,						
	Attornies of Moorley Doss and	13,579.	31.	34.	5,431.	17.	7½.
	Catta Vallaba Doss - - - - -						
	Praboo Doss, Mortgagee of Roya	100,738.	23.	20.	40,295.	8.	6.
	Reddy Row - - - - -						
	Roya Reddy Row, Assignee of Rama	41,885.	40.	1.	16,754.	7.	1.
	Row Putmajee - - - - -						
	Duttajee Moorleapah - - - - -	115,443.	32.	28.	46,177.	11.	8.

AWARD No 263,

dated 9th December 1812,
against

THE Aggregate Sterling Amount of Claims, adjudicated absolutely against the Claimants, is, to this date - £.13,879,679. 12. 6.

WE shall here subjoin, for the information of this Honourable House, an Abstract of the Amount of the Adjudications to the present date :

	£.	s.	d.
Aggregate of Absolute Adjudications in favour of Parties -	627,664	17	8
Aggregate of Provisional Adjudications in favour of Parties	46,768	7	9
	674,433	5	5
Aggregate of Absolute Adjudications against the Parties -	13,879,679	12	6
TOTAL -	£.14,554,112	17	11

WE have the honour to state, to This Honourable House, that we are still employed in the examination and consideration of the Reports, which the Commissioners in India have made on such Claims as they have investigated.

Manchester Buildings,
December 10, 1812.

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE.
THO. COCKBURN.

EIGHTH REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONERS

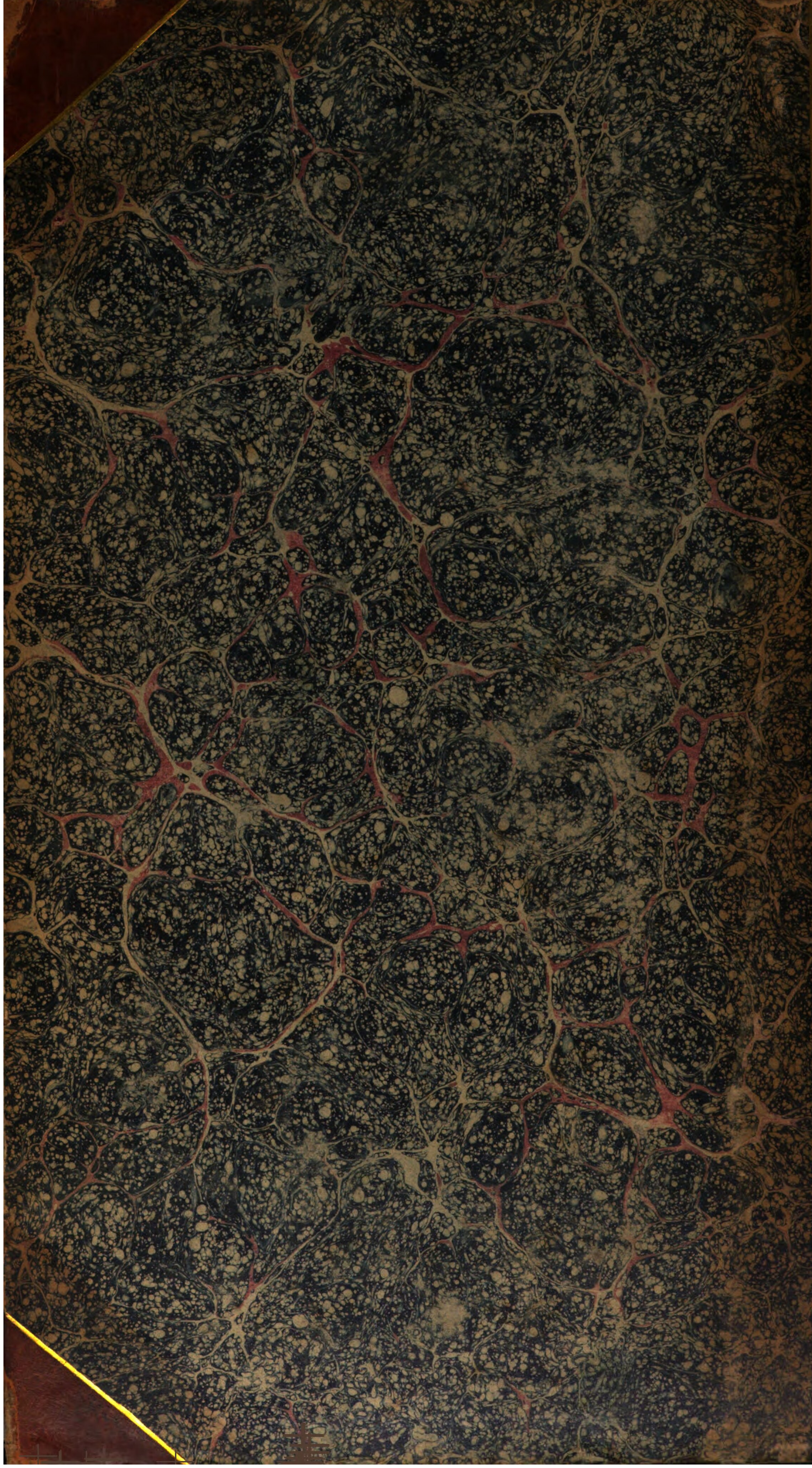
Appointed under an Agreement, concluded
on the 10th of July 1805, between The
EAST INDIA Company and the PRIVATE
CREDITORS of the late NABOBS of The
CARNATIC.

(46 Geo. III. c. 133.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed,
10 December 1812.

8.

THE Aggregate of Absolute Adjudications against the Parties is to the date of the Report, 1812, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 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2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 219



Rushworth, John

Parliamentary Papers [1812 - 1813]

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2 Brit. 85 d-7

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